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NOTES

ON

BRITISH HISTORY

BY

WILLIAM EDWARDS, M.A.

HEADMASTER OF THE MIDDLESBROUGH HIGH SCHOOL

PART I

PREHISTORIC TIMES

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SECOND EDITION

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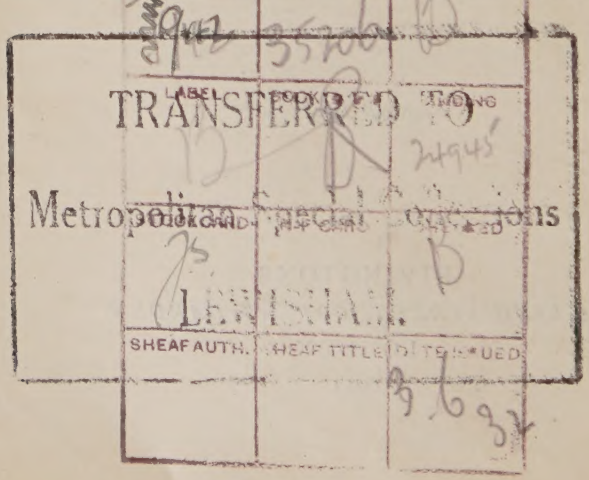

PREFACE

It is found impossible in most English schools to devote more than two periods a week to the study of History, and teachers find considerable difficulty in doing thoroughly the work required for public examinations in the time allotted. This difficulty is increased in the case of those who attempt to deal with local records, with the development of civilisation and literature, and with contemporary European history.

The difficulty arises largely because in textbooks the chronological order is usually followed, and events and movements of considerable duration are treated not as wholes, but as portions of the reigns over which they extend. The adequate treatment of such subjects involves oral teaching, and either the dictation of notes in school or the copying of notes by the scholar out of school. The former plan unduly encroaches upon the short time available for actual teaching, the latter trespasses upon leisure time already seriously limited by home work.

These notes have been compiled in order to supplement the information given in the textbook and to lessen the amount of time devoted in school to the mere giving of notes. An attempt has been made to treat each subject fully (this has necessitated a certain amount of repetition), to bring out clearly the leading principles involved and to indicate the exact part played by the actors. The notes are supplemented by references; those under heading A being to the standard histories and biographies which may be found in any well-equipped public library; those under B

to short passages of prose or poetry suitable for reading aloud to the class and not included under A; those under C to historical novels and tales suitable for the scholar's private reading. But it is not intended entirely to obviate the writing of notes by the scholars, and there are some obvious omissions which must be rectified in class, while it is clearly impossible to give in a book like this any information on local history, the study of which adds greatly to the reality and interest of the general subject. No plans, maps, or architectural illustrations have been included, and it is suggested that these should be copied into the scholar's notebook (in the case of the last with the co-operation of the art master), and that they should not be merely consulted in a textbook or atlas as occasion arises.

These notes comply, to a considerable extent, with the suggestions as to the teaching of History contained in the recent circular of the Board of Education. They deal with the leading events of European History, the great inventions of the Middle Ages, and the geographical discoveries of the sixteenth century. They may be used as headings for essays, and the references "A" will afford further material for the "practice in original composition" upon which the circular lays stress. An attempt has been made to select the most important questions and to indicate their chief features by means of the main headings. At the same time the sub-headings give fuller information for those who wish to study the subject in greater detail.

These notes are intended mainly for the use of scholars preparing for History Scholarships at the Universities, for the Oxford and Cambridge Higher Local, Higher Certificate, and Senior Local Examinations, for the Honours and Senior Certificates of the Central Welsh Board, the Irish Intermediate, the Scottish Leaving Certificates, the First Class of

the College of Preceptors, the Civil Service, the Matriculation, Intermediate, and Pupil Teacher Certificate Examinations. It is obvious that much of the information given will be beyond the capacity of candidates for Junior Examinations, but it is hoped that the main headings may prove useful for these, and, if the main headings are thoroughly learned the first time the history is done, the notes as a whole may be taken in the higher forms.

In a number of schools it is not possible to find room on the staff for a specialist in History, and it is hoped that these notes, which are the result of considerable experience in teaching, may be found suggestive and helpful to form masters taking the subject whose main interest lies in other parts of their work.

The author would welcome any suggestions for the correction and improvement of this book. He gladly acknowledges the kindness of Mr. J. C. Scott, M.A., of King Edward VII School, Sheffield, and of Mr. S. Scruton in revising and correcting Part I.

W. EDWARDS.

HIGH SCHOOL,
MIDDLESBROUGH.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

THE author gratefully acknowledges the help received in the revision of these Notes from Rev. A. B. Beavan, M.A., of Leamington, and Mr. A. M. Walmsley, M.A., of the High School, Middlesbrough.

Professor Oman's *England before the Norman Conquest*, and Mr. H. W. C. Davis' *England under the Normans and Angevins*, should be added to the references for their respective periods.

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NOTES ON BRITISH HISTORY

PREHISTORIC TIMES

I. The Men of the Stone Age.

A. Palæolithic (Old Stone-workers).

Cave-dwellers, using unpolished stone weapons; apparently had no domestic animals; ignorant of metals, weaving, and pottery, but possessing some artistic ability which enabled them to make rough drawings of animals. Their remains and those of tropical animals (hyenas, rhinoceros) found in caves at Brixham in Devonshire and Kirkdale in Yorkshire.

Palæolithic men destroyed by the descent of glaciers from Scandinavia as far as the Thames valley.

B. Neolithic (New Stone-workers).

Lived after the ice deluge. Used polished flint weapons. They were able to cultivate land, make pottery, and weave cloth, but had no artistic sense. Built Stonehenge for sun-worship (Stonehenge is not Druidical). Built houses, often in lakes for security; not cave-dwellers.

C. These men of the Stone Age were Iberian (the Basques the only Iberian survivors), non-Aryan. A long-headed people, short in stature and dark, burying their dead in long barrows.

II. The Celts.

A. Gaels or Goidels.—The Bronze Age.

The Gaels overcame the Iberians owing to the superiority of bronze over stone weapons.

A tall, fair race; possibly from northern Germany; bronze-workers. A short-headed people, mainly hunters, burying their dead in round barrows. Driven to Ireland (the Welsh word for Irish is "Gwyddel") and the Highlands by the Cymri or Brythons.

B. Cymri or Brythons.—The Iron Age.

Drove the Goidels to the West. Opposed the landing of Cæsar in Kent. A civilised race. Skilled workers in iron, tin[1] (in Cornwall), and gold. Pytheas of Marseilles, about 330 B.C., noted the large corn crops of the Brythons who traded with the Phœnicians. (The "Long Ships" rocks off Land's End are called after the long trading vessels of the Phœnicians.) The Cymri were driven westward in their turn, and their old name is kept in Cymry (Welsh name for "Wales") and Cumberland.

The Cymri were organised in tribes; had no large towns, but forest villages. Their religion was Druidism, involving a belief in the immortality of the soul (shown by food, weapons, and utensils placed in barrows for use of the souls of the dead) and human sacrifices. The Druids priests, judges, and teachers.

C. The Celts did not extinguish the Iberians, but used them as slaves; and longer skulls found in later Celtic barrows prove intermarriage between the two races.

References:

A. *Early Man in Britain*, Boyd Dawkins, chaps. VII, VIII, X.

B. *Cæsar's Gallic War*, Book V, chaps. XII–XIV.

[1] The Cassiterides or Tin Islands of the Phœnicians are usually identified with the Scilly Islands. But no tin is found on the Scilly Islands, which have probably been separated from the mainland since the period in question. "Cassiter Street," in Bodmin, like the Cassiterides, is derived from κασσίτερος (tin), a Greek word of Phœnician origin.

THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN

I. Julius Cæsar.

A. **55** B.C. Landed, probably near Deal, with 10,000 men to punish the Britons for aiding the Gauls, with whom they were connected by ties of kindred and religion. Lack of cavalry prevented a decisive victory. The season was too late for a long campaign. The Roman fleet was shattered by a storm. Cæsar returned to Gaul. His first expedition, a reconnaissance in force rather than an invasion, was a failure.

B. **54** B.C. Came with 20,000 soldiers and 2000 cavalry. His 800 vessels formed the largest fleet that has ever attacked this country. His landing was unopposed through fear of his large force. Attempt of Cassivelaunus, King of the Catuvellauni, to unite all the British tribes against Cæsar, but owing to the opposition of the Trinobantes, and a victory of Cæsar near St. Albans, he submitted. Nominal submission of the Britons.

Cæsar did not ensure the permanent conquest of Britain, but his expeditions were of great value owing to the information he gained about the Britons. Britain was not attacked for about one hundred years, owing to the rising of the Gauls against Cæsar, to civil wars in Rome, and the necessity of defending the northern and eastern frontiers of the Empire against the barbarians.

II. The Roman Conquest.

A. **A.D. 43.** Aulus Plautius was sent by the Emperor Claudius to conquer Britain on the death of Cunobelinus (Shakespeare's Cymbeline), King of the Trinobantes, whose son Caratacus [Welsh "Caradog," hence not Caractacus] renounced his father's friendship with Rome. Capture of Camulodunum, the capital of Caratacus, and submission of the greater portion of Brythonic Britain, that is most of the land east of a line from Bristol to the Wash.

B. A.D. 51. Ostorius Scapula.

Caratacus fled to the Goidelic Silures of South Wales. Was defeated at Caer Caradog in Shropshire by Scapula. Betrayed by Cartimandua, Queen of the Brigantes, to the Romans, and set free by Claudius owing to his manly bearing in captivity. Forts were built by the Romans at Chester (Deva), Caerleon (Isca Silurum), and Wroxeter (Viroconium), to keep the frontiers.

C. A.D. 59. Suetonius Paulinus.

(1) Conquered Mona (Anglesea), the centre of the Druids. Destroyed their sacred groves.

(2) Great British rising, led by Boadicea [more correctly Boudicca], Queen of the Iceni, due to

α. The oppression and extortion of the Roman officials.

β. The seizure by the Romans of the kingdom of their faithful ally, her husband, Prasutagus; scourging of his widow Boadicea; ill-treatment of his daughters.

Union of the Trinobantes and Iceni. Capture of Camulodunum (inadequately fortified by the over-confident Romans), Verulamium, Londinium [first mention of London in history]. Destruction of IX Legion and slaughter of 70,000 Romans and friendly Britons.

The rising put down with great cruelty by Paulinus. Boadicea poisoned herself, A.D. 61.

D. A.D. 75–78. Julius Frontinus finally subdued the Silures.

E. A.D. 78–85. Julius Agricola.

(1) Attempted to conquer the whole of Britain.

α. The Ordovices of North Wales were routed.

β. Re-conquest of Mona.

γ. Final subjugation of the North of England.

δ. Crushing defeat of the Caledonians under Galgacus at Mons Graupius. [The Grampians owe their name to the incorrect spelling of this word.] But no final conquest of the Caledonians.

(2) Consolidation of the Roman Power.

α. Agricola was a great builder of towns and military stations, e.g. (probably) Eboracum.

β. He civilised the Britons. The luxury of the towns attracted wealthy Britons, and Agricola introduced the Roman language and learning. He taught the Britons to build towns and to make roads, and introduced improved methods of agriculture. Thus the Britons were reconciled to the Roman supremacy.

γ. Fair assessment of tribute and of the corn tax.

δ. Building of a line of forts between the Clyde and Forth.

(3) Agricola was recalled by Domitian because of pressing danger on the Danube, and owing to disapproval of his aggressive policy in Britain. The Roman authority was not effective north of the Forth.

F. Thus the Roman Conquest was due largely to lack of union between the different tribes of Britain. It was accomplished with difficulty owing to the bravery of the resistance and the natural difficulties of the country.

III. The Roman Occupation.

A. Chronological Summary.

c. A.D. 122. Hadrian built a stone wall 73½ miles long, 17 feet high, 6 feet wide, intersecting fortified camps from Wallsend to Bowness. A garrison of 10,000 protected "Hadrian's Wall" from the Caledonians.

c. A.D. 142. Antoninus Pius built a turf rampart, not a wall, connecting the line of forts built by Agricola from the Forth to the Clyde.

c. A.D. 210. Severus repaired and strengthened Hadrian's Wall. He died at Eboracum (York), 211.

A.D. 210–288. Weakening of the Roman Empire owing to internal dissensions, the attacks of the Goths and the division of the Empire into three parts by Diocletian.

A.D. 288. Carausius, the Count of the Saxon Shore,[1] profiting by the weakness of the Empire, proclaimed himself "Emperor of Britain."

A.D. 293. Carausius assassinated by Allectus, who became "Emperor of Britain."

A.D. 296. Constantius created Emperor of the West (Gaul, Spain, and Britain) by Diocletian, slew Allectus and restored the supremacy of Rome.

A.D. 306. Constantius died. His son Constantine proclaimed Emperor by the soldiers at York.

A.D. 383. Maximus greatly weakened the Roman power in Britain by withdrawing a large number of Roman legionaries to support his attempt to win the Empire.

A.D. 409. Further depletion of Roman forces in Britain by the usurper Constantine, who used them on the Continent to support his attempt to secure the Imperial dignity.

A.D. 410. Final withdrawal of Roman troops from Britain by Honorius owing to the attack of the Goths under Alaric on Rome.

B. The character and results of the occupation.

(1) It was largely but not exclusively a military occupation, especially in the north and west; there was no general introduction of full Roman civic life. Only four "coloniae" (Gloucester, Lincoln, York, Colchester), and one "municipium" (Verulamium) were established. The chief Latin words adopted were military terms—strata, colonia, castra. The Roman roads were military. After the withdrawal of the Romans their military system was probably retained to some extent by the Romano-British, and this may partly account for their stubborn resistance to the Anglo-Saxons.

(2) But there was a great increase in the number of towns owing to military needs, and of commerce owing to the Pax Romana, and in the towns many buildings—temples, baths, and houses—were constructed. London became a commercial centre.

[1] The shore from the Wash to Beachy Head attacked, *not* colonised, by the Saxons.

(3) Great importance of "villae" or estates owned by Romans and tilled by British slaves. Freeman asserts the absolute destruction of this system after the Romans left. Seebohm sees in it the origin of the feudal manor, but this is unlikely, as the Roman villae, unlike the feudal manors, were not universal, and Celtic villages were in the majority; further, the Anglo-Saxon hundred courts, in which all the freemen attended, cannot be reconciled with the Roman villa, where all were in subjection to one man.

(4) The construction of Roman roads. Although originally made for military purposes, they greatly facilitated the growth of commerce.

- α. Watling Street: Dover, London, St. Albans, Viroconium, Chester.
- β. Fossway: Exeter, Lincoln.
- γ. Ermine Street: London, Lincoln, Aldborough, Carlisle, Newcastle. Subsequently "The Great North Road."

(5) Development of the arts of peace: Agriculture, Britain became "the Granary of the West." Lead-mining in Derbyshire, and tin and iron-mining (less important) in Cornwall and the Weald. Draining of marshes, clearing of forests.

(6) Introduction of Latin language and culture, higher civilisation, and greater trade owing to closer connection with the Continent.

(7) Introduction of new religions.

α. Christianity.

Little definite information. Probably introduced by Christian soldiers from Gaul. Some relics, e.g. a Christian church at Silchester. Spread in the second century, and in spite of the Diocletian persecution, when St. Alban probably suffered martyrdom, A.D. 304, was the leading religion in Britain in the third century. Christian bishoprics were founded at London and York,

and the Church was regularly organised. Pelagius, the founder of the Pelagian heresy (which denied the doctrine of original sin) was a Briton.

β. Many evidences of Mithraic worship. This was Oriental sun-worship typified by figures of a young man and a bull (perhaps an indication of the passage of the sun into Taurus).

γ. Roman Paganism.

(8) No complete occupation of the Island.

α. Agricola's forts the utmost northern limit, and Hadrian's wall the practical boundary after A.D. 150 at latest of the Roman power.

β. Wales was never thoroughly conquered. It remained Celtic, and never became Roman, like Gaul.

1. Very few Roman remains in Wales.
2. The Roman roads in Wales were unimportant.
3. The Welsh language continued and was very little affected by Latin.

References:

A. *The Political History of England to 1066*, Dr. Hodgkin, pp. 54–8.

B. *Boadicea*, by Cowper.

C. *Beric the Briton*, by Henty, Blackie and Co.
Puck of Pook's Hill, by Rudyard Kipling.

THE ENGLISH CONQUEST

The Teutons repeatedly attacked Britain in the fourth and first half of the fifth centuries, and the Romans appointed Counts of the Saxon Shore to resist their attacks. A.D. 429, Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, sent to Britain to oppose the Pelagian heresy, helped the Britons to gain the "Hallelujah Victory" over Saxons and Picts at Maes Garmon, in Flintshire. Armorica, now colonised by Britons fleeing from the Saxon attacks, received the new name of Brittany.

I. **The Jutes**—the smallest of the three tribes. Little is known of them. The general opinion that they came from Jutland is doubted by some writers who give Friesland as their original home.

A. The Conquest of Kent.

449.[1] The Jutes, led by Hengist and Horsa, landed at Ebbsfleet in Kent, probably at the invitation of Vortigern, and defeated the Picts and Scots.

455. Vortigern defeated by the Jutes at Aylesford. Horsa slain. Hengist became King of Kent, and won the battle of Crayford.

465. Final conquest of Kent at Wippedsfleet, in spite of the brave resistance of the Britons.

B. The Jutes conquered the Isle of Wight in **530**, but it soon passed into the power of Cerdic, who probably co operated at its capture.

II. **The Saxons**—originally inhabited Holstein, but had spread over Brunswick, Hanover, and Westphalia.

A. The Conquest of Sussex.

491. The South Saxons, under Aelle and Cissa (cf. *Chi*chester), captured Anderida, "nor was there one Briton left alive," and established the Kingdom of Sussex.

B. The Conquest of Essex.

500. The Kingdom of Essex founded by the East Saxons, who later captured London.

C. The Conquest of Wessex.

(1) The foundation by Cerdic.

519. Cerdic, by the victory of Charford, conquered Hampshire, assumed the title of King, and laid the foundation of the Kingdom of Wessex (but see page 235).

But **520** the West Saxons were routed at Mount Badon (near Bath) by the Britons under Arthur. [A historical personage, but the Arthurian legend is due to the twelfth-century tales of Geoffrey of Monmouth.]

About **530** Cerdic gained the Isle of Wight.

[1] The dates usually given have been retained, although the accuracy of some has been questioned, e.g. Dr. Hodgkin gives **441**, not **449**, as the date of the landing of the Jutes.

(2) Expansion to the East and North.

568. Ceawlin routed the Jutes at Wimbledon and conquered Surrey. Later he conquered Bucks and Bedfordshire.

(3) Expansion to the West. Checked temporarily at Mount Badon **520.**

552. Cynric won the battle of Old Sarum and conquered Wiltshire, and, after a victory at Barbury (North Wilts), Berkshire.

577. By a victory at Deorham (near Bath), Ceawlin gained much of Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, and greatly strengthened Wessex by separating the Britons of Wales (the North Welsh) from those of Cornwall and Devon (the West Welsh).

Thus the Kingdom of Wessex was firmly established, in spite of the defeat of Ceawlin at Feathanlea, (site doubtful, probably not Faddiley in Cheshire) by the ~~Britons~~ Saxons. in **584.**

III. **The Angles**—lived about the mouth of the Elbe.

500-540. Angles established themselves in East Anglia and Lincolnshire, conquered Yorkshire (Deira, capital York), and settled around the Tweed. [Dum*fries* probably commemorates this Frisian settlement.]

547. Ida established the Kingdom of Bernicia (from the Tees to the Forth) with its capital at Bamborough.

547–580. Settlement of the northern part of the Trent valley by the Southumbrians. Settlement of the middle English round Leicester. Settlement of the West English (or Mercians, the men of the march or border) in Northants and Staffs. The beginning of Mercia.

IV. **The General Character of the Conquest.**

A. A national migration, including slaves, flocks, and herds, due probably to the conquest of the Baltic coast by the Huns, and involving the transference of Teutonic life and customs. This is proved by

(1) The importance of the family which, in England as in Germany, was the basis of society; the family was held responsible for the crimes of each member and compensation for injuries done to each member (e.g. Weregild compensation for murder) was paid to the family.

(2) The maintenance of the division of the people into the three classes of nobles, free, and slaves, as in Germany. But the need of a military leader tended to the early establishment of monarchy in all the tribes in England. "War begat the King."

(3) German laws were retained.

(4) The system of common cultivation was retained by the village communities.

B. The stubborn resistance of the Britons made conquest slow.

(1) The Conquest of Kent took thirty years.

(2) Successes of the Britons at Mount Badon **520** and Feathanlea **584**.

(3) Wales was never conquered. West Wales and Cumberland held out for many years owing to the bravery of the Goidels (less enervated by the Roman civilisation than the Brythons) and the mountains of the West.

(4) The conquest of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight was the limit of Cerdic's success, and the foundation of Wessex took nearly one hundred years.

C. There was little cohesion between successful tribes. England was not really united until the Norman Conquest.

D. General destruction of surviving Romano-British institutions. England became heathen, and Christianity survived only in Wales.

E. The great importance of the self-governing village communities—agricultural settlements united by the bond of kindred and suited to the needs of the Anglo-Saxons, who disliked towns. Consequent decrease in the importance of towns.

F. Fusion of Anglo-Saxons and Britons.

(1) Freeman asserts that the Britons were exterminated.

α. The language and institutions of England are largely Teutonic.

β. The slaughter at Anderida 491 supports this theory.

(2) But others assert that, while the Teutonic element was predominant, the Britons were not exterminated.

α. The slaughter at Anderida was specially mentioned because exceptional, and only the garrison suffered.

β. The British women became wives of the conquerors (although in Germany the latter had abstained from intermarriage with other races).

γ. The few British words found in English relate to household needs (e.g. rug, basket, rasher), and warrant the belief that many Britons were kept as slaves. No British words relating to government have been retained in English.

δ. The different types of skulls found in Saxon burying-places prove the amalgamation of the two races.

(3) But the disappearance of Romano-British law and institutions and of the well-organised Christianity of the Britons suggests that the Britons who survived were generally merely scattered units. But in Wessex an organised Celtic community, arranged in different ranks and possessing its own estates, existed side by side with the Saxons.

References:

A. *Short History of the English People*, J. R. Green, pp. 1–16. Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, Vol. I, pp. 9–18.

C. *Uther and Igraine*, by Deeping, Grant Richards.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY

I. **Kent.**

A. King Ethelbert (ruled from 561–616) recovered from his defeat by Ceawlin of Wessex at Wimbledon, A.D. 568, and secured the supremacy of Eastern England from Kent to the Humber. Was recognised as Brytenwealda,[1] wielder or ruler of Britain, a title borne by the most powerful of the early English kings. His authority acknowledged by the Kings of Essex and East Anglia.

B. The introduction of Christianity.

(1) Owing to the influence of his Christian Queen Bertha, daughter of Charibert, King of Paris, he allowed St. Augustine, the envoy of Pope Gregory the Great, to land in Thanet, 597, and, after himself becoming a Christian, to settle in his capital, Canterbury.

(2) Augustine became Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated Justus Bishop of Rochester, and Mellitus Bishop of London, which, though belonging to Essex, adopted Christianity through Ethelbert's influence.

(3) Failure of Augustine to effect union between the Roman and Welsh Churches and to reconcile their differences as to Baptism and the date of Easter.

(4) Christianity was practically confined to Ethelbert's dominions, although all the kingdoms except Sussex and Mercia were affected for a time.

C. The supremacy of Kent ended with Ethelbert's death. It had been successfully challenged during Ethelbert's life by Redwald of East Anglia, another Brytenwealda, who established his authority over central England.

D. A pagan reaction. Kent remained Christian, but London became pagan, and thus the ecclesiastical supremacy of Canterbury was confirmed.

[1] The title of "Brytenwealda" is more correct than that of "Bretwalda," meaning "wide ruler." It is probably a translation of the Roman "Dux Britanniarum," but does not imply the continued existence from Roman times of a separate Empire of Britain, as some have stated. The title was purely honorific and not official, and was due to military success and the active support given to the Christian religion by the holder.

E. The introduction of Christianity was the great work of Kent, but Kentish Christianity was very weak, and the ultimate success of the Christian religion was due to Northumbria.

References :

A. *Political History of England to 1066*, pp. 112–29.
C. *The Shaven Crown*, by Bramston, S.P.C.K.

II. **Northumbria,** supreme from about 600–700.

A. Ethelfrith, **593–617.** A heathen king.

(1) Maintained the union of Bernicia and Deira effected by his father Ethelric in **588.**

(2) **603.** By a victory at Dawston defeated Aidan, the Christian King of the Scots, and divided the Welsh of Strathclyde into two divisions.

613. By a victory at Chester separated the Welsh of Wales from the Welsh of Strathclyde.

(3) **617.** Defeated and slain by Redwald of East Anglia in alliance with Ethelfrith's brother-in-law, Edwin of Deira, at the battle of the Idle.

B. Edwin, **617–633.**

(1) The extension of Northumbria.

α. Conquered the Isle of Man and Mona (henceforth Anglesea, i.e. the Angles' isle).
β. Conquered the Britons of Loidis (Leeds and district).
γ. Defeated the West Saxons.
δ. Extended his dominions to the Firth of Forth and built Edinburgh (Edwin's borough).
ε. Recognised as Brytenwealda. Supreme over all England except Kent.

(2) The introduction of Christianity.

Edwin had married Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert of Kent, and allowed Paulinus to preach Christianity in Northumbria. Roman Christianity was accepted by the

Witenagemot and Edwin was baptised at York, **627.** Rapid extension of the new religion owing to Paulinus' teaching.

(3) Edwin's reign a golden age. Peace and order were maintained in Northumbria, so that "a woman with her babe might walk scathless from sea to sea in Edwin's day."

(4) Union of Cadwallon, the Christian King of North Wales, who was anxious to regain his independence and objected to the Roman form of Christianity, with Penda, King of Mercia, the champion of heathendom, who feared the spread of Christianity and of Edwin's power.

633. Edwin defeated and slain at Hatfield, near Doncaster. Temporary ruin of the Northumbrian power, separation of Bernicia and Deira, and end of Roman Christianity in the North.

C. Oswald of Bernicia, son of Ethelfrith, **635–642.**

(1) **634.** Routed Cadwallon at Heavenfield, near Hexham, and thus finally ensured Teutonic supremacy in Northern England.

(2) Union of Bernicia and Deira under Oswald, who ruled with a firm hand from Bamborough, his capital.

(3) The Re-establishment of Christianity.

α. **563.** Foundation of the monastery of Iona by St. Columba, an Irish noble. Subsequent spread of Irish Christianity over Western Scotland.

β. Oswald, after his father's death, found shelter at Iona and accepted the Irish form of Christianity.

γ. Introduction of Irish Christianity, with Oswald's support, into Northumbria by St. Aidan, a monk of Iona, who built a monastery at Holy Island and finally established Christianity in Northumbria.

(4) **642.** Oswald defeated and slain by Penda at Maserfield or Oswestry (Oswald's tree or town). [The site

doubtful, possibly in Shropshire, but some assert it was in Lancashire.]

D. Oswy, brother of Oswald, **642–671.**

(1) The consolidation and extension of his power.

α. **655.** Defeated and slew Penda at Winwoodfield, near Leeds, and thus finally crushed the power of heathendom.

β. Reunited Bernicia and Deira—separated again after Oswestry.

γ. Defeated the Picts and ruled from Aberdeen to the Wash.

δ. Asserted his supremacy over Mercia until the rise of Penda's son Wulfhere.

(2) The Synod of Whitby **664.**

Decision in favour of the adoption of the Roman form of Christianity.

α. Roman Christianity adopted by Kent, East Anglia, and Wessex. Irish by Northumbria, and, less strongly, by Mercia and Essex.

β. Roman Christianity accepted by the whole Christian world except the Irish, Picts, Britons, and some English. A contest between the authority of Columba and Aidan and the great churches of Paris, Rome, and Milan.

γ. Roman Christianity was imperial, urban, episcopal, and well organised on the lines of the Roman Empire. It owed much to the influence of Roman law and laid stress on the corporate unity of the Church. Irish Christianity was monastic, tribal, and loosely organised. More attention was paid to the individual Christian than to the corporate Church. The particular points in dispute were the date of Easter and the method of wearing the tonsure.

δ. Oswy's queen, Eanfled, who had been brought up at the Kentish court, and Wilfrid, Abbot

of Ripon, supported the Roman form, and Oswy gave his decision in its favour because of the "power of the keys" given to St. Peter, and his unwillingness "to offend the saint who is the doorkeeper of heaven."

ε. The final decision was beneficial, although the Irish Church was purer, simpler, and more careless of wealth than the Roman. It brought English Christianity into close connection with the Continental learning. Uniformity of belief and worship was ensured in England, and the unity of the Roman Church, strengthened by the organising power of Theodore of Tarsus, tended to promote unity in the State.

671 Oswy died.

E. Ecfrith, son of Oswy, **671–685**.

(1) He defeated the Picts and the Mercians, but was defeated and slain by the former at Nechtansmere, **685**, by which defeat Northumbria lost all territory north of the Cheviots.

(2) His relations with the Church.

α. Theodore of Tarsus, appointed Archbishop of Canterbury **669**, did great service to the Church by organising and increasing the number of bishopries Hitherto there had been one bishopric to each kingdom and the bishops had been practically royal chaplains. With Ecfrith's approval Theodore divided Wilfrid's Bishopric[1] of York into three bishoprics in spite of Wilfrid's opposition, and thus asserted the supremacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury. (At the National Council of Hertford **673**, Theodore enforced discipline and ensured uniformity in the Church.)

β. Wilfrid, who had gained much influence by his support of Roman Christianity at Whitby,

[1] Wilfrid about 664 was appointed Bishop of York, which became the seat of the episcopate instead of Holy Isle (Lindisfarne) soon after the Synod of Whitby.

strongly opposed the division of his bishopric and was exiled by Ecfrith, who was jealous of his great wealth. (He held the abbeys of Hexham and Ripon). After Ecfrith's death he regained power and was made Bishop of Hexham. His career shows the growing importance of the wealthy ecclesiastical foundations.

γ. Ecfrith had friendly relations with St. Chad, the apostle of the Mercians, whom he appointed Bishop of York, and with St. Cuthbert of Lindisfarne.

F. The importance of Northumbria.

(1) It promoted the cause of Christianity, and the spread of Christianity extended the political power of the Northumbrian kings.

(2) It broke the power of the Britons in the north, and long resisted the pressure from the Picts.

(3) Northumbria had, many great churchmen (Aidan, Wilfrid, Cuthbert, Chad) and scholars, such as the Venerable Bede of Jarrow, the author of the *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, and the poet Caedmon of Whitby. This due largely to the piety and great learning of the Irish Church.

(4) The power of Northumbria was weakened by the jealousy between Bernicia and Deira, which often led to civil war, and by its division by the Cheviots. Its capital, York, was badly placed for consolidation and defence, and the kingdom was commanded by the high mountains of Scotland and Strathclyde. The defeat at Nechtansmere and a succession of weak kings ended its supremacy.

References:

A. *The Making of England*, J. R. Green, chap. VI.

C. *The Son of Aella* and *A Scholar of Lindisfarne*, by G. Hollis, S.P.C.K.

III. **Mercia,** supreme from about 700–800.

An Anglian settlement. Dissensions in Wessex at the end of Ceawlin's reign (560–592) prevented Wessex from checking the extension of Mercia over Leicestershire, Bedfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, and it became very powerful under Penda (Hatfield, 633; Maserfield, 642). After the death of Penda at Winwoodfield, 655, Oswy became overlord of Mercia, but, with the decay of the power of Northumbria, Wulfhere, the Christian son of Penda, regained independence, subdued East Anglia and Essex, and conquered West Saxon territory in the Severn valley.

A. Ethelbald, 716–757.

(1) Early successes. He defeated the West Saxons at Somerton, 733, and established the supremacy of Mercia over all England south of the Humber. Took the title of "Rex Britanniae."

(2) 754. Routed by the West Saxons at Burford. End of Mercian supremacy over Wessex.

B. Offa, 757–796.

(1) The restoration of the power of Mercia.

775. Recovered Essex and Kent by a victory at Otford.

779. Defeated the West Saxons at Bensington (Oxfordshire) and gained Oxfordshire.

779. Defeated the Welsh. Captured Pengwern, now called Shrewsbury (Scrobbesbyrig, the town in the scrub or forest). Extended the Mercian boundary from the Severn to the Wye, and made Offa's dyke from Chester to Chepstow.

794. Annexed East Anglia and beheaded King Ethelbert—the great stain on his memory.

(2) Lichfield was made an archbishopric, 787, with authority over seven southern bishoprics. An attempt to make Mercia ecclesiastically independent of Canterbury. The Archbishopric of Lichfield lasted only until 803.

(3) Offa's importance recognised by Charlemagne, who undertook to protect English pilgrims to Rome from plunder. At Charlemagne's request, Offa sent Alcuin of York to teach the Frankish nobles. Offa himself went to Rome, and levied Peter's Pence in England to maintain an English college in Rome.

C. The Decline of Mercia.

The ultimate supremacy of Mercia was impossible owing to the lack of close union between its constituent tribes, the division of its territory by forests and fens, the permanent hostility of Wessex and the easy access afforded to enemies (especially the Danes) by its rivers.

825. Egbert of Wessex routed the Mercians at Ellandun, in Wilts, and conquered Mercia.

Reference :

A. *The Making of England*, J. R. Green, pp. 418–35.

IV. **Wessex,** supreme from about **800–900.**

The ultimate success of Wessex was due to its steady expansion, the absorption of conquered territory and people, the unity of the West Saxon race, the early development of its administrative, financial, and military organisation, the absence of geographical divisions (like the Cheviots in Northumbria and the forests and fens of Mercia) and the control of London, the commercial, and Canterbury, the ecclesiastical capital of England. Wessex was an upland plain with no higher ground commanding it, and therefore hard to attack. Its capital, Winchester, was well placed, and its Welsh neighbours in Cornwall and Devon were weaker than their kinsmen in Wales and Cumberland.

A Ini, **688–726.**

(1) Ini conquered Somersetshire and built Taunton. He conquered Kent, Essex, and London.

(2) Ini's Laws, published about **693.**

a. Recognised the three-field system, by which the community possessed three districts growing wheat one year, oats the second, and lying

fallow the third. The ceorls, land-owning freemen, possessed and cultivated separate strips of land in each district.

β. Made provision for the protection of forests.

γ. Regulated the amount of weregild payable for murder, according to the status of the murdered man, whether English or Briton.

δ. Show that Wessex was regularly organised into shires and hundreds.

B. Egbert, 802–839.

While Offa lived Wessex was humbled, and Egbert fled from Wessex to Charlemagne's court. After Offa's death he became King of Wessex.

(1) Military successes.

α. Defeated the Welsh of Cornwall. The Tamar now the western boundary of Wessex.

β. **825.** Routed the Mercians at Ellandun, and established his authority over East Anglia, Kent, Essex, and London, previously subject to Mercia. End of the supremacy of Mercia and of the long rivalry between Wessex and Mercia.

γ. Submission of Northumbria without any fighting.

δ. **837.** Egbert defeated the allied forces of the Danes and West Welsh at Hengsdown Hill in Cornwall.

(2) Egbert derived additional power from his friendly relations with the Archbishop of Canterbury.

As the result of the struggle between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, Wessex became supreme, and the power of Wessex was established in time to offer effective resistance to the Danes—a task too great for Mercia or Northumbria. But Egbert, although his suzerainty was recognised by the whole country, did not unite England. The old royal houses continued in Northumbria and Mercia, and the rivalry between different kingdoms weakened the opposition to the Danes.

During the struggle for supremacy, and as the result of the absorption of smaller kingdoms by Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex, the power of the King was greatly increased, the Witenagemot became a royal and not a national council,[1] and the Thegns, originally the King's personal followers, became very important, owing to the large grants of land with which their services were rewarded.

References:

A. *The Making of England*, J. R. Green, pp. 386–93 and 434–6

THE DANES

I. General.

A. The poverty of their country and the growing population made piracy the regular occupation of the younger inhabitants of the united Kingdom of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark ["Northmen" a more accurate term for the early comers than "Danes"], and Europe suffered greatly from their ravages, which extended from Iceland to Antioch, e.g. modern Russia founded by Rurik 862.

[1] Freeman's view (followed by Green) that the Witenagemot was a democratic assembly descended from the German folkmoot described by Tacitus (Stubbs' *Charters*, p. 56, c. 11–12) is now strongly contested. In view of the number of folkmoots in England, it is difficult to derive the Witenagemot from the Wessex folkmoot alone as Freeman does, and the triple division of England into Wessex, Mercia, and the Danelagh precludes the possibility of one folkmoot for the whole country before the Norman Conquest. The English Witenagemot was probably an oligarchic assembly descended from the *concilium principis* of Tacitus, and it acted as the privy council of the King. It numbered usually about thirty, and on great occasions about a hundred. The ex-officio members, e.g. the earldormen and bishops, attended regularly, but the Thegns attended only by special summons. The powers of the Witan were vague and undefined, varying according to the personality of the King. The King was probably not elected by the Witan, but chosen by the other members of the royal family, and accepted by the chief men individually, not acting as "a national council." A grant of folkland (not common land belonging to the people, but land held by folkright, i.e. customary law) was made by the King, and the signatures of members of the Witenagemot found on deeds of transfer are not proofs of the concurrence of that body in the grant, but merely the acts of legal witnesses to the deed.

B. The Northmen were most skilful sailors (their boats had no deck, only one mast, and were only four feet deep) and metalworkers (using the iron of Sweden for their armour and axes). On land they used captured horses to facilitate rapid movement, and strengthened their position by cleverly constructed earthworks.

C. England was an easy prey, owing to disunion, lack of an organised army, navy, and strong forts, easy access into the interior by rivers.

D. The treasures of the churches and monasteries were a great attraction to the pagan Northmen.

II. **The Danish Attack.**

A. The period of plundering raids followed by speedy return home. Early Danish attacks on Ireland (Danish settlements founded later at Dublin and Waterford) and Western Scotland.

c. **790.** First attack on Wessex.

793. The Danes attacked Northumbria.

837. The Danes in alliance with the West Welsh defeated by Egbert at Hengsdown Hill.

845. Defeated by Osric the Earldorman and Eahlstan Bishop of Sherborne at the mouth of the Parret.

852. Defeated at Ockley (Surrey) by Ethelwulf.

B. The period of raids followed by settlement in England, due to the growing power of the Frankish kings which made attacks on Frankish lands more difficult, and of central authority in Denmark restraining turbulent nobles.

855. The Danes wintered in Sheppey. The first winter they spent in England.

Attacks on various kingdoms.

(1) **867.** Conquest of Deira by Halfdene. York the Danish capital. Yorkshire shows more traces of Danish occupation than other parts of England in dialect, in the political division into ridings and wapentakes, in place names, and in the physical characteristics of the people.

(2) **868.** The Danes attacked Mercia.

(3) **870.** Conquest of East Anglia. The Chronicle states that Saint Edmund was slain in battle (not shot by Danish archers as legend asserts).

(4) **871.** "The year of battles." First attack on Wessex from a fortified camp at Reading. Victories of Alfred at Ashdown and Wilton. Failure of the Saxons to prevent the retreat of the defeated Danes to Reading, but owing to these defeats the Danes withdrew from Wessex.

(5) **874.** Conquest of Mercia.

(6) **875.** Conquest of Bernicia by Halfdene.

(7) Second attack on Wessex.

877. Flight of Alfred to Athelney (where he did *not* burn the cakes).

877. The Danes defeated at Exeter. Their leader Ubba slain.

878. Repeated attacks on Wessex from the Danish Camp at Chippenham. The Danes routed at Ethandune and the camp at Chippenham captured by Alfred. The capture of their base of operations led to the withdrawal of the Danes from Wessex according to the terms of the Treaty of Wedmore. Guthrum became a Christian.

(8) Third attack on Wessex.

886. Alfred routed Guthrum, who had broken the Treaty of Wedmore, captured London, and made "Alfred and Guthrum's peace," which fixed the boundary of the Danelagh "On the Thames, along the Lea to Bedford and along the Watling Street to Chester."

By this treaty Alfred gained London, Middlesex, and part of Mercia in addition to Wessex, which he had secured in 878. The loss of the rest of England and the division of England into two parts was inevitable, but did not greatly weaken the power of Wessex, which had had little real power over

the lands now included in the Danelagh. But the recognition of the Danes as owners of the Danelagh aggravated a difference which had long existed between the Anglian North and Saxon (including Jutish) South.

(9) Final attack of the Danes under Hastings due to the return from the Continent of the remains of the Danish army (routed by Arnulf at Louvain 891) helped by the Danes of the Danelagh.

894. The Danes routed at Buttington (Montgomeryshire) by the West Saxons, Mercians, and North Welsh.

897. Capture of the Danish ships in the Lea by the Londoners.

III. **Effects of the Early Danish Attacks.**

A. England was divided into two parts, West Saxon territory and the Danelagh.

B. The supremacy of Wessex—the nucleus of English union—was ensured by the destruction of the Kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia and East Anglia.

C. The further growth of the kingly power and of the importance of the Thegns owing to war. The free landowning "Ceorls" become villeins through "commending" their lands to the Thegns in return for protection from the Danes. Consequent growth of Anglo-Saxon feudalism, especially after the issue of Athelstan's law that every landless man should come under the protection of a lord.

D. Overthrow of Christianity, destruction of churches and monasteries by the heathen Danes.

E. Infusion of Teutonic blood and introduction of Danish words wapentake, riding, place names in by, thwaite, thorpe.

F. Development of the foreign policy of English kings through fear of the Danes.

856. Attempt of Ethelwulf to form an alliance with Charles the Bald, King of the Franks.

925–36. Alliance of Athelstan with the Holy Roman Emperor Otto the Great and Hugh Duke of Paris.

G. Impetus given to English maritime development
   1. By necessity of shipbuilding to resist the Danes (e.g. by Alfred).
   2. By the infusion of viking blood.

H. Growth of towns.
   1. "Burhs" built by Edward I and Ethelfleda to withstand the Danes.
   2. Growth of trade with Scandinavia, especially in the days of Canute.
   3. The Danes showed great capacity for municipal development, e.g. in the Danish Boroughs.

Reference:

C. *A Thane of Wessex* and *King Alfred's Viking*, C. W. Whistler, Blackie and Nelson.

ALFRED THE GREAT

Born 848, at Wantage. Youngest son of Ethelwulf. Excellently trained by his mother Osburga, but the story of his learning to read at the age of six is incorrect, although he could read at the age of twelve. Twice taken to Rome in childhood. Became King 871, died 901.[1]

I. A Successful Warrior.
   A. He saved Wessex by his victories at Ashdown (871) and Ethandune (878), and enabled Wessex to prevent the Danes from conquering the whole of England.
   B. By his victory over Guthrum in 886 he added Middlesex, London, and Southern Mercia to Wessex.
   C. Repulsed the attack of the Danes under Hastings (893–897).

II. Organised and developed the military power of England.
   A. Built forts.
   B. Organised a navy. "King Alfred bade build long ships against the ashes" [the Danish viking ships].
   C. Organised the fyrd, the national army. Half to fight and half to remain at home. The value of this work was shown by the comparative ease with which Hastings was defeated.

[1] 901 is generally given as the date of Alfred's death. Probably the correct date is 899.

III. Gave strong encouragement to learning, religion, and civilisation, which had suffered greatly through the Danish attacks. This part of Alfred's work was rendered possible by the peace he gave to Wessex.

A. Learning.

(1) Ordered the compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

(2) Invited to his court scholars such as Asser the Welshman, Plegmund the Mercian (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), Grimbald the Frank, and John the Old Saxon.

(3) Translated, with their help, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, the *History of Orosius* (in which he incorporated an account of Othere's voyage to the far North), the *Consolation of Philosophy*, by Boethius.

(4) Founded schools.

B. Religion.

(1) Founded churches and monasteries.

(2) Translated Pope Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis* (duty of a pastor) for the instruction of the clergy.

C. Civilisation and trade benefited by the encouragement of Alfred, who patronised merchants and explorers (e.g. Othere) and brought foreign craftsmen into England.

IV. A Great Lawgiver.

He re-enacted Ini's Laws, but modified them by applying much of the Mosaic Law and the teachings of Christianity. His laws inflict less severe punishments than those of Ini, and this was due partly to the "mild-heartedness" of the King and partly to the rise in value of the precious metals owing to the Danish ravages and the consequent decrease in the amount of fines inflicted. He recognised the importance of the folkmoots, but his recognition of the right of private war on failure of justice showed that the central power could not afford justice in all cases.

V. A devout Christian, consciously aiming at the moral and material improvement of his people and carrying on his great work in spite of continuous illness. Called "Wessex's Darling" by the Chronicler.

References:

A. *The Conquest of England*, by J. R. Green, chap. IV.

B. *God Save King Alfred*, by Gilliat, Macmillan.

THE DANES—ALFRED TO EDGAR

The conquest of the Danelagh imperative. At every crisis in Wessex the Danes attacked. They supported pretenders to the West Saxon throne, e.g. Ethelwald against Edward the Elder. The tenth century saw the conquest of the Danelagh, the extension of West Saxon power, the completion of Alfred's work, and the recovery of England for the English. During this century the Anglo-Saxon monarchy attained its highest point of power.

I. **Edward the Elder** (901 925).

A. Attack on the Danelagh. He "abandoned the older strategy of battle and raid for that of siege and fortress building." Ethelfleda, Lady of the Mercians, attacked the Danelagh, conquered the five Danish boroughs (a confederacy with separate earls and separate hosts), built forts at Derby and Leicester. She conquered the Welsh (built forts at Chirk and Brecon), and strengthened her power on the border (built forts at Shrewsbury and Bridgenorth). Died 918.

Edward the Elder completed his sister's work. He conquered the East Midlands (built a fort at Bedford); Essex; Lincs (built a fort at Stamford); Notts (built a fort at Nottingham); S. Lancs (built a fort at Manchester).

Thus forts extended from the Blackwater to the Lea, Lea to Ouse, Ouse to Dee and Mersey.

B. Edward was actual King up to the Humber and Overlord of North Wales, Northumbria, and Strathclyde. The King of the Scots acknowledged him as "father and lord," and the subjection of Scotland, asserted later, was incorrectly based upon this, although the acknowledgment meant only that the Scots were the subject allies of Edward the Elder *himself*, and no more.

II. **Athelstan became "Lord of the whole of Britain" 925–940.**

A. Development of foreign policy, partly through common danger from the Danes. His sisters married Otto the Great (Holy Roman Emperor), Charles the Simple (King of the Franks), and Hugh the Great, Duke of Paris. Louis d'Outremer, son of Charles the Simple, took refuge in Athelstan's court, also Hakon, afterwards King of Norway.

B. The growing power of Athelstan led to the combination of two Christian and two heathen kings—"a determined attempt to ruin Wessex"—formed by Constantine, King of the Scots, together with the King of Strathclyde and two heathen Danish kings from Ireland, where the Danes had become very strong. Routed at Brunan-
937. burgh [probably in Dumfriesshire, possibly Cheshire, not Bourne, in Lincolnshire, as some suggest].

C. Athelstan supreme over England, with vague authority over all Britain. "Rex Anglorum curegulus totius Britanniæ." Also took the title of Basileus. Subordinate Kings of Wales and Scotland attended his court and attested his charters.

D. Domestic Policy.

(1) Public order was maintained. In London the Frith Guild, a voluntary association of men in hundreds and tithings, provided for the mutual defence of its members and the pursuit of thieves.

(2) Extension of the shire system of Wessex to Mercia and East Anglia.

III. **Edmund and Edred.**

945. Edmund ravaged Cumberland and let it to Malcolm, King of Scotland, on condition "that he should be his fellow-worker both on sea and land." This did not involve the supremacy of England over Scotland, but was merely an acknowledgment of subordination to Edmund.

954. Rising of the Danes of the North against Edred. Attempt to establish Eric of Norway as King of Northumbria, supported by Wulfstan, Archbishop of York (a Dane), whose accession to the archbishopric shows the growing fusion of Danes and Saxons. Failed. Final end of the separate kingdom of Northumbria, which was now given to Oslac as Earl, not King, and completion of the submission of the country to Wessex—the work of Alfred's house. Therefore

IV. Edgar the Pacific was "Cæsar totius Britanniæ." The story of the seven kings who rowed King Edgar's boat probably true (but may have happened at Caerlon-upon-Usk rather than Chester), and involved an acknowledgment of his supremacy.

References:

A. *Conquest of England*, by J. R. Green, chap. v.
B. *Battle of Brunanburgh*, Tennyson.
C. *Thorstein of the Mere*, by Collingwood, E. Arnold

DUNSTAN, A.D. c. 925–988

I. Early Life.

Born at Glastonbury about 925, of good family. Cruelly treated by the young nobles at Athelstan's court, and therefore retired to Glastonbury, where he became a monk. Made Abbot of Glastonbury by Edmund. Exiled by Edwy, whose marriage with his cousin he had opposed, but recalled by Edgar, who made him Bishop of Worcester and London. 960–988 he was Archbishop of Canterbury and the leading man in England.

II. **Ecclesiastical Policy.**

A. A great moral reformer. Insisted on the strict Benedictine rule which had been established at the Abbey of Clugny in Aquitaine (poverty, chastity, obedience, silence, long fasts). He expelled from the monasteries the "canonici" (an inferior order not bound to renounce property), and restored Benedictine regular monks. Strongly opposed the marriage of the clergy, and compelled many married secular clergy (parish priests) to put away their wives. Restored much Church property to the monasteries.

B. A patron of learning and a great teacher. He helped the Church to recover from the effects of the Danish ravages.

III. **Dunstan's Political Work.**

His influence was supreme under Edred and Edgar, and he was largely responsible for the policy of these kings.

A. The Danes, **954.** Rising in Northumbria (under Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, aiming at the establishment of a Danish kingdom) crushed, but the government of Northumbria entrusted to Oslac, a Dane, "as earl, not king."

But Dunstan allowed much independence of law and custom to the Danelagh, and established earldoms which tended to perpetuate the national jealousy of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

B. In Wessex he established firm government. The hundred courts were reorganised.

C. A fleet was equipped to guard the coast.

D. Commerce was encouraged.

IV. **The Importance and Character of Dunstan.**

A. A great ecclesiastical statesman, like Becket and Wolsey. He did much to ensure the general recognition of Edgar the Pacific (e.g. by the kings who rowed him on the Dee), but the growing power of the great nobles and the continuance of local jealousy were sure to lead to disunion under a weak king. This was shown during Dunstan's life.

(1) The quarrel between Dunstan and Edwy was due largely to quarrels between the King and his thegns.

(2) The murder of Edward the Martyr was probably due to some obscure difference between political parties.

The general chaos that followed Dunstan's death shows the value of his work in maintaining peace and order, but his action in setting up great earldoms introduced an element of division which greatly weakened England.

B. A great craftsman. A painter, harpist, designer, organ builder, and architect. The story that he contrived an accident by which his opponents were killed by the fall of part of a room at the council of Calne is quite untrue. Owing to his skill as a craftsman and to his somewhat nervous and hysterical temperament his enemies believed that he was aided by the Devil.

C. In spite of his stern measures in the cause of ecclesiastical reform he was probably a genial and lovable man, not harsh and cruel as has been generally supposed.

References:

A. *The Conquest of England*, by J. R. Green, pp. 317–58.

C. *Edwy the Fair*, by Crake, Longmans, Green, and Co.

CONQUEST BY THE DANES OF THE WEST SAXON KINGDOM

I. **Decline of the Power of the Royal West Saxon House.**

A. The development of Wessex was marked by centralisation without concentration. Local jealousy (especially between Mercia and Wessex) continued and united opposition to the Danes became impossible.

B. Later West Saxon kings were unable to give strong leadership.

(1) The seeds of decay were probably sown in Edgar's pacific reign, when a considerable measure of local government was given to various parts of the country.

(2) Edward the Martyr died young, probably the victim of his step-mother's hatred.

(3) Ethelred II the Unready (Redeless—the man who lacked good advice) was utterly incompetent. He showed an unrivalled genius for failure, and was sensual and degraded. The old royal stock of Cerdic was becoming exhausted. Ethelred

α. Failed to make a navy, to reorganise the fyrd, to unite the forces of the thegns into a national army.

β. By attempting to buy off the Danes by money raised by the Danegeld, he excited their cupidity and impoverished the country.[1]

991. Paid them £10,000.

994. Bought off Sweyn and Olaf Trygvasson, King of Norway, for £10,000.

Dr. Hodgkin estimates the total paid as equivalent to upwards of £8,500,000 in modern money.

γ. **1002.** The massacre of St. Brice's day. "Not only a crime, but a blunder." Probably limited to the Danes settled in Wessex and very doubtful if, even there, there was a general massacre of women and children.

[1] The first levy of the Danegeld in 991 was used to hire a mercenary army of Danes to fight their own countrymen and not, as afterwards, as a bribe to induce them to withdraw from England. The Danegeld, the only direct tax of its time in Western Europe, was a land tax of, usually, a few shillings on the hide. It helped to depress the small landholding freemen (ceorls) into villeins, and was a most valuable source of revenue to the king. It lasted until 1164, and in Ethelred II's time aided the development of the central government owing to the growth of the importance of the royal "Hoarder" (Treasurer), whose office was reorganised in order to deal with the collection and management of this tax.

II. **Great Growth in the Power of the Ealdormen.** The original ealdormen were the governors, for the King, of the shires of Wessex; later the ealdorman became the governor of a province comprising several shires—he presided in the various shire courts, led the shire levies, had certain official rights (e.g. to the "third penny" of the fines of the shire courts), and held official lands in addition to his large private estates. The ealdormen tended to become the private owners of their province, and their power, greatly increased by the policy of Dunstan, made them too strong to be controlled by weak kings, whose representatives they nominally were.

III. **The Weakness of the Fyrd** owing to the great depression of the agricultural population. It could have been made strong by thorough reorganisation and good leadership, as was shown by

(1) The gallant fight of the followers of Brythnoth at Maldon, **991**, although the majority of the Essex fyrd fled.

(2) The victory of Ulfketyl at Thetford, **1004**.

(3) The strong defence of London, **994** and **1009**.

IV. **The Navy generally neglected.** Although in **1008** a new navy, raised by a ship tax—the precursor of later ship-money—was collected by Ethelred, it utterly failed owing to treachery to check the Danes. The coasts were left unguarded, and in **987** the Danes again began their invasions, which had ceased since Alfred's day.

V. **After the retirement of Dunstan the Church lost ground.**

VI. **The organisation of Denmark** (under Sweyn), Norway (under Olaf Trygvasson) and Sweden (under Olaf) into separate kingdoms made more dangerous the Danish attacks, which were now far better organised. Sweyn, in **1013**, changed his policy and aimed at the definite conquest of the country instead of plundering raids.

VII. **The Danes of the Danelagh** friendly to the invaders, e.g. **1013** Northumbria speedily submitted to Sweyn, who had landed in the Humber.

VIII. The resistance to the Danes was weakened somewhat by the attacks of the Welsh on Mercia.

IX. **The Course of the Conquest.**

991. Defeat of the Essex fyrd at Maldon. First payment of Danegeld.

994. Successful defence of London. The Danes (Sweyn and Olaf Trygvasson) withdrew on further payment.

998. The Danes settled in the Isle of Wight.

999. The Danes ravaged Kent. The failure of the English fleet may have been due to treachery.

1002. Massacre of St. Brice's Day.

1004. The victory of Ulfketyl at Thetford saved Norfolk for a time.

1008. Failure of a new navy raised by a ship-tax.

1012. Murder of Alphege, Archbishop of Canterbury.

1013. Sweyn became King.

1015–16. Gallant resistance of Edmund Ironside, a worthy descendant of Cerdic. Defeat of the Danes at Brentford; Edmund defeated by the Danes at Assandun owing to the treachery of Edric Streona. Partition of the country between Edmund and Canute.

1016. Death of Edmund. Probably due to natural causes and neither to the treachery of Edric, nor to Canute's orders, as there is no contemporary suggestion of foul play.

References:

A. *The Political History of England to 1066*, by Dr. Hodgkin, chap. XXII.

C. *King Olaf's Kinsman* and *Wulfric the Weapon Thane* Whistler, Blackie.

CANUTE, 1016–1035

Canute (son of Sweyn, who died **1014**) was defeated by Edmund Ironside at Brentford, won a great victory over Edmund at Assandun in Essex, owing to the treachery of Edric Streona, and became King of all England on the death of Edmund, **1016**.

I. **The Settlement of the Country.**

A. Canute strengthened the royal power.

(1) He raised a standing army of some five thousand huscarls devoted to himself.

(2) He nominated earls for Northumbria, East Anglia, and Mercia, but at first retained Wessex in his own hands.

(3) Married Emma, widow of Ethelred II and sister of Richard the Fearless, Duke of Normandy, and thus lessened the danger of attack from the Continent.

B. Crushed the family of Ethelred the Unready.

(1) Slew Edwy, the brother of Edmund Ironside.

(2) Sent the two sons of Edmund to the King of Sweden and asked him to murder them. They escaped to Hungary, where Edward the Outlaw married King Solomon's sister and became the father of Edgar the Atheling.

(3) Slew Edric Streona (Ethelred's son-in-law) "very justly."

C. Canute tried to rule as an English king, not as a foreigner.

(1) Sent the Danish army away.

(2) Revived Edgar's laws and made them binding on Englishmen and Danes.

(3) Made Godwin Earl of Wessex and Leofwine Earl of Mercia. Restored the old English line in Northumbria.

(4) Enlisted faithful Englishmen as well as Danes in the "huscarls."

(5) Canute's chapel clerks, originally household officials, were organised as a department of State, and dealt with the issue and drafting of royal writs and charters. The beginning of the "Chancery," which was at first a secretarial and not a judicial department.

D. He gave England peace, which, with the exception of the Norman conquest, lasted two hundred years. The scarcity of facts of domestic history in his reign is a sure proof of the peace of his later years, which made his visit to Rome possible. During this time churches were built and the bones of St. Alphege translated to Canterbury. Fair taxes were levied, justice administered, part of the Fens was drained, and trade prospered greatly.

II. **Canute's Foreign Policy.**

A. He wished to make England the centre of a Northern Empire. He added Norway to Denmark and England by the defeat of St. Olaf in **1028**. His authority acknowledged by the Norwegian nobles whom the bribes of "Canute the Rich" had won over.

B. **1018.** Malcolm of Scotland routed the Northumbrians at Carham, gained Lothian, and finally fixed the Cheviots as the boundary between England and Scotland. But in **1031** Malcolm acknowledged Canute's supremacy. (This merely an acknowledgment of Canute personally and not of his successors.)

C. **1026.** Canute's visit to Rome. [Edward VII the next English King to visit Rome.] Was present at the coronation of the Holy Roman Emperor Conrad II in **1027.**

Made agreements with the Pope and Emperor by which

(1) The fees payable by Archbishops going to Rome for the pallium[1] were limited.

(2) Customs dues paid by English merchants were lowered.

[1] The pallium was a tippet of white wool which was a sign of the Pope's acceptance of a newly appointed Archbishop.

(3) Canute undertook to enforce the strict payment in England of Peter's Pence and tithes.

(4) His daughter Gunhilda was betrothed to Conrad's son Henry (afterward the Emperor Henry III).

(5) The Eider was recognised as the boundary between Germany and Denmark. [This boundary altered by the conquest of Schleswig-Holstein by Prussia, 1864.]

III. **Canute's Character and the Value of his Work.**

A. Character. Like Octavian and Henry V his character improved with success.

(1) In early life he was cruel and ruthless.

1013. Cut off hands and noses of hostages.

1016. Tried to ensure the murder of Edmund's sons

1025. Had his brother-in-law Ulf treacherously murdered.

(2) Later he showed himself a just, moderate, and pious ruler.

B. His work.

(1) The union of England, Norway, and Denmark, and the closer connection with the Continent, greatly stimulated trade. London became the entrepôt for goods from Northern Europe and the Mediterranean.

(2) The division of England into earldoms revived the old jealousies of the Saxon kingdoms and increased the tendency to disruption owing to the growing power of the great magnates. The union of England not restored until the Norman Conquest.

(3) He brought into prominence the family of Godwin, destined to defend England against the Normans.

References:

A. *The Conquest of England*, by J. R. Green, chap. IX.

B. J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 66–7.

C. *Alfgar the Dane*, by Crake, Longmans, Green, and Co.

THE FAMILY OF GODWIN

I. **Godwin.**

A. Deputy of King Canute.

Not a cowherd's son, as sometimes stated, but of good family. A successful warrior. Gained the favour of King Canute, who made him Earl of Wessex (previously kept by the King). Acted as deputy for Canute when he visited Denmark, and married Gytha, Canute's cousin. At first he was regarded as a Dane rather than a Saxon, although later he became the champion of the English. (Cf. Simon de Montfort, page 129.)

B. The Kingmaker.

On the death of Canute, Godwin at first supported Hardicanute (son of Canute and Emma), but finally united with Mercia and Northumbria to ensure the succession of Harold Harefoot, and was cognisant of, if not an accomplice in, the blinding of Alfred, son of Ethelred the Unready. Godwin supported the election of Edward the Confessor, and compelled the Queen Dowager Emma to desist from interference with the government.

C. Godwin supreme.

(1) He possessed great influence over Edward the Confessor, a weak, saintly King, who married Godwin's daughter Edith. Godwin "ruled the King and all England."

(2) Godwin and his family were supreme over all England south of a line from the Wash to Bristol.

α. Godwin, Earl of Wessex and Kent; Harold, Earl of East Anglia and Essex; Sweyn held Hereford, Gloucester, Somerset, and Berkshire; Beorn, nephew of Godwin, held Derby.

β. Godwin's power led to a revival of the old jealousy of Wessex, shown by Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and Siward the Bear, Earl of Northumbria.

D. Godwin's anti-Norman policy.

Edward had been brought up in Normandy and after his accession showed great favour to the Normans, making his nephew Ralph Earl of Hereford and Robert of Jumièges Archbishop of Canterbury. Consequent danger that the Normans would oppress the common people and prevent the English from obtaining the chief positions. Godwin, partly through selfish, partly through patriotic motives, strongly opposed the growth of Norman influence, and made an alliance with Flanders against the Normans.

E. Godwin's banishment.

Godwin, as Earl of Kent, refused to punish the citizens of Dover for an attack on Edward's brother-in-law, Eustace of Boulogne.

1051. Godwin subsequently expelled by the Witan, probably for opposition to King Edward and for complicity in the murder of Alfred. His expulsion due not only

1. To the King's anger at his anti-Norman policy, but also
2. To the fear of Godwin's family, e.g. Sweyn had carried off the Abbess of Leominster and murdered his cousin Beorn.
3. To the old jealousy of Wessex. Leofric and Siward supported the King.

During Godwin's absence William of Normandy visited Edward, who is said to have promised him the crown.

F. Godwin's return.

The support of Kent and London, and of Stigand, enabled Godwin to return. The Normans fled, and Stigand was made Archbishop of Canterbury, although

1. Robert of Jumièges was alive.
2. The Antipope Benedict X gave Stigand the pallium, and thus his position as Primate was weakened owing to lack of support of the orthodox Pope.

1053. Godwin died of apoplexy (not choked by sacred bread as the Normans asserted).

II. **Harold Godwinson.**

A. Harold's visit to William of Normandy, 1064 (?).

(1) The facts are very obscure. It is doubtful if Harold's visit was accidental or due to shipwreck, or whether, as some have held, he visited William to secure the release of some friends captured by William, or to inform William that he was to succeed Edward. (This last most improbable, as William could not succeed without the consent of the Witan, which had not been obtained.)

(2) Harold knighted for service given to William in a war against Brittany. But it is doubtful whether he promised to marry William's daughter Adela or whether he took an oath of homage to William, and how far such an oath, if taken, was due to compulsion.

B. Harold's accession.

(1) Harold was of royal blood, his mother being a cousin of Canute, and Harold himself first cousin of Sweyn, King of Denmark.

(2) A strong ruler needed. The house of Cerdic was very weak, and had been passed over at the accession of Canute.

(3) Pope Alexander II approved of William's expedition because

α. It was considered that Harold had broken his oath, and that William was the legal successor of Edward the Confessor.

β. Harold had married Aldgyth (widow of Gryffydd of Wales, and granddaughter of Leofric of Mercia), and not Adela of Normandy.

γ. He feared that, if Harold succeeded, Archbishop Stigand (ordained by the Antipope Benedict X) would weaken the connection between Rome and England, and make it difficult to check the predominance of the secular priests and the marriage of the clergy, to both of which, as an ardent supporter of the Cluniac reformation, he was strongly opposed.

δ. William's expedition was thus a "crusade."

C. The Battle of Hastings.

I. Harold's bad luck.

α. Harold collected a great fleet at the Isle of Wight to oppose William. Contrary winds delayed William's arrival, and the English fleet, greatly damaged by storms, had to be dispersed.

β. Harold was compelled to march north at a critical time to check Harold Hardrada (the ally of his exiled brother Tostig, Earl of Northumbria), who had defeated the English at Fulford. Victory of Harold at Stamford Bridge, where Tostig and Harold Hardrada were slain. Owing to Harold's absence in the north William landed unopposed at Pevensey, and made a strong camp at Hastings.

γ. Harold was unable to secure the help of the Northumbrians (many of whom had been slain at Fulford) and Mercians at Hastings. He had to depend on the men of Wessex, East Anglia, and London, and his troops consisted largely of peasants.

II. The battle.

(1) The English took up a good position on a hill. Their position strengthened by a ditch and perhaps a palisade. (The character of the latter doubtful. Some say it was a regular stockade, others merely the wooden shields of the English. It may have been a rough fence intended to check cavalry.)

(2) William won, in spite of the brave resistance of the English, because

α. He was stronger in archers and cavalry.

β. By feigning flight he drew the English from their position.

γ. After the death of Harold and his brothers there were no leaders able to direct the English forces (and the lack of competent leaders explains the absence of a strong opposition to the Normans after Hastings).

δ. His archers shot upwards and the arrows fell on the heads of the English.

D. King Harold.

I. Considerable military skill.

α. 1063. He conquered the Welsh, and the peaceful state of Wales under the Normans was partly due to him.

β. His marches to Stamford Bridge, and subsequently to Hastings, were effected with great rapidity.

γ. The disposition of his forces at Senlac was excellent.

II. His power was weakened

α. By the growing independence of Mercia and Northumbria, due partly to his conciliatory policy.

β. By doubts as to the regularity of his succession.

γ. By his support of Stigand.

The attempt of the house of Godwin to keep England for the English failed. Its failure was fortunate, for England benefited greatly by the Norman Conquest.

References :

A. "The Oath of Harold." Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, Vol. III, pp. 240–54. "The Character of Harold." *Conquest of England*, Appendix 2.

"The Battle of Hastings." Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, Vol. III, pp. 450-507.

C. *Harold*, by Lord Lytton.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

I. **From the Battle of Hastings to the Coronation of William I.**

A. Edgar Atheling, son of Edward the Outlaw and grandson of Edmund Ironside, accepted as King by the magnates.

B. William captured Dover (to ensure connection with the Continent) and Canterbury. Winchester submitted.

C. William crossed the Thames at Wallingford and fixed his camp at Berkhampstead, thus isolating London and securing command of the roads from the north.

D. The magnates, seeing that further resistance was useless, offered the crown to William. Submission of Edgar Atheling and Edwin and Morcar, who had fled from London on William's approach.

E. December 25th, **1066**. William I crowned by Aldred, Archbishop of York (not by Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury), in Westminster Abbey, with all the old ritual and ceremony.

F. William granted a charter to London. A wise act which gained the strong support of the Londoners.

II. **Saxon Risings against William.**

All of these were local movements. The lack of capable Saxon leaders prevented any combined national opposition.

Due generally not to opposition to William's rule, but to the cruelty of his representatives.

A. **1067**. Rebellion in Hereford and Kent owing to the oppression of William's half brother, Odo of Bayeux, and FitzOsbern, who acted as regents during his absence in Normandy.

B. **1068**. Exeter, where Harold's mother had taken refuge, captured.

C. **1068**. Defeat of Edwin and Morcar, conquest of Mercia, capture of York.

D. **1069**. General revolt in Northumbria under Waltheof, in alliance with Sweyn, King of Denmark, Edgar Atheling, and Malcolm Canmore, of Scotland. York captured; its Norman garrison slain.

At the same time the Welsh rose in the west. The revolt crushed.

1. No help came from Scotland.
2. William bribed Sweyn to withdraw the Danish fleet from the Humber.
3. William captured York and utterly laid waste the country from York to the Tees; 100,000 people perished, agriculture was ruined, and the district remained a desert for several centuries. The sentence "Hoc est wasta" repeatedly occurs in the Yorkshire entries in Domesday Book. "The Harrying of the North."

4. **1070.** William captured Chester and, in spite of great difficulties, led an expedition to North Wales.
5. Establishment of the earldoms of Chester and Shrewsbury to check the Welsh, and of the Palatine Bishopric of Durham to check the Scotch.

E. **1071.** Edwin killed. Hereward the Wake and Morcar submitted to William, who captured their Camp of Refuge at Ely.

Conquests secured by the erection of the Tower of London and castles at Exeter, York, Chester.

F. **1072.** William invaded Scotland. Malcolm Canmore paid homage. Submission to William of Edgar Atheling.

William had no more trouble with the English, who soon became his strong supporters through fear of the Norman barons. This alliance between King and people protected English liberty by checking the dangerous power of the barons.

References:

A. "The Harrying of the North." Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, Vol. IV, pp. 287–95.

C. *Hereward the Wake*, by Kingsley, Macmillan.

THE EFFECTS OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST

I. **England was United under one strong Ruler.**

"It was through community of suffering that the English race learned unity."

A. Lack of union under later Saxon kings.

1. The Danish invasions led to the development of the local power of great nobles for the defence of their own locality.
2. Continuance of mutual jealousy between Wessex, Northumbria, and Mercia. This was aggravated by the growth of the local power of the ealdormen and by Canute's earldoms, and appeared as a factor in the opposition to Godwin in 1051, and in the failure of the Northumbrians and Mercians to help Harold at Hastings.

3. The tendency to disunion increased by the feebleness of later kings of the line of Cerdic, and by the moral decline of the people. Probable seeds of decline even under Edgar. Ethelred the Unready and Edward the Confessor were types of a worn-out stock.

B. The Norman kings were very powerful and able to ensure obedience throughout the country. The power of the Norman kings helped the cause of English liberty by checking the power of the barons at a time when the people were too weak to assert their own rights. Their power due :—

1. To their position as supreme rulers and universal landlords.
2. To the development of a centralised system of government depending upon the King.
3. To the limitation of the power of the barons.
4. To the support of the English after 1072, and of the Church.
5. To the absence of united, national resistance.

C. England was thus saved from the disunion which continued in Germany until the nineteenth century, but the union of England, owing to the later combination of people and nobles, did not lead to despotic monarchy as in France.

II. The Development and Organisation of the Feudal System.

A. Anglo-Saxon Feudalism.

Due mainly to the practice of "commendation," by which small landowners surrendered their land to great nobles (Thegns) in return for protection from the Danes, receiving the land back as tenants. The Thegns exercised judicial power in the manorial courts : but, although the manorial courts sometimes usurped the powers of the local courts, the Anglo-Saxon system was economic rather than political, and land was held, not by military service, but by "customary" regulations. The authority of the Thegns was limited by the facts that

1. The King was the source of all justice.
2. The free shire and hundred courts continued, and were open to all.

3. All Englishmen, whether holding of a Thegn or not, owed allegiance to the King.

But the four earldoms established by King Canute in 1017 gave to their holders far greater power than that of the Thegns, and might have led to a feudal system like that of France if they had lasted long.

B. Feudalism in France.

In France feudalism tended to prevent national unity, and the great nobles, such as the Dukes of Normandy, retained sovereign rights. They exercised supreme judicial authority, exacted an oath of allegiance from all their freemen (who were thus compelled to support their feudal lord against his and their suzerain, the King of France, in case of war), made war, concluded foreign alliances, and issued their own coinage. In Normandy feudalism supplied the machinery of government, and formed the bond of connection between the Duke and his people. The early French kings, although, like the kings of England, they were in theory the suzerains of all their subjects, failed to make that suzerainty a reality.

C. William I and the feudal system in England.

(1) General arrangement.

α. William retained the Anglo-Saxon manorial system.

β. But added a new element by making feudalism a system of land tenure as well as an economic system. The whole country was bound together by the tie of land tenure. The King owned all the land and all men

1. Held their land as tenants of the King.
2. Were bound to serve the King in war in return for the land they held.

γ. The condition of land tenure affected other public work, e.g. the members of the Curia Regis attended, "not because they were great men of Church and State, but because they had entered into a private obligation with the King to attend when called upon as a return for the lands he had given them."

δ. William did not use the feudal system to govern the country. The earldormen were superseded, and the government was entrusted more and more to the royal servants.

(2) The division of the land.

α. The King was the sole landowner and made grants of lands to his Norman followers. The lands of Harold's supporters (Wessex and East Anglia) were confiscated and divided first, on the ground of their treason in opposing the rightful king. The English who accepted William's rule 'redeemed" their lands, i.e. received them back from the King on payment of a relief.

Large grants were made not only to the Palatine earls and bishops (Chester, Shrewsbury, Durham, and Kent), who needed large forces to protect the frontiers, but to others (e.g. Cornwall was given to Robert of Mortain, William's cousin). But the danger of combination between the barons was lessened by the grant of holdings in different parts of the country (e.g. Robert of Mortain received also a large grant in the North Riding). This was probably due not to definite policy, but to the gradual conquest of the country.

β. The feudal system completed by the further grant of land to sub-tenants by tenants-in-chief.

England was divided into about 60,000 knights' fees, each worth about £20 per annum, and liable to supply one fully armed knight to serve the King for forty days in each year. This account is based on a statement of Ordericus Vitalis, but Mr. Round (whose theory is now generally accepted) disputes its accuracy. He contends that the Conqueror enfeoffed his tenants-in-chief by a verbal agreement, and on a personal basis

and not on a territorial basis of knight service. The estate of the tenant-in-chief had to supply a certain number of knights to serve the King, but he could hire these knights for a money payment or pay them by grants of land as he pleased. Thus every knight did not necessarily hold a knight's fee, although every knight owed service directly to the King.

γ. In addition to military service, money payments had to be made by the grantee to the grantor of land at irregular intervals, but the King, as owner of the body and land of every tenant, had a prior claim on these "Feudal Incidents" if he cared to exercise it. These "Feudal Incidents"[1] included

1. Three "Aids" payable to ransom the lord's person from captivity, on the marriage of his eldest daughter, and the knighting of his eldest son.
2. Reliefs, or succession duties.
3. Wardship. The lord's right of guardianship over a tenant during minority, and of receiving the income of his ward's estate.
4. Marriage. The lord's right of giving a ward in marriage and of receiving a payment from the suitor, or compensation from a ward refusing to marry the suitor proposed by the lord.
5. Escheat. The resumption of the estate by the lord on failure of heirs or felony.

[1] These feudal incidents continued long after the feudal system had decayed, and, particularly wardship and marriage, proved most burdensome. They were finally abolished in 1660 at the accession of Charles II, who received instead tonnage and poundage for life and £100,000 per annum.

(3) Checks on the feudal system.

William limited the power of the great barons and thus prevented the tendency to disunion, which was one of the chief results of the system in France.

α. The government was centralised, and officials of the Curia Regis carried out the judicial and financial policy of the King.

β. The earls created by William were not a revival of the powerful earls of Canute, even in the case of the great Palatine earls. The term "earl" tended to become a mark of rank, and no longer implied government of provinces.

γ. The hundred and shire courts were continued, and limited the local power of the barons.

δ. The local administration of the shires was entrusted to the sheriffs, who were the King's agents, and the rebellion of Roger FitzOsbern and Ralph de Guader in 1074 was partly due to the encroachment of the sheriffs in manorial courts.

ε. Owing to the apparent danger of an attack from Saint Canute of Denmark (which soon passed away) William determined to examine his resources. Sworn juries from each hundred and township (the priest, reeve and six villeins) informed the King's commissioners as to the services due to the King. Particulars were furnished as to ownership, extent, population, amount of forest and meadow, number of mills,

1085–6. and value of every manor. This was entered in the Domesday Book,[1] which was an assessment of property for taxation.

[1] The name Domesday was taken either from Domus Dei, a chapel at Winchester, or from the permanence of the record, which was supposed to last until the Day of Doom.

ζ. The King was strongly supported by the English (the old Saxon fyrd was kept up) and by the Church.

η. **1086.** All landholders did homage to the King on Salisbury Plain, and thus the obligation of the sub-tenants to support the King was emphasised.

III. Effect on the Church.

A. The English Church was brought into closer connection with Rome. The Anglo Saxon Church had been unlearned, isolated. Stigand was deposed and Lanfranc of Pavia, Abbot of Caen, made Archbishop of Canterbury. Lanfranc was a practical statesman and lawyer rather than a great theologian. He thought that the reformation of the Church depended on the maintenance of the power of the Norman kings and worked harmoniously with William I [Lanfranc "William's only friend"] and William II.

B. The English Church was reformed and reorganised.

1. The authority of Canterbury over York was recognised.
2. The Church was strengthened by the national synods frequently held for ecclesiastical legislation (the beginning of legislative independence) and the removal of spiritual pleas from temporal courts (the beginning of judicial freedom).
3. The removal of bishops' sees from small towns and villages to larger towns, e.g. Dorchester (Oxfordshire) to Lincoln.
4. Strong opposition to simony[1] and marriage of the clergy. Reformation of cathedral chapters and great improvement in the character of the clergy.

[1] The purchase of livings, so called from Simon Magus, Acts VIII. 20.

C. But, in spite of the closer connection with Rome, William refused to take the oath of fealty to Pope Hildebrand (Gregory VII), although he sanctioned the payment of Peter's Pence. The King's consent was declared necessary for

1. The recognition of the Pope in England.
2. The meeting of synods.
3. The receipt of Papal bulls.
4. The excommunication of tenants-in-chief.

D. This settlement worked well during Lanfranc's lifetime, but it left undefined the relations between the King and archbishops and bishops and separated Church and lay courts. The former led to the dispute about investiture between Anselm and Henry I, and the latter to the quarrel between Henry II and Becket.

IV. **England Brought into Closer Connection with Western Europe.**

A. The acquisition of Normandy led to ceaseless struggles with France. The French kings always helped English rebels, and the danger from France led to the growth of the English naval power, especially in the Cinque Ports.

B. The connection with Normandy and France and the admission to England of Jewish financiers by William led to an increase in commerce. Skilled craftsmen came from the Continent, especially builders and workers in glass and metal.

C. The tendency to connection with Scandinavia, seen in Canute's time, ceased. Failure of attempts of Sweyn (1069) and Saint Canute (1084) to conquer England.

V. **The Effect on Anglo-Saxon Institutions.**

A. Many old institutions were retained with little change in form; e.g. the Witenagemot became the Magnum Concilium, the manorial system, the hundred and shire courts, and the fyrd were retained.

New institutions included trial by combat and inquests, i.e. investigation by sworn jurors.

B. The growth of the King's power led to greater centralisation and improvement in administration. This was shown by the closer connection between local and central courts which resulted from the itinerant justices sent out by Henry I, under whom the Curia Regis was thoroughly organised.

C. But, although the Normans made comparatively few changes in the old institutions, their genius for organisation and administration infused new life and vigour into them, just as the infusion of Norman blood revived and invigorated the somewhat enfeebled Anglo-Saxon race.

VI. **The Introduction of Norman-French**, a Latin language, which materially affected English, owing to its small number of inflections and the introduction of a new Latin element, including words relating to war, chivalry, law and government. English words relating to common objects and the navy are usually Anglo-Saxon, which has furnished the bulk of our vocabulary. The development of English, owing to the fusion of Norman-French and Anglo-Saxon, was a slow process, and for some time French was spoken by the upper classes, Saxon by the lower, and Latin was the official language.

VII. **The Norman Conquest led to an improvement in Learning, Art, and Civilisation.**

A. The Norman clergy were more learned than the Saxon and new schools were founded.

B. The Norman style of architecture replaced the ruder Saxon work, e.g. The Tower of London and Durham Cathedral.

C. The manners of the Normans were far more refined than those of the Saxons.

References :

A. Feudalism. *Political History of England, 1066–1216*, by Adams, pp. 13–22. Longmans.

Church. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. I, pp. 304–12.

Architecture. *An Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture*, by J. H. Parker, Parker, chap. III.

WILLIAM I AND THE NORMAN BARONS

The defeat of Hereward, **1071**, and the submission of Malcolm Canmore, **1072**, put an end to the resistance of the Saxons. William had then to face the opposition of the discontented Norman Barons.

I. **The Bridal of Norwich, 1075.** (So called because the rising was planned at the wedding of Ralph de Guader to Roger FitzOsbern's sister.)

Ralph de Guader Earl of Norfolk, Roger FitzOsbern Earl of Hereford, and Waltheof wished to divide England into three feudal duchies: Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria. The rising due

A. Mainly to resentment at the checks on the feudal system (page 50), which prevented the barons from getting as much power as the great dukes in France;

B. Also to the encroachments of the sheriffs in the baronial courts;

C. And to objection to William's illegitimate birth.

An attempt was made to secure help from Denmark. Waltheof took a small part in the conspiracy and revealed it to Lanfranc, but was unjustly executed by William, who seized the opportunity of getting rid of the last great Englishman. The rebellion was put down in the King's absence by Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester (a Saxon), the Justiciars, and a mixed army of English and Normans. The beginning of the alliance between the English, fearing the growth of baronial power, and the Norman kings against the barons.

II. **The Rebellion of Robert Curthose, 1078.**

Robert, a weak and selfish, though popular prince, demanded the Duchy of Normandy, and on his father's refusal attacked Normandy from the castle of Gerberoi,

given him by Philip of France. (The first of many occasions when the King of France helped the rebellious subjects of the King of England.) He was helped by Robert of Belesme and Robert Mowbray, sons of William I's trusted ministers, but submitted after unhorsing his father at the siege of Gerberoi, **1079.**

III. **Odo of Bayeux, 1082.**

He had received the Earldom of Hereford, **1075,** in addition to his Earldom of Kent, and wished to become Pope. William, considering that Odo's power was dangerous, imprisoned him "not as Bishop of Bayeux, but as Earl of Kent."

Reference :

C. *The Siege of Norwich Castle*, by Blake, Seeley.

WILLIAM I

A. A man of inflexible will and determination (e.g. his march into North Wales 1071) ; stern and merciless in the enforcement of law, "stark man he was and great awe men had of him" (e.g. the Harrying of the North 1069); patient (e.g. delayed attacking London after Hastings, and by delay gained more than he would have gained by immediate attack); clear-headed and practical, saw what was possible (e.g. pardoned Waltheof when he first revolted, but executed him in 1076).

B. A man of strong religious feeling (although he refused Hildebrand's demand of homage), did not make the Church a source of personal gain, and "in choosing abbots and bishops he considered not so much men's riches or power as their holiness and wisdom." His private life was pure at a time when purity was a rare virtue in kings.

C. A great general. In early youth he defeated the rebellious barons of Normandy and King Henry I of France. His skilful manœuvres and personal prowess won the battle of Hastings, and his subsequent operations were carried out with skill, rapidity, and success.

D. In some respects was in advance of his age.

1. He admitted the Jews to England.
2. Checked the trade in slaves carried on with Ireland by Bristol merchants.

E. His character deteriorated in his later years. He became cruel and avaricious. The great blots on his character were

1069. 1. The ruthless Harrying of the North.

1076. 2. The unjust execution of Waltheof, who was less guilty than others who were not executed.

1071–1080. 3. The making of the New Forest not so bad.

α. Geology and the history of agriculture show that this portion of Hampshire was very thinly populated, and Domesday Book shows that some part was still inhabited in **1086**.

β. The popular estimate of this act was due to hatred of his Forest Laws, to the destruction of churches within the forest boundary, and to the tragic deaths in the forest of his sons Richard and William II, generally supposed to be a punishment from Heaven for making the forest.

γ. William was a mighty hunter, "he loved the tall deer as if he were their father," and his harsh Forest Laws (prescribing the loss of eyes for killing a deer and mutilation for other offences) caused much suffering.

F. He tried to rule as an English King.

1. His love of legality led him to accept election by the Witan and to follow the Anglo-Saxon ritual at his coronation.

2. His conservatism led him to keep many of the old Anglo-Saxon institutions.

3. He won the support of the English, whom he protected from baronial oppression, and he tried to learn the English language.

4. As a result of his policy England gained unity and freedom long before France and Germany.

References:

A. Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, Vol. II, chap. VIII, p. 1.

B. *Short History of the English People*, pp. 74–6.

WILLIAM II AND THE NORMAN BARONS

I. The Insurrection of 1088.

William I had left England to Rufus and Normandy to Robert. The barons who held land in both countries feared that the division of rule would prove dangerous to their interests, and nearly all joined a conspiracy formed by Odo of Bayeux to make Robert King of England. They thought that he would prove "more tractable" and that under him they would gain greater power.

The insurrection was easily suppressed owing to the strong support given to William II by the bishops, the Church, and especially by the English led by Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester.

Odo was captured at Rochester by the English fyrd and exiled. (William later made peace with Robert by the Treaty of Caen, **1091**, by which it was agreed that the survivor should hold England and Normandy, and in **1096** Robert mortgaged Normandy to William for six thousand pounds and went on the First Crusade.)

II. **The Insurrection of 1095.**

Due to the exactions of Ranulf Flambard, a Norman priest of low birth, who had shown his ability as a royal official, probably in connection with the compilation of Domesday Book, became Justiciar in **1094**, Bishop of Durham in **1099**, and directed the judicial and financial system. He rigidly maintained the King's feudal rights, and by heavy exactions, especially in the case of reliefs, wardship, and marriage, enriched the King and enraged the barons.

Robert Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, was the leader of the rising, which was easily put down by the capture of his castle, Bamborough.

III. **The Failure of these Insurrections shows**

A. The great power of the Norman King, who easily suppressed both risings.

B. The importance of the support given by the English to the King. This was continued in spite of the extortions of Ranulf Flambard, who "drave the gemots," i.e. used the local courts as instruments of extortion, perverted justice, and in **1094** took from the fyrd gathered at Hastings the money contributed by the counties for its maintenance.

WILLIAM II AND THE CHURCH

I. **Lanfranc (died 1089).**

Steadily supported monarchical power and accepted William's idea that the Church was to be a national Church under his supreme control.

II. **Ranulf Flambard.**

Strictly applied feudal principles to ecclesiastical as well as to lay fiefs, and insisted on the King's "regalian rights." The King therefore seized vacant sees and took the revenues (e.g. the see of Canterbury was kept vacant for four years after the death of Lanfranc), granted Church lands to his knights, and demanded money payments, analogous to reliefs, from newly appointed bishops.

III. **Anselm.**

Abbot of Bec, a great theological scholar, was appointed, against his will, to the Archbishopric of Canterbury on the serious illness of William II, **1093.** He was quite unable to work with the King as Lanfranc had worked, and compared himself to "an old and feeble sheep yoked to an untamed bull."

A. There was no question of the King's right to appoint Anselm, who acknowledged his feudal obligations.

B. The quarrel between Anselm and William as to the recognition in England of the orthodox Pope Urban II, was an ecclesiastical question. Anselm was technically wrong because no Pope could be recognised in England without the King's consent, but he was successful, and ensured the recognition of Urban II.

C. William summoned Anselm to appear in court for his failure to supply a proper feudal force for the Welsh wars. Anselm refused to appear and was rightly condemned for violating his feudal obligations.

D. The quarrel between the King and Anselm showed

α. That the settlement made at the Conquest, whereby a bishop was also a feudal baron, was unworkable when the Archbishop and the King did not work together.

β. That successful opposition to the King was possible.

E. **1097.** Anselm exiled.

References:

A. *The Political History of England, 1066–1216*, pp. 93–8.

B. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. I, pp. 326–8.

C. *In the Days of St. Anselm*, by Hollis, S.P.C.K.

THE CRUSADES

I. **Events leading to the Crusades.**

A. The religious revival of the tenth century, due mainly to the teaching of the monks of Clugny, but influenced by a belief that the world would come to an end in the year **1000** or in the year **1033**, the anniversary of Christ's death. A great increase in pilgrimages to Jerusalem and growth of reverence for the Holy City.

B. **1076**. Capture of Jerusalem by the Seljuk Turks and ill-treatment of Christian pilgrims.

C. **1095**. Europe was roused by the preaching of Peter the Hermit, and a sermon of Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont led to the First Crusade.

"Never, perhaps, did a single speech of man work such extraordinary and lasting results."—Milman.

D. **1000** (about). The conversion of Hungary to Christianity under King Stephen afforded an overland route to the East, and the Greek Emperors, fearing Turkish attacks, allowed the early Crusaders to pass through Constantinople.

II. **The Crusades.**

A. **1096**. The First Crusade, led by Godfrey de Bouillon, Raymond of Toulouse, and Robert of Normandy, resulted in the capture of Jerusalem **1099** and the coronation of Godfrey as first King of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, which was organised on strict feudal principles.

The object of subsequent crusades was to protect the kingdom of Jerusalem from the Turks.

B. **1147**. Utter failure of the Second Crusade, led by Louis VII of France (first husband of Eleanor of Aquitaine) and the Emperor Conrad III to recover the county of Edessa from the Turks.

C. **1187**. The capture of Jerusalem by Saladin led to the Third Crusade. See page 98.

D. **1204**. Constantinople captured by the soldiers of the Fourth Crusade, who made Baldwin of Flanders first Emperor of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, which lasted until **1261**.

E. **1248–54**. The Sixth Crusade led by St. Louis (Louis IX) of France. Defeat and capture of Louis in Egypt. Pilgrimage of Louis to Palestine.

F. **1291**. Capture of Acre by the Turks and end of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

III. **Results of the Crusades.**

In spite of their failure to wrest Palestine from the Turks the Crusades contributed greatly to the cause of progress in Europe. "It is not too much to say that they have affected, and still remotely do affect, almost every political and social question."—Stubbs.

A. Political.

(1) They saved Eastern Europe from Turkish rule for 450 years. Constantinople, in imminent danger from the Turks in **1096**, was not captured until **1453**.

(2) The enmity between Western, or Roman Catholic, and Eastern Europe adhering to the Greek Church was greatly aggravated by the capture of Constantinople **1204**, and thus the ultimate victory of the Turks was rendered easier.

(3) The absence of many turbulent barons tended to increase the royal power.

B. Religious.

(1) The power of the Pope, under whose auspices the Crusades were undertaken, was strengthened.

(2) Increase in the wealth of the clergy, who readily advanced money to crusading barons on security of their estates. The wealth of the clergy became a cause of much discontent in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and was one cause of the Reformation.

C. Chivalry.

The idea of knighthood passed into that of chivalry when knights fought in the Crusades with the approval of the Church. The duty of protecting the weak and respecting women was now made incumbent on the knight, and chivalry became a refining and ennobling influence.

D. Commercial.

(1) Great increase of trade not only with Palestine and Egypt, but with Persia and India.

(2) Development of naval power, especially of Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, owing to the demand for transports. The "Laws of Oleron," issued by Richard I, long remained the maritime code of Western Europe.

E. Learning.

(1) Europe gained a knowledge of science, especially mathematics and medicine, in which the Arabs had attained great proficiency.

(2) Geography, Natural History, and Botany were much improved.

(3) The Crusades supplied worthy material for the historian and William of Tyre was the first historian of the Middle Ages as distinct from a mere writer of chronicles.

(4) The deeds of the heroes of the Crusades stimulated poets and led to the development of romance.

(5) The predominance of the French and Normans in the Crusades made French the most general language of Europe for several centuries.

References:

A. Story of the Nations. *The Crusades*, chap. XXVIII.

B. "Capture of Jerusalem." Milman's *Latin Christianity*, Vol. IV, p. 188.

C. *God Wills It*, Davis, Macmillan.

THE ACCESSION OF HENRY I, 1100.

I. **His Claim to the Throne.**

He claimed the throne because he was born in England while his father was actually King; he secured it because of Robert's absence in Palestine, his own speed in seizing the castle and royal treasury at Winchester, the loyal support of a few friends led by Henry Earl of Warwick, and his election by some of the leading nobles and clergy.

II. **His Charter of Liberties.**

A. Clauses:

1. The Church to be free from unjust exactions.
2. The barons to be relieved from unjust reliefs and the abuse of wardship and marriage.
3. The barons to treat the sub-tenants as the King treated them.
4. The laws of King Edward the Confessor to be restored.
5. The King to keep the royal forests.

B. These clauses were not all kept by Henry, but the Charter was important as the foundation of Magna Charta, as a covenant between King and people and a limitation of the royal power.

III. **His Marriage.**

He married Edith (subsequently called Maud or Matilda), daughter of Margaret and Malcolm Canmore and niece of Edgar Atheling. Thus strengthened his hold on the English, already won over by the Charter.

IV. **Anselm Recalled and Restored to Canterbury.**

V. **Ranulf Flambard Imprisoned.**

References:

A. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. I, pp. 328–31.

B. Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, chap. XXIII, p. 2.

HENRY I AND THE CHURCH

England was now profoundly affected by the work of Pope Hildebrand (**1073–1085**), who aimed at founding a spiritual autocracy with the Pope at its head ruling all men through the clergy. This implied the reform of the Church, the freedom of the Church from lay interference, and the assertion of Papal supremacy over national churches. The Hildebrandine ideal was accepted by Anselm during his exile.

I. **Church Reform.**

1102. The Synod of Westminster maintained the necessity of clerical celibacy and denounced simony. Anselm thus tried to enforce the neglected canons of Lanfranc.

II. **Investiture.**

There was as yet no Papal party in England, but the Church, owing to the spread of the ideas of Hildebrand, was becoming conscious of its power. Anselm believed that the cause of the Church was the cause of God, and followed the example of the Papacy by

A. Refusing to do homage to Henry I for his fief, although he had done homage to William II;

B. Opposing Henry's claim to elect and invest bishops with the ring (the sign that the bishop was wedded to his diocese) and the staff (the emblem of spiritual authority), i.e. by denying the King's right of investiture.

1. The King maintained that, as the State was feudal and the bishops held land, they were under the same obligations to the King as other feudal barons, who were appointed by him and owed him homage. He asserted that William I and William II had exercised full authority over English bishops.
2. Anselm maintained that the bishops, being spiritual, were superior to temporal monarchs, and should be chosen by the Church with regard to spiritual questions alone.

The positions were diametrically opposed and both arguments were logically sound.

1107. 3. The settlement:

α. The bishops to be elected in the King's courts, to pay homage for their lands to him after election, and then to be invested with the ring and crozier by the Church.

β. The King gave up the claim to invest bishops with the ring and crozier. Thus Henry gave up the "barren ceremony" of investiture, but retained the control of elections.

The Church kept the right of investiture and had successfully resisted the attempt of an absolute King to apply the strict interpretation of feudal doctrines to the clergy.

III. **Papal Supremacy.**

The belief in the supremacy of the Pope over the Church in England grew owing to the development of the idea of the Church as a world-wide unity dependent on the Pope.

Henry strenuously asserted the supremacy of the King, and royal consent was still necessary for appeals to Rome and the admission of Papal Legates.

But the claims of the Papacy were strengthened by the appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury as a Papal Legate, by the freedom of the Archbishopric of York from the supremacy of Canterbury, by the spread of the Canon Law in England, and by the admission into England about 1130 of the Cistercian monks, who regarded the Pope and not the King as their supreme head.

Thus, while Henry, owing to his personal power and the support of loyal ministers, maintained his own authority, the Church was gradually gaining ground.

References:

A. Hildebrand. Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. IV, pp. 12–20.

HENRY I, THE BARONS, AND NORMANDY

I. **Rebellion in England.**

A. **1101.** The barons led by Robert of Belesme, wishing to keep their estates in England and Normandy, fearing Henry's strong rule and despising Henry as an Englishman and the husband of an English wife, supported Robert of Normandy, who claimed the throne, but peace was made, and Robert withdrew to Normandy, giving up his claim to England in return for 3000 marks a year.

B. **1102.** Defeat of Robert of Belesme by Henry and the English fyrd and capture of Shrewsbury and Bridgenorth castles. Expulsion of Robert and of William of Mortain, Earl of Cornwall. End of rebellion in England. Henceforth "no man in England dared to rebel or hold any castle against him" (Henry I).

II. **Rebellion in Normandy.**

A. Robert Curthose (of Normandy).

Henry was compelled to attack Normandy owing to the danger of a Norman invasion of England by Robert, influenced by Robert of Belesme.

1106. Robert routed at Tinchebrai, which made Normandy subject to England and "reversed the verdict of Senlac." The victory was gained by an English army. Robert was captured and imprisoned in Cardiff Castle until his death.

B. Danger from Louis VI, Louis le Gros, who succeeded Philip I in **1108.** Louis adopted a definite policy of aggrandisement especially against England and Normandy, and was ready to help the opponents of Henry, particularly Robert's son, William the Clito. Henry's position was strengthened

1112 (α) By the capture of Robert of Belesme, "incomparable in all forms of evil."

1113 (β) By the conclusion of a treaty with Louis VI at Gisors.

1113 (γ) By the submission of Fulk, Count of Anjou and Maine.

(δ) By the strong support of Stephen of Blois, Henry's nephew, made Count of Mortain and married to Matilda of Boulogne.

1114 (ϵ) By the marriage of his daughter Matilda to the Holy Roman Emperor Henry V.

1119 (ζ) By the marriage of Henry's son William to the heiress of Maine.

1119 (η) By the complete defeat of Louis VI, Baldwin of Flanders, and William the Clito at Brenville, and the consequent abandonment by Louis of William's cause.

III. **The Succession to the Throne.**

A. Henry's son William was drowned in the *White Ship*, **1120.** Ruin of Henry's plans. William the Clito, the next legitimate male heir to the English throne, was again supported by Louis VI, Fulk of Anjou and some of the Norman barons led by Waleran de Meulan.

B. To check William the Clito,

1121. Henry married Adela of Louvain, hoping for a male heir.

1123. Defeated Waleran de Meulan.

1124. Persuaded Henry V to attack France on the east.

C. The Empress Matilda.

(1) **1125.** The Holy Roman Emperor Henry V died, and

(2) **1126.** Henry compelled the barons to recognise the widowed Empress Matilda as heiress to the throne of England.

(3) **1128.** Marriage of Matilda to Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of Fulk of Anjou. (Called Plantagenet from a sprig of broom, *planta genista*, he wore in his helmet.)

α. Henry's policy was wise. By this marriage he detached Fulk from William the Clito, who had been made Count of Flanders by Louis.

1128. William the Clito was killed at Alost. His death removed a possible rival to Matilda, and if Henry had lived ten years longer there would have been no dispute about the succession.

β. The marriage most unpopular.

(1) Matilda objected to the marriage with Geoffrey, who was much younger than herself.

(2) The Normans hated the Angevins, with whom they had repeatedly been at war.

(3) The English barons were not consulted.

(4) **1133.** Birth of Matilda's son Henry. Oath of allegiance taken by the barons to Matilda and the young Henry.

(5) **1135.** Attempt of Geoffrey (now Count of Anjou), supported by the Norman barons, to secure Normandy.
1135. Death of Henry, owing to a surfeit of eels.

IV. **General Notes.**

A. Henry showed great diplomatic skill in his arrangements for the marriages of William the Atheling and Matilda; in his negotiations with Anjou, Blois, and Flanders against Louis VI; in his success in maintaining the union of England and Normandy.

B. The steady support of the English and the absence of rebellion in England after **1102** left Henry free to fight the Norman rebels and to defend Normandy against the aggression of Louis VI.

C. Henry kept down the Norman barons, but did not completely break their power or settle the succession.

HENRY I AND ENGLAND

In England the great feature of Henry's reign was the development of a strong central administration, dependent on the Crown and connected with the local courts by the itinerant justices. This was rendered easier by the absence of internal war after 1102, and greatly checked the power of the barons.

I. The Central Administration.

A. The Curia Regis. A perpetual committee of the Commune Concilium (the successor in Norman times of the Witenagemot) presided over by the King or Justiciar, in which the King's officials took the leading part. The work was very varied.

1. Judicial.
   - *α.* A court of primary resort, especially in the case of Norman barons too powerful to accept the verdicts of the local courts.
   - *β.* A court of appeal from the lower courts.

2. Financial. The Curia Regis sitting as a court for the transaction of financial business was called the Exchequer.
   - ***α.*** It assessed the Royal Revenue.
   - *β.* It collected the Royal Revenue, receiving the Danegeld, the rent of the Royal domains, feudal payments from landholders, and the proceeds of Royal pleas[1] in local courts. These contributions from the shires were collected by the sheriffs and paid into the Exchequer at Easter and Michaelmas.
   - *γ.* It received the fines imposed under the Forest Laws which were rigidly enforced by Henry I.

[1] Even before the Norman Conquest certain cases were reserved for the Crown, in spite of grants of local jurisdiction to the magnates. Under Canute these "placita regia" included assault and neglect of military service. After the Conquest their number increased greatly, owing to the growth of the idea of the King as the personal owner and guardian of the country, and included all felonies.

δ. The increase of public business led to the despatch of barons of the Exchequer as itinerant justices dealing with judicial as well as financial questions, and sitting in the shire courts. By this means the Anglo-Saxon local courts were connected with the Norman central administration.

B. The King's ministers.

(1) The Norman feudal offices were retained. They were held by the great nobles and became hereditary.

α. The High Steward became unimportant owing to the rise of the Justiciar.

β. The Constable and Marshal, originally probably military officials, later exercised important judicial powers.[1]

(2) The new ministerial nobility, the King's personal servants, became of more constitutional importance than the feudal officials, but their offices were obtained by nomination or purchase and not by hereditary right. This new nobility, enriched by valuable grants and dependent on the King, formed a counterpoise to the old feudal nobility.

α. The Justiciar, the King's chief minister, in the King's absence acted as regent. The office became very important under Ranulf Flambard. Henry I's great Justiciar was Roger the Poor, a Norman priest, made Chancellor,[2] Bishop of Salisbury, and Justiciar, who organised the Curia Regis and Exchequer.

β. The Chancellor, the "Secretary of State for all Departments," was originally the head of the clerks of the Chapel Royal.

[1] "Constable" from *comes stabuli*.

[2] "Chancellor" from "cancelli," the screen behind which the royal clerks worked.

γ. The Treasurer, the keeper of the royal treasure at Winchester, who examined the sheriffs' accounts and kept one of the three "Pipe Rolls" in which the business of the Exchequer was recorded.

δ. The Chamberlain, head of the audit department

II. **The Local Courts.**

Henry I restored the courts of the shire and hundred to their old importance, partly perhaps as a recognition of the loyal support given to him by the English.

III. **The Growth of Towns**, due to the increase of commerce and the preservation of peace in England.

A. London.

I. William I, by charter, promised his protection, and guaranteed the succession of a son to his father's property.

II. Henry I, by charter, placed London on a level with the counties, allowed it to elect its own sheriff and justiciar, granted exemption from all jurisdiction save that of its own officers, gave freedom from toll in England, and fixed the ferm (the total amount payable to the King) for London and Middlesex at £300 per annum. The charter of great importance.

α. The city was recognised as a unity, but the unity is that of the shire and not of the municipality. London was not yet a municipal corporation, and the burgesses to whom grants were made were regarded as a body of individuals, not as a corporation.

β. The choice of its own officers, freedom from outside jurisdiction, and the fixture of the ferm, protected the citizens from oppression.

B. Other towns, following the example of London, also gained charters, especially the towns of the royal domain.

IV. **Results of Henry's Policy.**

A. The cost of his wars and of his administration led to "manifold taxes"; the Forest Laws, which he enforced more sternly than any other king, caused great suffering; bad harvests, and the depreciation of the coinage injured trade.

B. But England profited greatly by his government. He was "The Lion of Justice," and enforced justice between man and man "No man durst misdo against another in his time." "He gave peace for man and deer." He showed great powers of organisation in his settlement of the administration.

C. His aims were selfish, his great object was the advancement of his own power, but the means by which this was attained (the limitation of the power of the barons) promoted the welfare of his people.

References:

A. Towns. *Short History of the English People*, pp. 92–5.

B. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. I, pp. 338, 341.

THE POLICY OF THE NORMAN KINGS TOWARDS WALES

I. **William I.**

A. The Welsh soon perceived the danger of conquest, and, in **1069**, joined with the Scotch, Northerners, and Danes in a rising against the Normans.

1070. Chester occupied, the castle built, the neighbourhood possibly ravaged by William.

B. Foundation of "Marcher"[1] earldoms. Great power given to Hugh, Earl of Chester, Roger of Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury (the father of Robert of Belesme), and William Fitz-Osbern, Earl of Hereford. Out of a probable total of six earldoms three were founded on the Welsh border to check the Welsh. Castles built in the earldoms and at Cardiff and Monmouth.

Wulfstan, the English bishop of Worcester, was faithful and vigilant.

[1] i.e. the earldoms of the "Marches" or borders. Compare Mercia, the border country, and the German "Marks."

C. The establishment of these Marcher earldoms was necessary but dangerous, because these barons became very powerful (e g. Roger of Montgomery rebelled in 1088, and Robert of Belesme frequently).

II. **William II.**

A. 1093 (about). The beginning of the policy of "conquest by settlement." Permission was given to the Norman barons to keep lands conquered from the Welsh. This policy proved successful, especially in South Wales, where Fitzhamon, lord of Glamorgan, greatly extended his power.

B. 1094. General rising of the Welsh against the Marcher barons.

C. 1095 and 1097. Unsuccessful expeditions of William II to Wales.

D. During this reign the Welsh maintained their independence in the mountains, but a considerable portion of the lowlands was gained by the Normans.

III. **Henry I.**

A. 1114. The Welsh were defeated and submitted, but Henry relied on the gradual incorporation of Wales by the barons rather than on conquest by royal armies.

B. He put a Flemish colony in Pembroke, hence called "Little England beyond Wales."

C. He put English bishops into Welsh sees. These reformed the Welsh Church, built monasteries, and ensured the recognition by the Welsh of the supremacy of Canterbury.

D. Cardiganshire was given to Gilbert de Clare.

E. Henry's illegitimate son, Robert of Caen (son of Nesta, a Welsh lady), was created Earl of Gloucester, and gained great estates in South Wales by his marriage with the heiress of Fitzhamon.

IV. **Stephen.**

Successful revolt in South Wales. Danger of expulsion of Normans and Flemings.

Stephen did not interfere owing to the Civil War in England, and thus risked the loss of Wales.

References:

C. *Pabo the Priest*, by Baring Gould, Methuen.

THE NORMAN KINGS AND SCOTLAND

The Kings of Scotland repeatedly attempted to conquer the North of England, and made the most of opportunities afforded by rebellions and wars in England.

I. **William I.**

A. Malcolm III (Canmore) nominally accepted the Conquest, 1068, but the Scottish court afforded refuge to English exiles. He married Margaret, granddaughter of Edmund Ironside, owing to whose influence

(1) The Scotch church was brought under the influence of Rome.

(2) The English language and customs were introduced.

(3) Commerce grew and civilisation was more widely diffused.

B. Malcolm III's policy was to extend the southern border of his territory to the Tees. Hence arose continual danger of Scottish raids in the North.

1070. He attacked the north on behalf of Edgar Atheling.

1079. He attacked the north when William I was away in Normandy.

II. **William II.**

1091. Malcolm III attacked the north when William II was away in Normandy, but submitted and acknowledged himself the man of Rufus.

1092. William II captured Cumberland, and built a castle at Carlisle to guard the north-west entrance into England. This was a conquest of territory from Scotland and fixed the present boundary between England and Scotland.

1093. Malcolm, owing to the loss of Cumberland, again invaded the north, but was killed at Alnwick. Margaret died at the same time, and the dispute as to the succession in Scotland put an end to the danger of Scotch invasions. Rufus supported the English party and Edgar, son of Malcolm III.

II. Henry I.

1100. Henry married Edith (Matilda), daughter of Malcolm III and Margaret, and friendly relations were maintained between England and Scotland in his reign.

V. Stephen.

David, brother of Edith, invaded England to maintain the cause of his niece Matilda against Stephen, and also to extend his territory.

1136. First Invasion: Stephen ceded Cumberland to David.

1138. Second Invasion: David defeated at Northallerton[1] by the northern levies under Thurstan.

1139. Peace made between David and Stephen, who invested David's son Henry with the earldom of Northumberland (except Newcastle and Bamborough), which David claimed through his wife the daughter of Waltheof and granddaughter of Siward Earl of Northumbria.

1149. David, in alliance with Ralph of Chester, invaded England on behalf of Henry, Matilda's son. The expedition failed owing to the desertion of the Earl of Chester. David, however, had succeeded in securing England north of the Eden and the Tees.

THE REIGN OF STEPHEN, 1135–54

The Accession of Stephen, 1135.

A. Stephen of Blois, son of William I's daughter Adela, had been made Count of Mortain by Henry I, and had married Matilda of Boulogne. Through fear of Angevin rule he was accepted as King by the citizens of London and Winchester. He was crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury and recognised by the Pope in spite of the oath of allegiance he had sworn to his cousin Matilda.

B. He won over many of the nobles by lavish grants, was accepted by Henry I's "new men" including Robert of

[1] The Battle of the Standard. The banners of St. Cuthbert of Durham, St. Wilfred of Ripon, St. Peter of York, and St. John of Beverley were fastened to a car and formed the standard of the English army.

Gloucester, Matilda's half-brother, and Roger Bishop of Salisbury, and issued charters promising freedom of election and jurisdiction to the Church and the abolition of the Forest Laws. His position was therefore due to bargaining and loyal support could hardly be expected for "a King by contract," especially from the turbulent barons who took advantage of his weakness to build many castles and to demand large grants of land and money.

C. Although he successfully crushed a revolt of Hugh Bigod, **1136**, and resisted an attack of Geoffrey of Anjou on Normandy, **1135**, he lost power owing to his failure to raise up "new men" to check the barons and owing to undue leniency to rebels. His employment of foreign mercenaries, whom he could not properly control, and his resumption of the forests in spite of his promise to give them up, alienated some supporters.

II. **Events to 1139.**

1136. Stephen ceded Cumberland to David of Scotland, who had invaded England on behalf of Matilda.

1138. David of Scotland routed at Northallerton (Battle of the Standard) by the northern levies summoned by Thurstan, Archbishop of York.

1138. Robert of Gloucester renounced his allegiance at Bristol and fled to Normandy.

1139. David of Scotland was reconciled to Stephen by Queen Matilda of Boulogne. Grant of the Earldom of Northumberland (except Newcastle and Bamborough) to David's son Henry.

III. **Stephen's Quarrel with the Church.**

A. **1138.** Stephen's brother, Henry Bishop of Winchester, who had supported Stephen's accession, was greatly disappointed because Stephen refused to allow his promotion to the vacant Archbishopric of Canterbury. Henry was soon appointed Papal Legate.

B. **1139.** Stephen arrested the Justiciar, Roger Bishop of Salisbury, his son Roger the Chancellor, and his nephew Alexander Bishop of Lincoln nominally for building and fortifying castles. Roger's castle at Devizes was captured and another nephew, Nigel Bishop of Ely, the Treasurer, arrested. The bishops were treated with much indignity.

α. Stephen's most foolish action was possibly due to fear that Roger's wealth would be used for Matilda or (as in his brother Henry's case **1138**) from a desire to weaken the growing power of the Church.

β. The result was the immediate alienation of the clergy from Stephen and the utter collapse of the Government.

. The Civil War, 1139–53.

A. Normandy.

In spite of Stephen's success in **1137** Normandy was gradually conquered by Geoffrey of Anjou, who in **1144** received the formal grant of the duchy from the King of France.

B. **1139.** **The Empress Matilda.**

The Empress Matilda and Robert of Gloucester landed in England. The Dowager Queen Adela surrendered Matilda to Stephen, who very foolishly allowed her to join Robert, and thus lost an opportunity of ending the war at once.

1141. Stephen was captured at Lincoln. Matilda was elected Queen in a Council of Clergy at Winchester, through the influence of Bishop Henry, and accepted by London. She soon showed her incapacity for rule by alienating Henry and the Londoners (owing to her refusal to confirm the laws of King Edward the Confessor). Fled from London to Oxford. Henry rejoined his brother Stephen's party. Robert of Gloucester was captured while attacking Winchester and exchanged for Stephen. Stephen besieged Matilda in Oxford. Oxford was captured, but Matilda escaped to Wallingford.

1142–7. The war continued. Matilda was supported by the West, and her brother's town of Bristol was the centre of her power; London and the East supported Stephen.

1147. Death of Robert of Gloucester.

1148. Matilda returned to Normandy.

C. Henry Plantagenet.

1147–52. A cessation of hostilities except for an invasion of King David and Henry Plantagenet in Lancashire in alliance with Ralph Earl of Chester, **1149.** Failure of the expedition owing to the treachery of Ralph.

1150. Geoffrey Plantagenet gave up the Duchy of Normandy to his son Henry.

1151. Henry obtained Anjou, Touraine, and Maine on Geoffrey's death.

1152. Henry married Eleanor of Aquitaine, the divorced wife of Louis VII (Louis le Jeune).

1152. Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury refused to crown Eustace as King during his father Stephen's lifetime.

1153. Henry landed and the war was renewed but soon concluded, on the death of Eustace, by the Treaty of Wallingford, which provided that Henry was to succeed Stephen.

1154. Stephen died.

V. The results of Stephen's Reign.

A. The Barons.

The barons, profiting by the weakness of the King and of Matilda, had secured higher titles and larger estates by bargaining with both. Stephen created nine earls and Matilda six, but these earldoms were only marks of rank and did not, as under Canute, imply an official position, although "the fiscal earls" received grants of money. The power of the barons was increased by the erection of 375 adulterine castles.[1]

[1] Castles built without royal licence.

α. The growth of the power of the barons and the collapse of Henry I's administrative system led to feudal anarchy and showed the grave dangers arising from feudalism if not checked by a strong king. The country people suffered greatly from the oppression of the barons. "They cruelly oppressed the wretched men of the land with castle-works. Never did heathen men do worse than they did. Men said openly that Christ and his saints slept."

β. At one time it seemed likely that independent feudal principalities would be established, especially by Geoffrey de Mandeville Earl of Essex and by Ralph Earl of Chester. This danger was averted by the deaths of Geoffrey and Ralph and by the vigorous action of Henry in destroying adulterine castles and restoring the royal power after the Treaty of Wallingford.

B. The Church.

I. The Church alone gained permanent advantage from Stephen's reign. The clergy, the only united and organised body, legislated and judged their own cases without restraint and exercised most powerful influence in the selection of the monarch in **1135**, **1141**, **1152**, and **1153**.

II. The acquisition of independent judicial power led to an increase in appeals to Rome.

III. A great monastic revival took place and 115 monasteries all owning obedience to Rome, were built between **1135** and **1154** largely by the Cistercians, who did much to develop commerce and agriculture in the north of England.

IV. Archbishop Theobald was a patron of learning and promoted the study of Civil Law in England.

C. London. The war showed the growing importance of London as a political factor, e.g. in the choice and rejection of Matilda.

D. Stephen left to Henry II the task of re-establishing the royal authority over barons and clergy, and of wresting Northumberland and Cumberland from the Scotch.

References:

A. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. I, pp. 344–64.

C. *For King or Empress*, by Whistler, Nelson.

THE SETTLEMENT OF ENGLAND

England was exhausted by the civil war, and there was no one strong enough to resist successfully the attempt of Henry, relying upon the forces of Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, and of his English supporters, to restore the royal power, the failure of which in the previous reign had brought on England all the evils of the feudal system.

I. The End of Anarchy.

A. Expulsion of Stephen's foreign mercenaries.

B. Resumption of royal castles.

C. Destruction of remaining adulterine castles.

D. Abolition of exchequer pensions paid to the fiscal earls and resumption of most of Stephen's grants. Some earls, e.g. the Earls of Oxford and Essex, confirmed in their possessions as a reward for allegiance to Henry II.

William of Aumale compelled to surrender Scarborough.

Roger of Hereford gave up the castles of Hereford and Gloucester.

1155. Hugh de Mortimer's castle of Bridgenorth captured by the English fyrd. The most serious resistance offered to Henry.

E. Great councils were frequently held, and thus the general support of the baronage was secured against powerful individuals.

F. The coinage was restored.

The establishment of peace was a great blessing. The barons lost the opportunity of playing off one party against another, and the English gladly supported Henry, who promised to restore the conditions of "King Henry my grandfather." The success of the settlement was shown by the fact that there was no rising in England for nearly eighteen years.

I. **The Restoration of the Administration.**

A. The Curia Regis and Exchequer and judicial circuits were restored.

B. The King showed great wisdom in his choice of ministers. Richard de Lucy and Robert de Beaumont were made Justiciars. Nigel Bishop of Ely, nephew of Roger Bishop of Salisbury, was given charge of the Exchequer, which he successfully reorganised. Thomas Becket made Chancellor 1154.

II. **Scotland.**

1157. Malcolm IV, successor of David, gave up Northumberland and Cumberland, paid homage and was invested with the earldom of Huntingdon.

V. **Wales.**

1157. Submission of Owen Prince of North Wales and Rhys Prince of South Wales.

Reference:

A. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. I, pp. 482–93.

HENRY II AND THE CHURCH

Henry's great object of making the royal power supreme involved the extension of that power over the Church, which had gained a considerable measure of independence, especially in jurisdiction, during Stephen's reign.

I. **Thomas Becket, 1118–70.**

A. Born 1118. Son of a merchant of London. Well educated, especially in law, and possessed great ability as an administrator and organiser. Trained in the service of Archbishop Theobald. Became very friendly with Henry II, who appointed him Chancellor 1154. Negotiated a marriage between Henry II's son Henry and Louis VII's daughter in 1158, and took an active part in the campaign against Toulouse, 1159. As Chancellor showed great fidelity to the King. His splendid style of living attracted great attention.

B. 1162. Appointed Archbishop of Canterbury on Theobald's death.

I. Resigned the chancellorship and adopted a simpler mode of life.

II. He accepted Hildebrand's theory of the supremacy of the clergy to all laity, asserted that "the clergy are above kings," denied the right of laymen to judge the clergy, and insisted on the enforcement of all clerical privileges. This position was absolutely inconsistent with the royal supremacy, and a quarrel between Henry and Becket became inevitable.

C. The quarrel with the King.

1163. Becket refused to pay a land tax into the Exchequer, thus making it part of the regular royal revenue, instead of to the sheriffs as hitherto. The King gave way.

1. Becket's quarrel with Henry began on a secular point.
2. The first case of successful opposition to taxation since the Conquest.

D. The trial of the clergy.

I. The development of the Canon Law and the Clugniac reformation had led to an increase in the power of the ecclesiastical courts. These had been separated from the lay courts by Lanfranc, had been the only means of obtaining justice during much of Stephen's reign, and in consequence had encroached upon the jurisdiction of the lay courts. But the Church courts could inflict only spiritual penalties, the severest being degradation, and the benefit of clergy (which gave the right of trial in the Church courts) was very widely extended. The Church courts could not inflict adequate punishment, and one hundred murders had been committed by clergymen since Henry's accession. Henry therefore determined to make clergymen amenable to lay courts in order

α. To bring them under the royal power.

β. To check crime.

II. In spite of Becket's opposition the Constitutions of Clarendon were passed **1164**.

α. Clerks accused of crime were to appear first in the King's Court. On conviction to be degraded by the Church courts, and then to be sent to the lay courts for punishment according to the law of the land.

Becket objected to this, asserting,

(1) That laymen ought not to judge clergymen.

(2) That this law inflicted a double punishment for one crime.

β. The Curia Regis to decide whether a suit between a layman and a clerk should be tried in the Church or lay courts.

γ. Sons of villeins not to receive holy orders without their lord's consent.

δ. No tenant in chief to be excommunicated without the King's consent.

ε. No bishops to leave the country without the King's consent.

ζ. No appeals to be made to Rome without the King's consent.

η. Bishops to be elected on the King's summons in the King's chapel, and with the King's consent.

θ. The clergy to hold their lands as feudal baronies.

(1) Henry maintained that he had only reasserted the customs of Henry I, and this was generally true.

(2) But, owing to the policy of Hildebrand, to the work of Anselm, and to the growth of ecclesiastical power in Stephen's reign, the Church had become much stronger than in Henry I's time, and the Constitutions weakened this power and checked clerical pretensions.

E. Later history of Becket.

It is doubtful whether Becket openly refused his assent, but he resolved not to accept the Constitutions.

I. He refused to take the King's pleas in his own court, and disobeyed a summons to appear before the Curia Regis at Northampton, **1164**, to answer for this refusal (i.e. he refused attendance at the court of his feudal superior). He was rightly condemned for this by the Curia Regis, which asserted the feudal liabilities of the clergy.

II. The King, wishing to ruin Becket, demanded the accounts of his chancellorship.

III. Becket appealed to Rome in spite of the Constitutions, and asserted dishonestly, "We promised nothing at Clarendon without excepting the rights of the Church."

IV. **1164.** Becket fled to France, and forbade the clergy to obey the Constitutions.

V. **1170.** Nominal reconciliation between Henry and Becket, who suspended the Archbishop of York and excommunicated the Bishops of London and Salisbury for taking part in the coronation of Prince Henry, asserting that the right of crowning the King belonged to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Return of Becket to England. Anger of Henry at the excommunication of the bishops and consequent

VI. Murder of Becket, **1170**, in Canterbury Cathedral, but *not* on the steps of the altar.

The King's position was greatly weakened by the murder of Becket, who was regarded as a martyr and revered as a saint. The King renounced the Constitutions, and so secured absolution from the Pope for the murder for which he was held responsible. The clergy regained the right of appeals to Rome, the Church courts continued to try clergy accused of felony (except treason), and retained jurisdiction over two important civil cases, those relating to marriage and wills.[1] But Henry had asserted the cause of Royal Authority and Common Law, and, although the separation between the lay and ecclesiastical courts continued, he had extended the jurisdiction of the former.

eferences :

A. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. I, pp. 498–504. Henry II in *Twelve English Statesmen*, chap. v.

B. *Short History of the English People*, p. 108.

[1] Probate and divorce cases are still taken in the same court.

HENRY II AND THE BARONS

The assertion of the royal supremacy involved the weakening of the power of the feudal barons as well as of the clergy.

The Assertion of Royal Authority over the Barons.

A. The barons' power greatly weakened by the strong measures at the beginning of the reign (p. 80).

B. The new regulations regarding military service weakened the barons.

(1) Scutage **1159**. A money payment instead of actual military service [literally "shield money," from Latin *scutum*].

α. In Anglo-Saxon times a warrior who failed to serve paid a fine called "fyrdwite" to the King.

1156. β. Henry II received money from the clergy in lieu of military service for their lands.

1159. γ. Henry II, during his expedition to Toulouse, extended the system to lay tenants, and accepted a payment of two marks in lieu of the service of a knight. Knights who were subtenants paid directly to the King and not to their overlord, as their service was due to the King.

Henry thus weakened the dangerous feudal armies, obtained a large sum of money with which he could hire for foreign service a non-baronial army which was not limited to forty days' service, the time for which feudal knights were liable to serve.

(2) The Assize of Arms, **1181**, due partly to the feudal rebellion of **1173**.

A revival of the old Saxon "fyrd" or national levy. Every man to provide himself with arms according to his rank, and to serve in the militia.

Henry thus obtained for home service a non-baronial army composed mainly of English, the steady supporters of the King against the barons.

C. The organisation of the judicial work of the Curia Regis (p. 87) weakened the baronial jurisdiction

α. By admitting the itinerant judges of the Exchequer to the baronial courts by the Assize of Clarendon **1166.**

β. By increasing the importance of the shire courts.

γ. By the Grand and Petty Assizes (page 88) which brought civil cases regarding land under the royal jurisdiction.

D. 1170. The Inquest of Sheriffs.

The sheriffs as representatives of the King were most important officials, and exercised supreme authority in the shires. The office was frequently held by feudal barons, whose power was in consequence greatly increased. By the Inquest of Sheriffs Henry removed these baronial sheriffs and replaced them by officials of the Exchequer. Thus the local power of the barons was weakened.

THE LEGISLATION OF HENRY II

I. **The Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164** (pages 83–4).

I. **The Organisation and Extension of the Judicial Work of the Curia Regis.**

A. **1166.** The Assize[1] of Clarendon. No franchise to exclude the royal justices, i.e. the itinerant judges of the Exchequer could sit in baronial as well as in shire and hundred courts.

B. **1176.** The Assize of Northampton.

England divided into six circuits, each with three judges of the Exchequer representing the King.

C. **1178.** Five judges of the Curia Regis appointed to hear appeals. The origin of the Court of King's Bench. An appeal allowed from the King's Bench to the King sitting in the Commune Concilium.[2]

The Curia Regis was thus brought into close connection with local courts, and suitors received protection from baronial oppression.

[1] The word assize means either a law, as in the Assizes of Clarendon, Northampton, and Arms, or an assembly, or a form of trial as in the Grand Assize.

[2] Appeals later were often made to the Privy Council, which is still the final court of appeal in ecclesiastical and colonial cases.

III. **The Development of the Jury System.**

The common people, the strong supporters of the King, now took an important part in the administration of justice, and local knowledge was used to ascertain facts in dispute.

The Jury System was introduced into England by the Normans, and used, e.g., in the compilation of the Domesday Book, 1086, when the priest, reeve, and six villeins gave information about their own township. It was greatly extended by Henry II, and supplied a new method of legal procedure.

A. The Jury and Civil Cases.

α. The Grand Assize.

Twelve sworn knights of the locality, "Recognitors," to give evidence in cases of disputed claims to land as an alternative to trial by battle between the claimants. This Grand Assize was the origin of the modern Civil Jury.

β. Petty Assizes.

Twelve men (freeholders were eligible as well as knights) to give evidence in cases of Novel Disseisin, Morte d'Ancestor, Darrein Presentment dealing with unjust dispossession of land, the conditions of the tenure of a deceased ancestor, and the right of presenting the land.

Thus the jurors were originally witnesses to fact rather than judges of fact as at present.

γ. These Assizes led to a great increase of the Royal authority in Civil cases.

B. The Jury and Criminal Cases.

1166. Assize of Clarendon.

Twelve men from each hundred and four men from each township to present reputed criminals for trial by ordeal before the itinerant justice and the sheriff in the County Court. If the prisoner failed at the ordeal he received the legal punishment of his crime, if successful he was exiled.

α. Compurgation, by which the evidence as to a man's character varied in value according to the social position of the witness, was now discontinued.

β. This "jury of presentment" was the origin of our Grand Jury.

C. The Jury was used for financial purposes, e.g. to assess personal property (Saladin Tithe), **1188**, and real property (Great Carucage), **1198**.

D. Later history of the Jury.

α. Ordeal was abolished by the Lateran Council **1215**, and a petty jury established to accept or refuse presentments made by the Grand Jury.

β. "Afforcing jurors" possessing special knowledge of the case were subsequently added to the sworn jury.

γ. Separation of "afforcing jurors" from the petty jury. The former became witnesses, the latter "became judges of the fact, the law being declared by the presiding officer acting in the King's name."

IV **The Assize of Arms, 1181** (page 86)

V. **The Assize of the Forest, 1184.**

Earls, barons, knights, freeholders, and all men concerned were ordered to attend the King's forest courts.

Regulations for preservation of game and timber to be rigidly enforced.

VI. **Results of Henry's Legislation.**

A. Decrease in the importance of feudalism.

α. The general work of government was to be carried out by trained non-feudal officials.

β. The sheriffs became royal officers.

γ. The feudal armies became less important after the establishment of scutage and the revival of the fyrd by the Assize of Arms.

B. The growth of national Common Law, which had no respect for persons and ignored clerical and baronial privileges and immunities. This law had its source in the King, and was interpreted in the King's Courts by royal justices.

C. The re-establishment of the Norman absolutism based on popular support. But there was a tendency to excessive concentration, and the King's Courts were overburdened.

References :

A. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. I, pp. 505–12.
Taswell - Langmead's *English Constitutional History*, pp. 133–41. "The Jury."

HENRY II AND IRELAND

I. **Pope Hadrian IV.**

Hadrian IV (Nicholas Breakspear, the only English Pope), wishing to strengthen the power of the Pope in Ireland, granted it to Henry II, **1155**, in virtue of the ownership of all islands which he claimed for the Papacy.[1]

No expedition was undertaken at the time, owing to the opposition of Henry's mother, the Empress Matilda.

II. **The "Conquest of Ireland," 1166–71.**

A. **1166.** Henry gave permission to Dermot (Diarmid), the exiled King of Leinster, to obtain the assistance of the Norman barons.

Reconquest of Leinster by the soldiers of Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice FitzGerald. Their armour, archers, and better weapons gave the Normans, though much inferior in numbers, a great advantage over the unarmoured Irish.

B. **1170.** Richard de Clare Earl of Pembroke (Strongbow) went to Ireland, married Eva, the daughter of Dermot, and, on the death of Dermot, succeeded to Leinster.

[1] The so-called Bull Laudabiliter was *not* the instrument by which the grant was made, but probably a student's exercise.

C. 1171. The Assertion of Henry's Authority.

I. Henry, fearing the formation of an independent Norman principality, and anxious to leave England until the resentment at Becket's murder had subsided, went to Ireland.

II. Homage paid by Strongbow for Leinster.

III. General submission to Henry of the Irish chiefs of the South and East. (Not of Roderick, King of Connaught, who claimed authority over all Ireland, nor of the kings of the extreme North-West. The term "Conquest of Ireland" is therefore inaccurate.)

IV. The settlement of Ireland.

1172. α. At the Council of Cashel the Irish bishops swore allegiance to Henry, and passed canons against the marriage of the clergy.

β. Dublin, Waterford and Wexford became part of the royal domain.

γ. Hugh de Lacy was made Justiciar.

δ. Ireland was regarded as a part of England, not as a separate colony.

V. 1173. Henry returned to England owing to the rebellion of his son Henry, during which his vassals in Ireland remained faithful.

III. John in Ireland.

Gradual extension of Norman rule in Ireland. Submission of Roderick of Connaught.

1185. Prince John appointed (never crowned) King of Ireland. Alienation of the native princes by John's rudeness. Desertion of many of his soldiers. Return of John and speedy loss of most of Ireland. Henry's possessions confined to the "Pale,"[1] the district around Dublin.

References:

A. "Henry II." *Twelve English Statesmen*, chap. VIII.

[1] *L., palus*, an enclosure.

THE REBELLION OF THE YOUNG HENRY, 1173–4

I. **Causes.**

A. Henry II, while allowing his sons considerable power, refused to grant them complete independence.

I. The young Henry, who had been crowned King in **1170**, and also (together with his wife Margaret of France) in **1172**, demanded either Normandy or England as a separate kingdom.

II. Richard, appointed governor of Aquitaine and Poitou, and Geoffrey Count of Brittany also desired independence, and were urged to rebel by their mother, Eleanor.

B. For John (nicknamed "Lackland" because no land had as yet been assigned to him), Henry tried to arrange a marriage with the daughter of the Count of Maurienne and promised him part of Anjou. Consequent opposition of

α. The young Henry, to whom Anjou had been granted.

β. Louis VII, because the acquisition by John of the county of Maurienne in Burgundy would give him the control of the western passes of the Alps, and would check the extension of France towards the south-east.

C. Louis VII gladly supported the rising which threatened to break up Henry II's dominions, and which might prevent John from getting Maurienne.

D. William the Lion, King of Scotland, supported the young Henry on condition of receiving Northumberland, which Malcolm IV had been compelled to give up to Henry II, **1157**.

E. The young Henry promised Kent to the Count of Flanders and Mortain to the Count of Boulogne, who had married King Stephen's daughter.

F. Most of the great Norman barons led by Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, the Earls of Leicester and Chester, joined the rebels, owing to their resentment at the limitation of their power by Henry (page 80).

II. **The rebellion easily suppressed.**

Henry II was strongly supported by the newly created baronage, by the English clergy and people, and by the royal officials led by the Justiciar De Lucy.

A. Abroad.

1173. Complete defeat of the Earl of Chester at Dol in Brittany by Henry, assisted by a large force of Flemish mercenaries.

B. In England.

The rebellion crushed without the King's personal interference.

1174. De Lucy routed and captured the Earl of Leicester at Fornham in Norfolk.

1174. Henry II conciliated popular feeling by doing penance for the murder of Becket. William the Lion captured at Alnwick by the northern levies. Defeat of the rebel fleet and submission of Hugh Bigod.

III. **Results of the Rebellion.**

A. Final overthrow of the feudal power of the Norman barons. Their castles were destroyed, and the barons were never again strong enough to oppose the King by themselves.

B. **1174.** The Treaty of Falaise. William the Lion paid homage to Henry II for Scotland, and English garrisons occupied the chief Scottish castles.

The fidelity of the English was the main cause of Henry's success.

References:

A. "Henry II." *Twelve English Statesmen*, chap. IX.

HENRY II's FOREIGN POLICY

Henry's vast Continental possessions (page 96) made his foreign policy as important as his administrative work in England. His aim was the consolidation rather than the extension of his dominions.

I. France.

Henry's relations with France were the most important part of his foreign policy.

Henry's possessions in France were far greater than those of the King, and formed the chief obstacle to the extension of the royal domain, the chief factor in the history of France during the early Middle Ages.

A. Louis VII.

In spite of efforts to make peace between England and France (e.g. by the marriage of the young Henry and Louis' daughter Margaret), there were frequent wars between Henry II and Louis VII, who made the most of opportunities afforded by the quarrels of Henry and his sons.

(1) Henry made some attempt to extend his dominions in France, but his efforts were generally directed to the preservation of peace and the maintenance of good government in his territory.

1158. Henry obtained the county of Nantes, thus commanding the mouth of the Loire and gaining a point of attack on Brittany.

1159. Failure of his attempt to capture Toulouse, which was claimed by his wife Eleanor.

Henry became suzerain of Brittany owing to the marriage of his son Geoffrey with the heiress.

1173. Failure to secure Maurienne for John.

(2) **1173.** Strong support given by Louis VII to his son-in-law, the young Henry, whose demand for a separate kingdom tended greatly to weaken the Angevin Empire.

B. Philip Augustus, **1180.**

(1) Philip Augustus succeeded his father, Louis VII, in **1180.** At first his relations with Henry II were friendly, and Henry reconciled Philip with his powerful uncles, the Counts of Blois and Champagne, who resented the influence exercised over the young King by Count Philip of Flanders, the uncle of the Queen.

(2) But Philip soon saw the need of weakening Henry's power in France, while Henry failed to appreciate the danger from the bold and unscrupulous Philip, who negotiated with Henry's disloyal sons.

1183. On the death of the young Henry, Philip demanded the return of the Vexin (the dowry of his widowed sister Margaret), which afforded an entrance into Normandy on the south-east.

1186. Death of Geoffrey of Brittany in the midst of negotiations with Philip against his father. Demand by Philip of the wardship of Geoffrey's heiress.[1]

1188. Henry foolishly refused to recognise Richard of Aquitaine as his heir. Alliance of Richard and Philip, afterwards joined by John, against Henry.

1189. The allies captured Le Mans, and Henry was compelled—

α. To accept Richard as his successor,

β. To acknowledge Philip's suzerainty over his French possessions.

1189. Death of Henry at Chinon. His last words, "Shame on a conquered King."

[1] Arthur of Brittany was born after his father's death.

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II. **The Marriages of Henry's Daughters.**

a. Henry's daughter Eleanor married Alfonso VIII of Castile.

β. Henry's daughter Matilda married Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, the head of the family of the Guelphs, and thus became the ancestress of King George V.

γ. Henry's daughter Joanna married William the Good the Norman King of Sicily.

Henry's influence in Europe was greatly strengthened by these marriages. His importance shown

(1) By his selection as arbitrator of a dispute between Castile and Navarre,

(2) By the offer of the crown of Jerusalem 1185.

III. **His suzerainty recognised in North and South Wales** (p. 81), **Scotland** (p. 93), **and part of Ireland** (p. 91).

IV. **General Criticism.**

Henry in his foreign politics attempted an impossible task. His empire was too divided to make permanent union possible. The possession of land in France made lasting hostility between England and France inevitable, and the tradition of friendship between England and Spain, North Germany and Sicily, which Henry founded, by no means compensated for this hostility.

KING HENRY II

I. **Henry was one of the richest Princes in Christendom.**

A. He got Normandy from his mother, obtaining the duchy (conquered and handed over to him by his father Geoffrey) in **1150.** Louis VII tried to conquer it **1151,** but failed. Louis VII recognised Henry as Duke of Normandy.

B. He got Anjou, Maine, and Touraine on the death of his father **1151.**

C. He married Eleanor of Aquitaine, the divorced wife of Louis VII, **1152**, and thus got Aquitaine, Poitou, Perigord, Querey, Limousin, Gascony, and claims on Toulouse. Louis was at once reduced to the scanty territories of the Capetian House and rivalry between France and England was ensured for 300 years.

D. King of England, claimed through his mother, **1154**.

E. He ruled most of South Wales and exercised feudal rights over North Wales.

F. Suzerain of Scotland after **1174**.

He was thus lord of Western Europe from Scotland to the Pyrenees.

BUT α. The bond of union was personal, viz. subjection to one king, not subjection to England, nor community of race or language. The Angevin Empire was an empire of contrasts.

β. Henry's personal interests more closely connected with France than with England.

γ. This empire was bound to fall to pieces as the feeling of nationality grew in France.

II. Henry and England.

A. He saw the need of maintaining the royal supremacy which he successfully asserted over the clergy and nobles who claimed privileges inconsistent with the constitutional development of the country.

B. He continued the work of organising the government of the country, following the example of his grandfather, Henry I.

C. In spite of occasional harshness (e.g. in the administration of the Forest Laws) he gave England peace, and did much to ensure justice between man and man.

D. Although he attached more importance to his Continental possessions than to England, the able ministers whom he wisely selected did much to promote the best interests of this country.

III. **Henry's Personal Character—most Important.**

A. Fierce temper, strong passions, irreligious, immoral, a typical Angevin—of whom a chronicler said: "From the devil they came; to the devil they will go"—hence his later estrangement from Eleanor.

B. An excellent business man. Energetic, methodical, and practical. A great organiser and administrator.

C. His love of hunting partly explains his policy regarding the forests.

D. A feudal king (although he weakened the power of the feudal barons in England). He refused to attack the town of Toulouse because Louis VII, his feudal superior, was in it.

E. Not a man of high ideals. He resolved to be a strong king, but with this exception it is doubtful if he had a clear and definite policy, and whether he fully realised the opportunity afforded by his Continental dominions.

References:

A. "Henry II." *Twelve English Statesmen*, chap. I.

RICHARD I AND THE THIRD CRUSADE, 1189

I. **The Fall of Jerusalem.**

A. The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was weakened by the reign of Baldwin IV (1174–1185), a leper, and of Baldwin V (1185–1186), a child, and by the dispute between the latter's successor, King Guy of Lusignan, and Count Raymond of Tripoli.

B. Degeneration of the people owing to the luxury of Eastern life. "The Latins of the East had forsaken God, and God now forsook them."

C. Saladin, a great soldier and diplomatist, by the conquest of Egypt, Aleppo, and Damascus united the divided Moslem States, routed King Guy and captured the True Cross at Hattin and took Jerusalem 1187.

II. **Henry II and Philip Augustus took the Cross in 1188** owing to the preaching of William Archbishop of Tyre, the famous historian of the Third Crusade, but mutual jealousy prevented them from going to Palestine.

1188. The Saladin Tithe was levied by Henry to meet the expenses of a crusade.

α. The first tax levied on personal property (all previous taxation had been put on land).

β. Assessed and collected by juries (page 89).

III. **Richard I, a typical Knight-errant, the leading figure in the Third Crusade.**

A. To raise money Richard "exposed for sale everything he had."

1. Sale of royal offices.

α. William of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, purchased the chancellorship for £3000.

β. Hugh de Puiset, Bishop of Durham, bought the justiciarship.

γ. Large sums paid by the sheriffs for their offices.

2. The freedom of Scotland sold to William the Lion for 10,000 marks.

3. Richard took large sums of money from the Jews.

B. Richard's journey to Palestine.

(1) **1190.** At Vezelai he made a new alliance with Philip Augustus and went to Sicily.

(2) **1191.** In Sicily.

α. Betrothed to Berengaria of Navarre. Anger of Philip, to whose sister Adela he had been previously betrothed.

β. Supported Tancred in his claim to the throne of Sicily. Anger of the rival claimant, the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry VI.

(3) **1191.** Conquered Cyprus owing to the cruelty shown by King Isaac to English sailors and married Berengaria at Limasol.

(Gave Cyprus to Guy of Lusignan, under whose successors it became a most valuable bulwark against the Turks.)

(4) **1191.** Richard captured Acre, quarrelled with Leopold of Austria, whose banner he tore down from the walls and who went home in consequence. Philip returned to France. The Saracens were routed at Arsuf by Richard. Fortification of Ascalon as a base of operations against Jerusalem.

1192. The French troops deserted Richard and returned to Acre. Richard advanced within sight of Jerusalem, but his army was too weak to attack it. Richard relieved Joppa and made a truce for three years with Saladin, who allowed the Christians to visit the Holy Sepulchre.

Richard checked Saladin's progress, and by his military successes delayed the inevitable fall of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. (The end came with the capture of Acre by the Turks in **1291.**)

IV. **Richard's return from the Crusades and subsequent History.** His return due to fear of treachery on the part of John and of intrigues of Philip Augustus.

A. Richard was shipwrecked in the Adriatic and captured in Vienna by Leopold of Austria. Leopold gave him up to the Emperor, Henry VI, who kept him a prisoner for thirteen months.

B. Successful resistance in England (led by Queen Eleanor) and in Normandy to the attacks of John and Philip.

C. **1194.** Richard released, in spite of the efforts of Philip and John to induce the Emperor to keep him in prison, on payment of 150,000 marks and the acknowledgment of the Emperor's suzerainty over England.

D. May, 1194. Richard left England (never returned). John submitted and was kindly received.

E. War with Philip continued more or less until the death of Richard.

1196. By the Treaty of Gisors, Philip secured the Vexin commanding the entrance to Normandy.

1196. Richard strengthened Normandy by building Château Gaillard (Saucy Castle) on the Seine.

1197. Richard formed an alliance, including his nephew Otto, King of the Germans (son of Henry the Lion), and the Counts of Champagne, Boulogne, and Flanders against Philip.

1198. Richard routed Philip at Gisors. Philip was nearly drowned in the River Epte. "I have made Philip drink deep of the waters of the Epte."

1199. Richard slain at Chaluz, which he had besieged, owing to the refusal of his vassal the Count to give up treasure he had found which Richard needed to pay the expenses of his war against Philip.

References:

A. Story of the Nations. *The Crusades*, pp. 304–48.
C. *The Talisman*, Sir Walter Scott.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL IMPORTANCE OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD I

I. **The Reign of Henry II closes the Feudal Period of English History.**

A. England gradually became the most important part of the Angevin dominions.

B. The system of government founded by Henry was continued in the reign of Richard, whose long absence threw the direction of affairs into the hands of his ministers, under whom that system was extended.

II. The Deposition of Longchamp.

William of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely and Chancellor, was hated by the barons (especially Hugh de Puiset, the high-born Bishop of Durham, and Geoffrey Archbishop of York, the illegitimate son of Henry II) because of his tyranny and low birth. His exactions made him unpopular with the people, and opposition to him was supported by John and London.

1191. Deposition of Longchamp for bad government. This

α. Marks the growth of the idea of ministerial responsibility,

β. Was accomplished by the union of the barons supported by the Church and people, and the means which now proved successful against Longchamp were to prove successful against John in 1215.

III. The Justiciarship of Hubert Walter, 1194–1198.

A. The Great Carucage of 1198.

A tax of 5s. on each "carucate," or 100 acres, taxes previously imposed upon the hide (120 acres), and a new survey was made necessary by the change.

(1) Two knights elected in the Shire Court to assist in the assessment.

(2) The assessment made on the evidence of sworn jurors, i.e. the jury system — the system by which chosen men acted as representatives of their locality—which had been used in the Saladin Tithe to assess personal was now used in the assessment of real property. (Later the same system will be used to elect representatives in Parliament who in time gain the power of granting money, as distinct from making an assessment to meet the King's demand, and finally of determining the method of expenditure.)

B. Growing importance of the knights of the shire and weakening of the power of the sheriff.

(1) The importance of the former shown by the part assigned them in the assessment of the Great Carucage and by the duty of nominating the Grand Jury, assigned to four knights elected at the Shire Court.

(2) The power of the sheriffs weakened

1194. By the election in the Shire Court of four "coroners" to reserve cases for the King's justices. This had been previously done by the sheriffs.

1194. The sheriffs were forbidden to act as justices in their own county.

1194. The sheriffs lost the power of nominating Grand Juries.

C. Opposition of Hugh of Lincoln to the heavy burden of military service.

1197. Hugh Bishop of Lincoln refused Hubert Walter's demand for knights to fight in Normandy with Richard on the ground that his lands were not liable to foreign service. Thus, like Becket in **1164** (p. 82), he afforded an important example of successful constitutional resistance to the King's demand.

Resignation of the justiciarship by Hubert Walter; appointment of Geoffrey Fitzpeter.

IV. **The Development of Towns.**

The growing importance of the towns was due to national prosperity, to increasing commerce (especially with the East owing to the Crusades), and growth of wealth, which enabled them to buy privileges from king or barons.

A. London.

(1) Growth of the merchant guild (between **1066** and **1200**) possessing the right of regulating trade, including all traders, exercising a monopoly of local trade.

(2) **1191.** John and the barons granted a commune or corporation (involving government by mayor and aldermen representing city wards) in return for the support of the Londoners against Longchamp. London thus became a "collective, popular seignory,"

i.e. its corporation stood in the position of a great tenant-in-chief to the King, exercising the rights and owing the obligations of a feudal baron.

It seems probable that the leading men of the merchant guild formed the corporation, and thus the government of the city was an oligarchy administered by a few wealthy burgesses.

(3) The rising of William FitzOsbert **1196.**

This was due to the unfair incidence of taxation upon the craftsmen whose craft guilds (formed to regulate industry in particular trades) were not as yet strong enough to resist the selfish policy of the merchant guild. Hubert, owing to the need of money for the war against Philip, supported the merchant guild. The death of FitzOsbert, driven by fire from sanctuary in the Church of St. Mary le Bow, weakened Hubert Walter by arousing the enmity of the commons of London and of the clergy.

B. Other towns made good use of the opportunities afforded by the financial needs of the King. London alone obtained the full position of a "commune," and London did not keep this position permanently. But other towns became important owing to the charters they secured, by which they obtained different rights and privileges, such as freedom from toll, exemption from the external jurisdiction of the shire and hundred courts, the election of their own magistrates.

References :

A. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. I, pp. 543–51.

B. "Towns." Medley's *English Constitutional History*, pp. 424–31.

C. For the condition of England :—
Ivanhoe, Sir Walter Scott.
In Lincoln Green, by Gilliat, Seeley.

THE LOSS OF NORMANDY

I. **Growing National feeling in France made the loss inevitable.**

II. **Events leading up to the Loss.**

A. Philip Augustus made excellent use of his opportunity to support the rival of the English King. Arthur of Brittany did homage to Philip for Anjou, Maine, and Touraine.

B. **1199.** Philip quarrelled with Innocent III owing to his repudiation of his wife Ingeburga of Denmark for his mistress Agnes of Meran. Owing to this quarrel Philip made a treaty recognising John as heir of *all* Henry II's French fiefs, including Brittany.

C. John should have used his opportunity, but failed.

(1) He was immoral, false and cruel, therefore hated in England and France.

(2) He divorced his wife Hadwisa of Gloucester (thus offending the powerful Gloucester family) and married Isabella of Angoulême, betrothed to Hugh the Brown, son of the Count de la Marche, thus

α. Broke his feudal contract with very powerful vassals,

β. Gave the Lusignans "a legal right of appeal to their suzerain and a moral right to rebellion."

1201. γ. Agnes of Meran died. Philip made peace with the Pope.

D. John was summoned to Philip's court to answer complaints made against him by the barons of Poitou. He refused to attend, and was deprived of his fiefs, not because of the complaints, but because he refused to obey the summons of his feudal superior.

E. War.

(1) Arthur was captured at Mirabeau and then disappeared There was no actual knowledge of the facts, but no one suggested that John was incapable of murdering Arthur, and the belief that he was responsible greatly weakened his position.

(2) Normandy was easily overrun.

1204. The capture of Château Gaillard and Rouen was soon followed by the loss of the duchy.

α. The general prevalence of treason made defence impossible.

β. The growing feeling of nationality in France affected Normandy.

γ. John, although often an energetic soldier, now became careless; he could trust no one, and seemed to lose all power of action.

(3) Touraine and Poitou were captured by Philip, but Gascony was saved.

F. **1204.** The death of his mother, Eleanor—experienced, diplomatic, and loyal to the Angevins—was a great blow to John.

III. **Results of the Loss of Normandy.**

A. A great blessing for France and a remarkable triumph for Philip. All the recent conquests except Brittany were incorporated in the Royal domain—consequent increase in the power of the monarchy.

B. A great blessing for England.

(1) The Norman kings had valued Normandy as much as England, and since **1154** England had been merely a province of the Angevin Empire.

(2) Now, England stood alone (except for Aquitaine); the feeling of nationality was growing owing to the intermarriage of Normans and Saxons and to the unity of England under strong kings, and later England, owing partly to this unity, became one of the leading European kingdoms.

C. Great effect on the position of the English nobles.

(1) They had to choose between allegiance to French and English kings.

(2) They became English and showed their national sympathies by defending the interests of England in the struggle with John.

D. The loss of Normandy was a great blow to John's personal influence.

References :

A. *The Political History of England, 1066–1216*, by Adams, pp. 390–406.

C. *Philip Augustus*, by James, Routledge.

FROM THE LOSS OF NORMANDY TO MAGNA CHARTA

The Death of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1205, removed a restraining influence over John, who, on hearing the news, exclaimed, "Now am I King of England!"

I. John and Innocent III.

A. Election of Hubert's successor 1205.

(1) The monks of the cathedral objected to the interference of the bishops of the province in the election of archbishops, and to the King's claim to appoint archbishops, and elected their sub-prior Reginald.

(2) The bishops and the King strongly objected to this election, and the monks, annoyed by the foolish conduct of Reginald, then elected the King's nominee, John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich.

(3) Innocent III ordered a commission of the chapter to come to him to settle the question, and refused to recognise either John de Grey or Reginald. Innocent III nominated his own candidate, Stephen Langton.

John was very angry. He expelled the monks and confiscated their lands.

B. John wanted money. The feudal revenues proved inadequate, and therefore he put a tax on the incomes of beneficed clergy. Innocent put the country under an interdict **1208.** The property of the clergy who obeyed was confiscated by the King.

The struggle between John and Innocent III showed the enormous power of the monarchy. In spite of great unpopularity, tyranny, the badness of his cause, and the interdict, John resisted successfully until forced to yield by a combination of internal disaffection and foreign war in **1213.**

C. The period of successful resistance **1208–1213.**

(1) John's power due to

α. Tyranny. He took hostages from the barons, crushed under sheets of lead the Archdeacon of Norwich who opposed him, and starved to death the wife and son of William de Braose, another opponent.

β. John introduced foreign mercenaries led by Gerard d'Athies and Fawkes de Breauté.

γ. Lack of unity and jealousy between the barons. But the tyranny of John soon caused the barons to unite, and the union of the barons is one of the most important features in the history of the thirteenth century.

(2) Great successes in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.

1209. α. Scotland. William the Lion submitted, and John got the marriages of his children.

1210. β. Ireland. Captured Carrickfergus and drove out the rebellious Lacies. The native kings swore allegiance at Dublin.

1211. γ. Wales. John defeated Llewellyn.

(3) **1209.** John was excommunicated by Innocent III.

But the King was so strong that the excommunication could not be published at all in England. All the barons attended the Christmas court in **1209.** Homage was renewed by all the free tenants of England and Wales.

(4) **1212.** Alliance with his nephew the Emperor, Otto IV, the Count of Boulogne, Ferdinand of Portugal, and the princes of North-East France, against Philip, as a preliminary to the recapture of Normandy. Most skilful diplomacy on John's part.

D. Submission to Papacy May 13th, **1213.**

(1) Causes.

α. Revolt in Wales and much disaffection in England. Two barons, Fitzwalter and de Vescy, refused a further oath of loyalty and fled.

Peter of Pontefract prophesied John's speedy deposition.

β. Innocent III authorised Philip Augustus to deprive John of the kingdom.

γ. John had no confidence in his army, and Philip's fleet was ready.

(2) Actual submission.

John surrendered the kingdom to the Pope, paid homage to Pandulf; accepted Langton as archbishop; reinstated the exiled clergy and compensated them for their losses.

α. The acknowledgment of the Pope's supremacy was probably a voluntary act of John's.

β. Nothing else would have saved him.

γ. It was not an act of degradation, most kings were vassals, e.g. Richard I (**1194**) became a vassal of the Empire.

δ. No objection was raised to this act during the later rebellion, and possibly John's submission was made with the consent of the barons.

(3) Grave danger to the kingdom arose from the alliance of John and the Pope, and the necessity of limiting the royal power was made clear. Hence Magna Charta, the work of the united nation (Baronage, Church, and People).

Reference:

A. *Short History of the English People*, pp. 122–7.

MAGNA CHARTA, 1215

I. **The Absolute Power of John.**

In the reign of John the monarchy became absolute, owing to the weakening of the baronial power and the development of Henry II's system of centralised government. But under Richard I and John there was also a growing disposition to question the King's right to absolute power, and the barons gradually learned the necessity of uniting the whole nation in resistance to the King.

II. **The Battle of Bouvines.**

John, having made peace with the Pope, determined to win back Normandy and Poitou from Philip Augustus.

A. **1213.** A naval victory gained by William Longsword Earl of Salisbury over the French fleet at Damme saved England from invasion.

B. John determined to attack Poitou while his allies, the Emperor Otto IV and the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne, invaded France from the north.

C. The northern barons refused to serve under an excommunicated King, and, when the excommunication had been removed by Langton, denied their obligation to serve out of England. Their action, theoretically indefensible, was justified by their distrust of the King. John, unable to raise an adequate force, was defeated in Poitou.

D. **1214.** Philip routed John's allies at the battle of Bouvines (Flanders), and thus—

α. Ensured his retention of Normandy,

β. Weakened the power of John and facilitated the triumph of his opponents in England. The battle of Bouvines made Magna Charta possible.

III. **The Opponents of the King.**

A. The barons.

(1) The barons were discontented with their loss of power through the growth of absolute monarchy. They had suffered much from John's cruel punishments, heavy exactions, harsh exercise of feudal rights (particularly of wardship and marriage), and, in some cases, from his immoral conduct.

1213. The appointment of Peter des Roches Bishop of Winchester, a servant of John's, to succeed Geoffrey Fitz Peter (who had repeatedly opposed John) as Justiciar, showed the barons that they must depend upon their own efforts.

(2) All the barons united to oppose John, including—

α. The northern nobility (e.g. Peter de Brus and Nicholas de Stutville). These were largely descendants of the lesser nobility of early Norman times, had faithfully supported the kings against the great barons, and bravely resisted the Scotch, e.g. at Northallerton, **1138**, and Alnwick, **1174**. They began the quarrel and supplied the force necessary for success.

β. The descendants of the great Norman barons; Robert FitzWalter, the leader of the baronial army, and the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk.

γ. The connections of the royal family (e.g. William Earl of Salisbury, an illegitimate son of Henry II) and the acting officials of the Curia Regis joined the barons after they reached London.

Pandulf, the Papal Legate, Peter des Roches, the new Justiciar, Fawkes de Breauté and Philip, son of Mark, the leaders of John's mercenaries, supported the King to the end.

B. Stephen Langton.

I. **1213.** Produced the Charter of Henry I at St. Paul's. This was accepted by the barons as a basis of negotiation.

II. United clergy, nobles, and people into a party of constitutional reform, and thus made the struggle national, and not merely feudal.

C. The Londoners and the country generally were ready to rebel owing to the exactions of the King and of his foreign mercenaries.

D. Llewellyn ap Iorwerth, Prince of North Wales, anxious to regain the power he had lost owing to John's successful campaign in Wales **1211**, joined the barons.

E. Alexander II, King of Scotland, also joined the barons.

IV. **Events leading up to the Charter.**

1214. Return of John from Poitou.

General rising of the barons who met at Bury St. Edmunds, and formally demanded from the King reforms based on the Charter of Henry I.

1215. John attempted to strengthen his position by hiring mercenaries, fortifying the royal castles, and taking the Cross as a Crusader.

John tried to win over the Church (and thus to divide his opponents) by promising freedom of election to bishoprics and abbeys.

Refusal by John of the demands made by the barons, who formally renounced their allegiance and marched from Stamford to London under Robert FitzWalter.

The barons were joined by the Government officials and the citizens of London.

Refusal of Langton (who, though a strong supporter of reform, had remained in attendance on the King) to excommunicate John's opponents. John forced to submit.

Meeting of John and the rebels at Runnymede.

June 15, 1215. Magna Charta sealed.

V. **The Magna Charta.**

A. The Church.

The Church to have freedom of election.

But the King still gave leave to elect bishops and nominated by letters the successful candidate.

B. Limitation of the abuse of feudal rights, of reliefs, wardship, and marriage.

Reliefs to be fixed.

The guardian of a ward's estate to take only "reasonable expenses."

Heirs to be married "without disparagement" (i.e. without prejudice to their rank or estate).

C. The Commune Concilium to authorise taxation.

No scutage or aid (except the three regular aids, page 49) to be levied from the King's feudal tenants unless by consent of the Commune Concilium, to which

(1) Archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons must be summoned individually by writ.

(2) Other tenants-in-chief to be summoned by a general writ sent to the sheriff.

α. The clause about taxation protected only the tenants-in-chief, and was omitted from the confirmations of the Charter under Henry III, and this omission was one reason for the discontent of the barons in his reign.

1297. The Confirmation of the Charters (page 151) provided that certain aids and taxes should not be taken without consent of Parliament (which after **1295** included representatives of cities and boroughs). This was reaffirmed by the Petition of Right, **1628.**

β. The general summons issued to the general body of tenants-in-chief was frequently disregarded, and the greater barons tended to make a selfish use of their power. Hence

(1) The justification for the admission to Parliament of representatives of cities and boroughs by Simon de Montfort, 1265, and Edward I, 1295.

(2) When the Houses of Lords and Commons were divided into two Houses in 1341 membership of the former was not conferred by the general summons, and the smaller tenants-in-chief who entered Parliament did so usually as county members of the House of Commons, not as members of the House of Lords. It was these knights of the shire who "fought the battle of the constitution" during the fourteenth century.

D. The Law Courts and justice.

(1) The Court of Common Pleas not to follow the King's Court, but to be held in a fixed place.

A great boon to suitors, who were thus saved from the heavy expense of following the court about the country.

(2) Two justices of the Curia Regis and four knights chosen by the county court to hold assizes four times a year in the shire courts.

(3) The levy of fines.

α. Freemen not to be deprived of the means of earning their living by way of fine, e.g. a merchant's goods not to be taken.

β. Earls and barons to be fined by their peers.

γ. All fines to be in proportion to the offence.

(4) No sheriff, constable, coroner or bailiff of the King to hold the pleas of the Crown, and only men who "know the law" to be appointed as justices, etc.

Thus all serious crimes would be tried before the King's justices—men of good legal knowledge.

(5) No royal bailiff to put a man on trial on his bare statement without witnesses.

(6) The "essential clauses" (Hallam).

α. "No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or deprived of his property, or outlawed or exiled, or anyways destroyed; nor will we go upon him, nor will we send upon him, unless by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land."

β. "To none will we sell, to none will we deny or delay right or justice."

These clauses "protect the personal liberty and property of all freemen, by giving security from arbitrary imprisonment and arbitrary spoliation."

But prisoners were frequently kept in prison a long time before their trial, and to meet this injustice the Habeas Corpus Act was passed in 1679 to ensure speedy trial or release on bail pending trial.

E. Limitation of royal exactions.

(1) Purveyance. (A royal prerogative of purchasing goods for the King's household through the King's purveyors. Great hardship had been caused by the arbitrary exercise of this right.)

Royal purveyors not to take corn or chattels without payment, or horses, carriages or timber without the owner's consent.

(2) The ferms[1] of counties, hundreds, and tithings not to be increased.

(3) Removal of harsh regulations respecting debts due to the Crown and to the Jews.

F. Forests.

(1) People dwelling outside forests not to be compelled to attend the forest courts.

[1] Amount payable yearly to the King.

(2) Afforestments made by John to be deforested.

(3) Twelve sworn knights elected by the county court to make inquiry in each county concerning all "bad customs of the forests."

G. Towns and commerce.

(1) London and all other towns to have all their ancient privileges.

(2) One standard of weights and measures to be fixed for the kingdom.

(3) Merchants to enter, leave, and dwell in England without unfair tolls.

H. Temporary provisions.

(1) Mercenaries to leave the country.

(2) Fair treatment to be given to Llewellyn of Wales and the King of Scotland.

I. The enforcement of Magna Charta.

The whole baronage to elect a council of twenty-five, who, if the King refused to redress the slightest violation of the Charter, should "with the commonalty of the whole land" obtain redress by force, saving harmless the persons of the King, Queen and their children.

This clause implied the duty of the King to keep the laws and asserted the right of his subjects to rebel in case of his refusal to redress violation. It thus denied the right of the King to the absolute power hitherto enjoyed by John.

VI. General Criticism.

A. Magna Charta is of supreme importance in English constitutional history. Hallam called it "the keystone of English liberty"; Chatham asserted that Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, and the Bill of Rights were "the Bible of the English Constitution."

B. Magna Charta was the work of the united nation (barons, clergy, and people). "The first public act of the nation after it has realised its own identity."

C. The feudal element in Magna Charta is very strong and the feudal barons took the lead in the struggle. But, owing to the separation between England and Normandy, the barons were now thoroughly English and unselfishly used their success not to promote their own interests but for the good of the nation.

α. The barons (not, as in the case of Henry I's Charter, the King) inserted a clause that all men should keep the charter towards their men just as the King would keep it towards his.

β. The barons protected the freeholder, the merchant and the villein as well as themselves.

γ. The Magna Charta was not a piece of class legislation.

D. Magna Charta, founded on Henry I's Charter, was conservative. It contained few new elements. But early charters had been vague, and the Magna Charta clearly reasserted old rights.

E. The mention of "communa totius terrae," the commonalty of the whole land, who were to co-operate with the twenty-five barons in maintaining Magna Charta, shows that the people were beginning to be recognised as a factor in politics.

References:

A. *English Constitutional History*, Taswell-Langmead, chap. IV.

B. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol I, p. 569.

C. *Runnymede and Lincoln Fair*, by Edgar, Ward, Lock & Co.

KING JOHN'S REVENGE, 1215

I. **John's Acceptance of Magna Charta had been due to Compulsion.**

He at once attempted to regain his power.

A. The concession of the Charter broke up the baronial coalition. The northern barons, led by Fitzwalter, had withdrawn from Runnymede and continued their opposition to John, but a number of the nobles, including the Earls of Pembroke and Salisbury, joined him.

B. Innocent III annulled the Charter. This action was justified by feudal law, because John, as a feudal tenant of the Pope, had no right by concessions to diminish the value of his fief.

C. The twenty-five barons secured various counties, but John tried to weaken them by appointing his own sheriffs.

D. John hired more mercenaries, mostly French, fortified the royal castles, and obtained a strong fleet.

E. Pandulf excommunicated John's leading opponents and suspended Langton, who went to Rome.

II. **John's Early Successes.**

John captured Rochester, subdued the northern counties, and captured Berwick.

1216. The Earl of Salisbury conquered the Midlands. John captured Colchester.

III. **Louis (afterwards Louis VIII), son of Philip Augustus, and the English Crown.**

A. The opponents of John were too weak to resist him, and foreign help was necessary. The choice of Louis due

(1) To the reluctance of John's French mercenaries to fight against the son of their own King.

(2) Louis had married Blanche of Castile, granddaughter of Henry II.

(3) Louis would have been proclaimed King of England in 1213 if Philip's proposed interference had proved successful.

B. Louis asserted

(1) That John's right to the throne had been rendered void by his condemnation for treachery to Richard and that the crown belonged to Blanche;

(2) That John had been condemned for the murder of Arthur;

(3) That he (Louis) was not bound by the treaty Philip Augustus had made with John.

C. Louis landed in Thanet (a storm had destroyed John's fleet), entered London, where the barons paid homage, and captured Winchester. Gallant defence of Dover against Louis by Hubert de Burgh. John was weakened by the desertion of many of the earls (including William of Salisbury, not William the Marshal, Earl of Pembroke), and of his French mercenaries, who would not fight against Louis, and retreated to Shrewsbury. He marched to Lincoln, laying waste the Midlands, raised the siege of Lincoln, gained a victory at Lynn, but lost all his baggage when crossing the Wash. October 19th, 1216. Death of John at Newark, owing to surfeit of peaches and ale and vexation at the loss of his baggage. He named Henry as his heir and the faithful William the Marshal as Henry's guardian.

THE REIGN OF HENRY III TO THE FALL OF HUBERT DE BURGH, 1216–1232

I. The Administration of William the Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, "Rector regis et regni," 1216–1219.

William the Marshal was supported by Gualo the Papal Legate, the Earls of Chester and Derby, the lords of the Welsh Marches, Hubert de Burgh, the royal officials, and Fawkes de Breauté.

1216. Henry crowned at Gloucester.

A. **1216.** Magna Charta confirmed at Bristol.

(1) The clauses deciding the constitution of the Great Council and giving the Council control over taxation were omitted because it was thought unwise to hamper the Government in a time of great danger.

(2) But the acceptance of Magna Charta by the Papal Legate and the Marshal made it permanent. The effect of the original issue had been greatly weakened by its repudiation by Innocent III.

B. The expulsion of the French.

Growing feeling of national opposition to Louis, now excommunicated by the Pope. Desertion of Louis by many English barons, including William of Salisbury.

1217. The French routed at Lincoln Fair by the Marshal.

1217. Hubert de Burgh defeated the French fleet off Dover. He got to windward and threw powdered quicklime in their faces.

1217. Treaty of Lambeth.

(1) All Louis' English supporters to be restored to their lands and to pay homage to Henry.

(2) All towns and castles held by Louis to be given up to the King.

(3) William the Marshal paid Louis 10,000 marks.

Departure of Louis and general pacification in England.

C. **1217.** Second issue of the Bristol Charter.

Issue of a Charter of the Forests deforesting forests recently made and cancelling many of the harsh forest regulations made by Henry II.

1219. Death of William the Marshal.

D. The importance of his work.

(1) He established the Magna Charta as a permanent part of the constitution.

(2) He expelled the French.

But this could not have been done without the strong support of Gualo, the loyal barons, and Fawkes de Breauté. Owing to that support—

α. The Papacy gained great influence in England, but hostility was aroused owing to the harsh treatment by Gualo of Louis' clerical supporters.

β. The loyal barons and Fawkes de Breauté became dangerously powerful owing to the large grants with which their support was rewarded.

II. **Hubert de Burgh became Regent on William the Marshal's death in 1219.**

A. **1223.** He compelled William of Aumale and the Earl of Chester to give up royal castles and thus weakened the old baronial party.

B. His main object was to restore the administration to Englishmen, and his policy was "England for the English."

(1) **1224.** Fawkes de Breauté's castle of Bedford was captured and Fawkes driven out of England in spite of the support he had given to William the Marshal.

(2) **1227.** Peter des Roches and his Poitevin friends banished.

(3) Hubert strongly opposed the extension of Papal influence in England.

1221. On the departure of Pandulf (who had succeeded Gualo as Papal Legate) the Pope promised that no Legate should be sent to England during the lifetime of Langton, the supporter of Hubert.

But α. Gregory IX began to give English livings to foreigners, and

1228. β. On the death of Langton demanded a tithe of movable property.

1232. Hubert neglected to stop Robert Thweng, who took the money collected from the people by Papal agents and gave it to the poor.

C. Hubert strongly disapproved of Henry III's desire to reconquer the Angevin lands in France. He wished to keep England at peace, and thus to save the heavy expenses of war.

1230. Henry III, in alliance with Pierre Mauclerc of Brittany, who had rebelled against Blanche of Castile (Regent of France for her son, Louis IX), led an unsuccessful expedition to Brittany and Poitou.

1228 and **1231.** Failure of expeditions against Llewellyn of Wales.

D. Hubert was the last of the great Justiciars. He tried to restore the system of Henry II, but the development of the constitution was inconsistent with the absolute power of the King, and made the justiciarship of less importance than in the past.

E. The fall of Hubert **1232**, due to the hatred of the barons, whose power he limited, to the strong opposition of the Papal party, of Peter des Roches (who had returned in **1231**), to the feeling caused by the heavy taxes he had been compelled to levy for the King's wars, and to jealousy of the great wealth he had accumulated.

He was accused of mismanagement of the finances, of dissuading the King from recovering Normandy, and of supporting Thweng. Frivolous charges brought against him included those of poisoning William the Marshal and William Earl of Salisbury, and of magic and witchcraft.

III. **The Constitutional importance of the King's Minority.**

A. It showed that the King was not essential for government.

B. The attack on Hubert de Burgh showed the growth of the idea of ministerial responsibility.

C. The conditions of the regency led to the beginning of an inner ministerial council as distinct from the Commune Concilium. The beginning of the idea of a privy council.

References :

A. Green's *Short History of the English People*, pp. 130–1, and 141–44.

C. *The Robber Baron of Bedford Castle*, by Foster, Nelson.

THE CAUSES OF THE RISING OF 1258

I. **The King's personal character.**

Henry III was weak, unable to carry out a strong policy; he was lacking in stability of purpose, untrustworthy, and continually yielded to the Pope and to favourites. He was unable, owing to poverty, to raise an army of mercenaries. He had little sympathy with English ways, though proud of his English ancestry, and seldom trusted men of English blood.

On the fall of Peter des Roches, 1234, he resolved to be his own minister, ruling through royal clerks, not barons. His attempt at "personal government" failed, because of the natural indolence of Henry and the inefficiency of his servants, and caused much indignation among the barons.

II. **Papal Aggression.**

The King, partly through his religious character, partly through gratitude to the Church for helping him to get the throne, partly through weakness, allowed the Pope too much power. Hubert de Burgh, Richard of Cornwall, and Grossetête Bishop of Lincoln, opposed in vain the growth of Papal influence in England.

A. England was heavily taxed for the support of Papal schemes against the Emperor Frederick II. Richard of Cornwall said: "England is like a vineyard with a broken hedge. All steal the grapes."

1229. One-tenth demanded by Gregory IX on all clerical property. Collected by Master Stephen; opposed by Robert Twenge.

1240. Gregory IX demanded 20 % of clerical goods.

1244. Innocent IV continued the quarrel of his predecessor with the Emperor Frederick II, and sent Master Martin to extort more money from England.

B. Grant of English livings to foreigners.

1240. Gregory IX demanded that three hundred Roman clerks should be presented to English livings to win over their friends to his cause.

C. Cardinal Otto, the Papal Legate **1237–1241**, in spite of his excellent character, roused opposition. Pandulf had acknowledged the supremacy of Canterbury, but Otto refused and claimed jurisdiction over Scotland also. Great riot at Oxford owing to Otto's demands for money.

III. **The King's Foreign Policy.**

A. France.

Joan of Toulouse (daughter of Raymond) married Alfonse, brother of Louis IX. Louis invested Alfonse with Poitou. Rising of Poitevin lords, who feared the loss of their feudal independence, led by Hugh de Lusignan, Henry's stepfather, and supported by Henry III. Henry III was defeated at Taillebourg and Saintes **1242.**

1243. Henry gave up his claim to Poitou.

B. Henry married his sister Isabella to Frederick II in the hope of using Frederick to counterbalance the French power, but he also

(1) Allowed the Pope to draw money from England to use against Frederick;

(2) Allowed Otto to excommunicate Frederick in England;

(3) **1255.** Accepted the crown of Sicily, part of the dominions of Frederick II, for his son Edmund from the Pope, and agreed to discharge the heavy expenses involved.

C. Gascony.

1248. Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who had married Henry's sister Eleanor (widow of William the Marshal), was appointed governor of Gascony. In spite of Henry's failure to give him adequate support he protected Gascony from foreign foes, and put down the turbulent Gascon barons. The harshness of his successful administration caused great discontent. He was unjustly treated by Henry and resigned the governorship in **1252.**

D. Llewellyn ap Griffith rebelled and became Prince of Wales.

IV. **The Alien Favourites.**

A. The English barons strongly objected to the King's foreign favourites because

α. English money, lands, wardships, and marriages were given to foreigners.

β. The King took the advice of foreigners, not of Englishmen, and thus the importance of the Great Council was diminished.

B. The Poitevin followers of Peter des Roches lost power at the fall of their master **1234.**

C. Henry's marriage to Eleanor of Provence, **1236**, led to the coming of her Provençal relatives.

(1) Her uncle, William of Valence, became Bishop of Winchester.

(2) Her uncle, Peter of Savoy, became Earl of Richmond.

(3) Her uncle, Boniface, became Archbishop of Canterbury.

(4) Richard of Cornwall married Henry's sister-in-law, Sanchia of Provence, and joined the Court party.

D. The Lusignans, children of the King's mother and her second husband, Hugh X of Lusignan, Count de la Marche, ruined by French victories in **1242**, came to England. Another Poitevin invasion.

(1) William of Valence, the King's half-brother, became Earl of Pembroke.

(2) Aymer of Valence, the King's half-brother, became Bishop of Winchester.

(3) Alice of Valence, the King's half-sister, married the Earl of Surrey.

V. **The Finances were in a hopeless condition.**

Much money was wasted by the extravagant King. Great grants were made to foreigners. Heavy expenses of campaigns in Wales, Poitou, and Gascony. Heavy expenses of the expedition to get the Sicilian crown for Edmund; this very important because "Alexander IV's demand for the discharge of Henry's obligation had contributed not a little towards focussing the general discontent."

VI. **Hopeless misgovernment of the Country.**

1257. Distress caused by bad government was aggravated by bad crops, famine, and the hard winter.

VII. **The Position of the English Barons.**

Their strong opposition was due to Papal aggression, the King's attempt at personal government, the foreigners, and the financial position. The baronial opposition partly selfish (they wanted to get the government in baronial hands. The Marcher barons failed to support Prince Edward, who had received Chester, against Llewellyn, through fear of the growth of Edward's power and the diminution of their own), partly constitutional. They were supported by Grossetête. In **1254** Simon de Montfort, although a foreigner, became leader of the opposition.

1244. The barons demanded the appointment of a justiciar, a chancellor, and a treasurer by the Great Council. This was to end the personal government.

1248 and **1255.** They repeated their request.

1257. They rejected Henry's demand for money, thus compelling reform.

Reference:

A. *Simon de Montfort*, by Prothero, chap. VI. Longmans.

THE PROVISIONS OF OXFORD, 1258

I. The "Mad Parliament."

This name was given by the King's friends to the Great Council which met at Oxford, June, 1258.

A. The barons presented petitions complaining of

- α. The favour shown to foreign favourites.
- β. Interference with ecclesiastical elections.
- γ. Illegal exactions of feudal services.
- δ. The abuse of purveyance.

B. Joint appointment by the Mad Parliament and the King of a committee of twenty-four which drew up the preliminary articles of reform which were called the "Provisions of Oxford." Henry's nominees included three of his half-brothers and probably his wife's uncle, Archbishop Boniface. Of the baron's nominees Simon de Montfort was the only foreigner, and Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, the only ecclesiastic.

II. The Provisions of Oxford.

A. A Council of Fifteen to advise the King.

B. A Council of Twelve to meet the Council of Fifteen thrice yearly.

C. A Council of Twenty-four to make grants to the King.

D. The original twenty-four to organise the King's household and church.

E. Aliens to be expelled. Royal castles to be surrendered.

III. Criticism.

A. A limited monarchy, foreshadowed in Henry's minority, was established. The King's authority was to be exercised in commission by a body of magnates.

B. The great magnates alone had power. But there was no sign of the disruptive tendency, which had been the great danger from the early Norman barons.

C. The aliens were expelled, the Savoyards went voluntarily, but the Poitevins were driven out by force of arms.

IV. **This Settlement led to Division among the Barons.**

A. One party led by the Earl of Gloucester was satisfied with the expulsion of the foreigners. They were not anxious for reform, and had no sympathy with the lesser feudal tenants and still less with the towns.

B. The other party led by Simon wanted reform and the recognition of popular rights. The representatives of the knights approached Edward, and in consequence by the provisions of Westminster he carried out reforms and provided for the proper appointment and control of sheriffs and for the redress of abuses of the Forest Laws.

Reference :

A. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. II, pp. 78–85.

SIMON DE MONTFORT

I. His early life.

The second son of Simon de Montfort, who had crushed the Albigensian heresy in Provence. He obtained the earldom of Leicester through his grandmother, and married Henry III's sister Eleanor, the widow of William Marshal the Younger, in **1238**. Appointed Seneschal of Gascony, where he repressed turbulent local barons (e.g. Gaston de Béarn) and put down the Pastoureaux (dangerous robber bands). The heavy taxes he imposed, and his harsh rule, made him unpopular, but he served Henry faithfully. Henry ungratefully deprived him of office **1252.**

II. **From 1252 to the Barons' War.**

A. Simon returned to England and joined the opposition. Although a foreigner he sympathised with the national party in England, and strongly opposed the King's foreign favourites, the aggression of the Pope, the acceptance of the kingdom of Sicily for Edmund, and the King's misgovernment.

B. He took an active part in securing the reforms of the Provisions of Oxford **1258**, but wished the nation and not the barons alone to reap the benefit. He therefore quarrelled with the Earl of Gloucester, the leader of the barons, and was supported by Prince Edward.[1]

C. **1259**. He negotiated the Treaty of Paris, by which Henry gave up his claim to Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, and Maine, but was recognised as Duke of Aquitaine, and agreed to pay homage to Louis IX for Gascony.

D. Although Henry's repudiation of the Provisions of Oxford tended to unite the opposition for a time, the royalist party now led by Prince Edward grew stronger owing

1262. *α*. To the acceptance of the Provisions by Henry.

β. To the imperious temper of Simon and the violence of his sons, which alienated many supporters.

γ. To the adhesion of the Marcher nobles, especially Roger Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore.

1264. *δ*. To the refusal of Simon to accept the Mise of Amiens, by which Louis IX, to whom, with Simon's consent, the dispute had been referred for arbitration, annulled the Provisions.

[1] The title "Prince Edward" is not strictly correct; he was known to his contemporaries as "The Lord Edward."

III. **The Barons' War.**

Simon was supported by a few of the barons (including Hugh le Despenser the Justiciar, and, at first, the young Earl of Gloucester, son of his old opponent), many of the clergy, the Londoners, the Cinque Ports, the friars, the common people, and Llewellyn ap Griffith, Prince of North Wales (with whom he made an alliance to counteract the support given to Prince Edward by the Marcher lords).

1264. Rebellion of London.

Henry captured Northampton and Nottingham and relieved Rochester.

Henry was defeated and captured at Lewes.

α. The victory was gained not by the barons but by Simon's personal adherents.

β. Simon was now dictator.

1264. The Mise of Lewes. A Council of Nine (practically nominated by Simon) to attend and advise the King. Strong opposition of the Pope. The Marcher lords and Queen Eleanor tried now to raise an army in France.

IV. **"Earl Simon's Parliament," 1265.**

Consisted of five earls, eighteen barons, one hundred and twenty clergymen, two knights from every shire, and two burgesses from every city and borough.

A. "Earl Simon's Parliament" was not a Parliament. The writs were issued by the King, but only to Simon's supporters (e.g. the Archbishop of Canterbury was not summoned).

B. The attendance of the Knights of the Shire in Parliament was not new. They had been summoned before in **1254**, and by Simon in **1264**.

C. The representatives from the cities and boroughs attended Parliament for the first time. The reeve and four men from each township had been summoned to an assembly at St. Albans in **1213**, but it is very doubtful if this assembly met.

(1) Their attendance shows the difference between the policy of Simon and the baronial oligarchy.

(2) Simon treated the representatives of cities and boroughs as a separate estate from the Knights of the Shire, sending the writs for the election of the former to the mayor of each town, and those for the election of the latter to the sheriff.

In Edward I's Great and Model Parliament, **1295**, both burgesses and knights were elected in the county court and formed the third estate.

(3) Thus Simon was not strictly the "Creator of the House of Commons," but his recognition of the political importance of towns made his "Parliament" an important link between the old baronial councils and the later Parliaments.

V. **The Battle of Evesham, 1265, and the End of the War.**

A. Quarrel between Simon and the young Earl of Gloucester. Escape from captivity of Edward Prince of Wales, who, strongly supported by Gloucester, Roger Mortimer, and the Marcher Lords, became the leader of the baronial party. He promised to maintain the Charters and Provisions of Oxford against Simon, whose power seemed dangerous to King and barons.

B. **1265.** Edward defeated Simon's son at Kenilworth.

Edward defeated and slew Simon and Hugh le Despenser the Justiciar at Evesham, and slaughtered many Londoners.

1266. The Cinque Ports submitted.

C. **1266.** Fresh risings owing to the confiscation of the property of Simon's adherents, therefore called "The Disinherited."

The younger Simon formed a camp of refuge in the Isle of Axholme, stirred up the Cinque Ports, but finally submitted at Kenilworth.

D. Milder terms were now offered to the rebels owing to the conciliatory policy of Edward and Gloucester, and in spite of the opposition of Roger Mortimer, the leader of the extreme section of the barons who quarrelled with Gloucester.

1266. The Ban of Kenilworth.

(1) The Disinherited to redeem their estates by paying a fine equivalent to five years' income.

(2) The Charters re-enacted.

(3) The King's authority reasserted.

(4) Simon not to be reputed a saint.

The Earl of Gloucester, fearing the designs of Roger Mortimer, took up arms to maintain the Ban of Kenilworth.

1267. Submission of the last of the Disinherited in the Isle of Ely, and general pacification.

E. **1267.** Statute of Marlborough.
Re-enacted the Charters and Provisions of Oxford.

F. **1267.** Treaty of Shrewsbury, between Llewellyn and Henry.
Llewellyn was recognised as Prince of Wales, on condition of paying homage to Henry, and received large grants in Denbigh and Flint.

These favourable terms were due to Edward's desire for peace, but Llewellyn became so strong that the Welsh Wars of Edward I (**1277** and **1282**) were made inevitable.

1267–1272. Peace for the rest of Henry's reign.

1270. Prince Edward went on the Crusade.

VI. **Simon de Montfort.**

A. Although a foreigner he became the champion of the English people and rendered great service to England.

(1) He helped the cause of constitutional development by supporting the commons against the barons.

(2) Resisted the unconstitutional power of foreign favourites.

(3) Opposed the interference of the Pope.

B. The work of Simon was carried on by Edward I, who confirmed the principles asserted by Simon.

C. His private character.

(1) Determined, steady of purpose, and true to his principles. He "stood like a pillar."

(2) Patriotic and devoted to the interests of England.

(3) Pious, a great friend of Grossetête, and a supporter of the friars. "Earl Simon the Righteous."

(4) Masterful; hot-tempered. "Not a saint, but a man of a great heart."

References:

A. *Simon de Montfort*, by Prothero, Longmans, chap. x.

B. *Short History of the English People*, pp. 152–4.

C. *A Clerk of Oxford*, by Everett Green, Nelson, and *Forest Days*, by James, Routledge.

EDWARD I AND WALES

I. **Llewellyn ap Griffith, 1254–1282** (grandson of Llewellyn ap Jorwerth), Lord of Gwynedd, aimed at conquering the whole of Wales and making it independent of England. His plans checked by the grant to Edward by Henry III of Cheshire, the four Cantreds (Flintshire and Denbighshire), Cardigan and Caermarthen.

A. His early success.

He took advantage of a national rising caused by an attempt to set up shire courts and to suppress Welsh judicial institutions in the Cantreds, Cardigan and Caermarthen. Conquered the Cantreds and Cardigan and gained much land on the upper Wye and Severn. Took the title of "Prince of Wales." His success due partly to the apathy of the Marcher Lords, who strongly resented the grants made by Henry III to Edward.

B. Supported Simon de Montfort, and by the Treaty of Shrewsbury, **1267**, was accepted as Prince of Wales on condition of paying homage to Henry III, was granted the Four Cantreds and much land in Middle and South Wales.

His success roused the fear of the Marcher Lords and the jealousy of some of the smaller Welsh chiefs, but he maintained his power.

II. **The First Welsh War.**

1272. The death of Henry III and absence of Edward from England encouraged Llewellyn to renounce his homage to the King of England, which was inconsistent with the independence of Wales.

1275. Edward captured Eleanor, daughter of Simon de Montfort, on her way to marry Llewellyn, and kept her at his court.

1277. Edward invaded Wales. Prompt submission of Middle and South Wales. Capture of the Four Cantreds. Retreat of Llewellyn to Gwynedd. Capture of Anglesea by Edward, with the help of a fleet from the Cinque Ports, and submission of Llewellyn. The Treaty of Conway.

(1) Llewellyn gave up all his conquests, including the Four Cantreds,

(2) And agreed to do homage and pay a heavy indemnity.

Llewellyn thus became "a petty North Wales chieftain" instead of Prince of Wales, and was allowed to marry Eleanor de Montfort.

III. **The Second Welsh War.**

A. Edward failed to appreciate the attachment of the Welsh to their old laws and customs, and tried to introduce English laws and English shire courts. The harshness of his agents aggravated the resentment of the Welsh, and Edward's oppression roused national opposition and led to the union of Wales.

B. **1282.** Second rising of Llewellyn and his brother David, who had previously supported Edward.

Capture by David of Hawarden and Aberystwith castles.

Llewellyn was gradually driven into Gwynedd,

1282. But escaped and was slain at Builth while trying to organise a rising in South Wales, and the struggle was now confined to Gwynedd, where David held out.

1283. Edward, after great difficulties and with the help of Gascon soldiers, captured David, who was executed for treachery at Shrewsbury.

The story of the massacre of the Welsh bards by Edward is not true.

IV. **The Second Settlement.**

A. The Legal Settlement.

(1) The Statute of Wales, **1284**, issued at Rhuddlan ensured the organisation of the Welsh Counties.

α. The Snowdon district was divided into Anglesea, Carnarvon, and Merioneth.

β. Reorganisation of the counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen.

γ. The county of Flint attached to the Earldom of Chester.

(2) English law, particularly criminal law and the law of inheritance, was administered in the shire courts, but sympathy was shown to Welsh national feeling and many old customs were allowed to continue. This partly accounts for the permanent nature of the second settlement.

1284. Edward's infant son, born at Carnarvon, proclaimed "Prince of Wales."

B. Castles.

New "concentric" (as distinguished from Norman) castles built at Conway, Carnarvon, and Harlech to dominate Gwynedd, and at Caerphilly and Kidwelly to hold South Wales. These became the nucleus of English towns.

C. The subjugation of Wales removed the necessity for the continuance of the great power of the Marcher Lords. They held their authority until the reign of Henry VIII, but the success of Edward rendered it impossible for them to extend their power, and in course of time many of the marcher principalities passed to the Crown.

D. Wales was not directly annexed to England by Edward I. It remained under the immediate authority of the Crown until **1536**, when it was united to England and sent members to Parliament for the first time.

E. The Ecclesiastical Settlement.

Archbishop Peckham built churches, protected ecclesiastical property, made provision for training clergy, and put down simony and the marriage of the clergy.

References:

A. "Edward I." *Twelve English Statesmen*, chap. VI.

B. *The Bard*, Gray.

C. *The King's Reeve*, by Gilliat, Seeley.

EDWARD I AND SCOTLAND

I. **The Maid of Norway.**

A. **1286.** Death of Alexander III, King of Scotland, who had married Edward's sister Margaret.

B. Alexander's daughter Margaret had married Eric, King of Norway, and her daughter Margaret, "The Maid of Norway," was proclaimed Queen of Scotland.

C. The Treaty of Brigham, 1290, between Edward I and the Scotch, provided for the marriage of Prince Edward and Margaret, and the maintenance of Scottish customs. Scotland to remain "separate and divided from England."

A wise scheme, aiming at unity through personal union of the two crowns.

D. 1290. Death of the Maid on her voyage from Norway to Scotland.

II. **The Decision in favour of Balliol.**

A. Thirteen claimants to the crown appeared. Question whether Scotland

(1) Should be divided, or

(2) Should be given to one claimant, and to which.

B. No one in Scotland was strong enough to decide. Therefore an appeal was made to Edward I, who asserted his claim to the overlordship of Scotland.

(1) The kings of England since Henry II had asserted this claim in spite of Richard I's sale of the homage of Scotland to William the Lion in 1189.

(2) The homage paid by Scottish kings had been (except in the case of William the Lion) done for lands held in England by the kings of Scotland, especially for the earldom of Huntingdon.

(3) Edward levied an army and the claimants did homage to him at Norham 1291. The royal castles were surrendered, i.e. Edward's success was due to force.

(4) The Scotch did not think that his suzerainty would be a reality, but Edward thought that the agreement of Norham meant that England had annexed Scotland and that his authority was thus established over the whole of Great Britain.

C. The final decision of the judges in favour of Balliol showed

(1) That they favoured primogeniture as against proximity of blood.

(2) That they regarded the kingdom of Scotland as indivisible.

D. Edward had established his supremacy over Scotland, but had given the Scotch a preponderating voice in the tribunal which considered the claim to the throne; he resisted the temptation to split up the kingdom, and now restored the castles. He had not as yet provoked much resistance in Scotland or roused national feeling.

III. **The Struggle with Balliol 1295.**

A. Appeals from Scotch to English courts, unknown before, caused great dissatisfaction.

B. **1295.** Balliol made an alliance with France which was **1294–1297** engaged in a struggle with Edward about Gascony (pages 139–142).

C. The Scotch refused to surrender the border castles to Edward I.

D. Balliol renounced his vassalage.

(Edward to strengthen his hands summoned the Great and Model Parliament in **1295**.)

E. War.

Edward's command of the sea greatly facilitated the transport of men and material of war. His victory at Dunbar **1296** was followed by the conquest of southern Scotland. Earl Warrenne made governor, Cressingham treasurer, and William Ormesby justiciar.

Balliol by his alliance with France and by renouncing his vassalage had given Edward ample justification for his action according to feudal law.

IV. **The Struggle with Wallace.**

A. The rapacity and cruelty of English officials led to the rising of Wallace, who defeated the English at Stirling **1297.**

1298. Edward routed Wallace at Falkirk.

There was no permanent conquest even in the Lowlands, and the English castles were soon besieged. The Scottish barons, who had been unwilling to fight under Wallace, a lowborn leader, now combined. John Comyn was made regent and the Scottish nobles took up the national cause.

B. The second conquest of Scotland **1304.**

Stirling captured and Wallace executed, **1305.** Edward's nephew, the Earl of Richmond, made governor. Justices and sheriffs appointed, Celtic laws abolished. The Scotch Parliament kept. The claim of Boniface VIII to suzerainty over Scotland denied.

An excellent scheme, but their love of independence prevented the Scotch from accepting the supremacy of a foreign king.

. **Further rising under Bruce. Death of Edward I at Burgh on Sands 1307.**

Edward's Scottish policy failed owing to national resistance.

eferences :

A. "Edward I." *Twelve English Statesmen*, chaps. x and xii.

C. *The Scottish Chiefs*, by Porter, Dent.

EDWARD I AND FRANCE

Early Difficulties.

A. Refusal of Philip III to surrender to Edward I, Limoges, Cahors, and Perigueux (ceded by St. Louis to Henry III), and parts of Saintonge and Quercy rightly claimed by the English.

B. **1273.** Edward paid homage to Philip III "for all the lands which I ought to hold of you."

C. Establishment of Edward's supremacy in Gascony, and submission of Gaston of Bearn, the leader of the discontented Gascon nobles.

D. Edward claimed Ponthieu for his wife, Eleanor of Castile, as heiress of her mother, Queen Joan of Castile.

E. **1279.** Treaty of Amiens.

(1) Edward gave up his claims to Limoges, Cahors, and Perigueux.

(2) Philip III recognised Eleanor's right to Ponthieu, surrendered the Agenais, and promised fair consideration for Edward's claim to Quercy.

F. **1287–1289.** Edward reorganised the administration of Aquitaine, and built "bastides" (fortified towns) to strengthen his authority. Consequent development of commerce (especially in Bordeaux) and closer connection with England.

II. **The French War.**

A. Bitter rivalry between the sailors of the Cinque Ports and Norman traders.

1293. A Norman fleet routed off St. Mahé, in Brittany, by an English and Gascon fleet.

Edward summoned to Paris by Philip IV (the Fair) to answer for the action of the English sailors and for disturbances in Gascony.

Edward was represented by his brother Edmund, who agreed that part of Gascony should be formally ceded to Philip for forty days as an acknowledgment of his overlordship, although he was not to take actual possession.

B. Owing to Edward's non-appearance he was declared "contumacious," and Philip, in spite of his previous undertaking, took possession of Gascony.

C. Edward's preparations for war.

(1) Attempt to form a coalition against France, including Brabant, Savoy, and Aragon.

(2) Demand of assistance from the feudal tenants of England, from Gascony, from Wales, and from the chief barons of Scotland and Ireland. But the Scotch, prompted by the French, refused to serve,

1294. and the demand for service in Gascony led to a rebellion in Wales (under Madoc, a bastard son of Llewellyn ap Griffith). The necessity of subduing Wales delayed Edward's operations against France and overwhelmed him with debt.[1]

[1] During his successful campaign in North Wales Edward adopted the plan of sending forward with his heavy cavalry archers whose arrows broke up the enemy's lines and made the charge of the cavalry more effective. These tactics proved most successful in his wars with Scotland and in the early part of the Hundred Years' War.

(3) Money was raised by the seizure of wool and of the coined money in cathedral treasuries, by contributions from shires and boroughs, and from the clergy, who were compelled to grant half their income. Protest of the Dean of St. Paul's, who fell dead through fear at Edward's feet.

D. The war.

1294–1295. The command of the sea most important. Edward appointed three admirals to command the fleets of the eastern, southern, and western (including Ireland) coasts. The navy was reorganised, and prevented invasion of England.

1295. An expedition to Gascony under Edward's nephew, John of Brittany, captured Bayonne, but failed to reconquer the duchy.

The French burned Dover and the English Cherbourg.

1295. Alliance made between Scotland and France, and betrothal of Edward Balliol to Philip IV's niece Joan. The beginning of the friendship between France and Scotland, which continued for nearly three hundred years.

Consequent delay of Edward's personal intervention in France. The alliance between France and
1295. Scotland led Edward to summon the Great and Model Parliament, in which the lower clergy, counties, cities, and boroughs were represented (p. 149). An attempt to secure the support of the whole nation.

1296. Conquest of Scotland (p. 138), but the King now delayed operations in France owing to the refusal of the clergy to give supplies, and, after their sub-
1297. mission, to the refusal of the Earls Marshal (Norfolk) and Constable (Hereford) to serve in Gascony while Edward himself fought in Flanders. The expedition to Gascony was therefore given up, Edward's expedition

to Flanders proved indecisive, but peace was made
1298. between England and France by the arbitration of the Pope (in his private capacity), and Edward (whose first wife, Eleanor of Castile, had died in 1290) married Philip's sister Margaret. His son Edward was betrothed to Philip's daughter Isabella.

1303. Philip, engaged in a fierce quarrel with Pope Boniface VIII and at war with the Flemings (who routed his troops at Courtrai 1302), made with Edward the Treaty of Paris, by which Edward received Gascony on condition of paying homage.

THE LEGISLATION OF EDWARD I TO 1290

I. General Notes.

Edward I, like St. Louis of France, was a great legislator. He continued the work of Henry II by strengthening the royal authority over barons and clergy, and by extending Henry II's judicial organisation.

His work was selective rather than creative. His legislation contains little that is quite new, but he rendered great service to England by defining the rights and duties of different classes. The reign of Edward I was a "period of definition."

II. The Consolidation of the Royal Power.

A. Over the barons.

(1) The regulation of the baronial franchises (i.e. rights of jurisdiction).

1278. The Statute of Gloucester provided that itinerant justices should inquire, in accordance with a writ of Quo Warranto, by what warrant the franchises were held.

α. This involved the idea that all rights of jurisdiction came from the King, and that he could cancel rights which were not based on a royal grant.

β. Strong resistance of Earl Warrenne. "By the sword my ancestors gained their lands, and by the sword I will defend them."

γ. Very few franchises were abolished, but future extension was prevented, and in consequence baronial jurisdiction gradually decayed.

(2) The estates of the barons.

α. **1285.** The Second Statute of Westminster included the clause, "De Donis Conditionalibus," which ensured the succession of heirs to family estates granted conditionally to other holders. The creation of entail.[1]

This statute tended to make permanent the old system of landholding, and was reactionary in character. But while the barons gladly accepted a law which ensured the entail of their estates, the King, being the greatest landholder, derived the greatest benefit.

β. **1290.** The Statute Quia Emptores.

"In all future transfers of land, the purchaser, instead of becoming the feudal dependent of the alienor, should enter into the same relations in which the alienor had stood to the next lord."

1. The object was to prevent loss of services and feudal profits to the overlord, and especially to the King, by subinfeudation.
2. By preventing subinfeudation it weakened feudalism, and it strengthened the King by increasing the number of tenants-in-chief holding directly of the Crown.
3. It facilitated the transfer of land, and gave opportunities of acquiring landed property to the great merchants.

[1] An entailed estate (*taillé*, limited) was so called because it limited the lder's right of disposition.

1278. Owing to this statute and to the "distraint of knighthood" (by which all owners of estates worth £20 per annum were to be knighted), there arose a class of country gentry, a non-baronial landowning class, who tended to support the royal power against the barons.

B. Over the clergy.

(1) The Statute of Mortmain, **1279.**

α. **1279.** Archbishop Peckham had induced a council at Reading to pass canons asserting the rights of the Church as guaranteed in Magna Charta, especially the authority of the ecclesiastical courts, and had ordered Magna Charta to be posted every year on church doors in his province.

The Statute of Mortmain was the King's answer to these canons.

β. The Statute of Mortmain, "statutum de viris religiosis," forbade the grant of land to any corporation, lay or ecclesiastical, in such a way that it "should come into the dead hand."

1. The Church, being a corporation, never died, and lands alienated to the Church thus escaped payment of certain feudal dues, particularly reliefs (page 49), and considerable loss was thus inflicted on the overlord, especially on the King.
2. Landowners had frequently avoided the payment of reliefs by the fraudulent conveyance of land to the Church.
3. The consequent increase in the property of the Church made it too powerful, and it was essential, in the interests of the royal authority, that this power should be curtailed.

(2) The attempt of Peckham to extend the power of the Church Courts.

1281. *α.* Peckham tried to take all suits respecting patronage and the personal property of the clergy out of the jurisdiction of the royal courts, but was prevented by the King.

1285. *β.* Unsuccessful attempt of the clergy to check the issue of prohibitions from the King's Court on the prosecution of suits against laymen in Church courts.

(3) The Writ Circumspecte Agatis ("mind what you are doing"), **1285**, defined the powers of the ecclesiastical courts, and confined their jurisdiction to matters merely spiritual (such as questions of marriage, wills, tithes, churches, and offences for which penance could be enforced.)

This limited the extension of clerical jurisdiction, which was part of Peckham's policy.

C The royal power was defined.

(1) Statute of Westminster (the First), **1275.**

α. Re-enacted and reviewed Magna Charta, the Provisions of Oxford, and the Statute of Marlborough.

β. Provided that elections should be free and that feudal aids should be reasonable in amount.

(2) Settlement of the customs on wool, woolfells, and leather, "Magna aut antiqua custuma." The King to receive half a mark on every sack of wool, half a mark for every three hundred woolfells,[1] and one mark for every last of leather exported.

α. Wool was the staple produce of the country and was easily taxed, e.g. Richard's ransom in **1194** had been raised largely by the seizure of the wool of the Cistercian monks.

[1] Skins with wool attached.

β. This settlement led to the limitation of the royal power of exacting taxation from English merchants, although

1. It did not prevent the King from obtaining an additional grant if the merchants were willing to make it.

2. The King's power of extorting money from foreign merchants was not limited by the settlement of the "Magna aut antiqua custuma," and in **1303** he gave them certain privileges by the Carta Mercatoria in return for increased grants on wool called the "Parva et nova custuma."

(3) Statute of Westminster (the Second), **1285.**

Re-enactment of the Statutes of Gloucester (1278), Mortmain (1279), and others, limitation of abuses of manorial courts, settlement of the land law by the clause "De donis conditionalibus" (page 143).

III. **The maintenance of Peace and the protection of Commerce.**

A. Statute of Winchester, **1285.**

(1) Prompt pursuit to be made of criminals from town to town and from county to county.

(2) The inhabitants of hundreds and franchises to be answerable for robberies committed within their borders.

(3) In towns gates to be closed from sunset to sunrise, watches to be kept during the night, bailiffs to make inquiries respecting strangers.

(4) In the country highways to be widened by the clearance of brushwood for two hundred feet each side. (This regulation was made to protect travellers from the arrows of ambushed robbers.)

(5) Every man to be armed according to his rank (the revival of the Assize of Arms, **1181**); two constables to hold a view of armour twice a year in every hundred and to present defaulters to justices assigned for the purpose. (These justices, "conservatores pacis," afterwards received judicial powers and were the forerunners of our "Justices of the Peace.")

The Statute of Winchester shows the permanence of the ancient popular law, and revives such old national institutions as the hue and cry, watch and ward, and the Assize of Arms. An excellent example of Edward's skill in adapting old institutions to contemporary requirements.

B. The Statute of Merchants (or Statute of Acton Burnell), **1283**, enabled merchants to recover debts. Debtors to be imprisoned or to forfeit their property.

IV. **The Organisation of the Judiciary.**

A. The Assizes.

(1) Great abuses had arisen during the reign of Henry III.

(2) **1285.** The Statute of Westminster (the Second) provided that two judges should try cases at Westminster thrice a year *unless* they had *before* been taken on circuit in the county courts. The origin of "Nisi Prius" cases.

(3) **1293.** England divided into four circuits, each with two judges,

α. To take all assizes (criminal and civil), and

β. To sit throughout the year.

This arrangement was a great convenience to suitors owing to the increase in the number of judges, the decrease in expense, the settlement of all kinds of cases, and the permanence of the commission.

B. The development of the Central Courts of Justice.

(1) The growth of the judicial work of the Curia Regis had led to its division into three courts—the Exchequer (dealing with fiscal questions), Common Pleas (fixed at Westminster by Magna Charta, and dealing with civil cases between subject and subject), and the Court of King's Bench (founded in **1178**, and dealing with pleas of the crown).

(2) In the time of Edward I these courts were further organised :

α. Each received its own staff of judges.

β. The abolition of the justiciarship removed a bond of union between the courts.

γ. Their functions were more clearly defined, e.g. the Court of Exchequer was forbidden to try common pleas.

(3) Growth of equitable jurisdiction.

α. The King's Continual or Permanent Council (which had come into importance during the minority of Henry III, and later became the Privy Council) examined and remitted to the proper courts petitions against unjust judgments of the common law courts.

β. Development of the equitable jurisdiction of the Chancellor to deal with cases over which the common law courts had no jurisdiction.

(4) Results.

α. Gradual decay in importance of the local courts and the weakening of the authority of the sheriffs.

β. The organisation of the central jurisdiction gave definiteness to the common law.

References :

A. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. II, pp. 109 *et seq.*
Medley's *English Constitutional History*, pp. 367–83.
"Edward I." *Twelve English Statesmen*, chap. VII.

THE GREAT AND MODEL PARLIAMENT, 1295

I. **The immediate cause was Political.**

Edward felt the need of the support of the whole nation to resist the enemies of England—the Welsh (who had rebelled under Madoc in **1294**), the French (who burnt Dover in **1295**), and the Scotch, who had just made an alliance with France.

II. **The object was Financial**—to obtain a grant of money to meet the cost of national defence, and grants of one-eleventh, one-tenth, and one-seventh were made by the barons and knights of the shire, the clergy, and the boroughs respectively. No judicial or legislative business was done by this Parliament.

III. **The Constitution.**

The Parliament was composed of representatives of all classes of the community "ut quod omnes similiter tangit ab omnibus approbetur."

A. Members summoned by special writ.

The archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and barons received special writs, and the receipt of a special writ of summons became the qualification of a member of the House of Lords, while membership of its predecessor the Commune Concilium had depended on baronial tenure. The receipt of a special writ became a hereditary right, and thus Edward's action led to the settlement of membership of the House of Lords. Edward was thus, to some extent, the "Founder of the House of Lords."

B. Members summoned indirectly.

(1) The lower clergy.

By the "præmunientes" clause the Archbishops of Canterbury and York were "premonished" to ensure the attendance of heads of chapters, archdeacons, two representatives for the clergy of each diocese, and one for the clergy of each cathedral.

α. But the clergy preferred to grant aids in Convocation, and during the fourteenth century ceased to attend Parliament, partly through dislike of obeying a secular summons.

β. The clergy thus did not become a separate estate of the realm.

(2) The representatives of the shires, cities, and boroughs. Two knights from every shire, two citizens from each city, two burghers from each borough to be elected in the full county court in accordance with a general writ issued to the sheriff.

α. The union of the knights of the shire with the burgesses was the foundation of the strength of the House of Commons.

β. The principle of election, used previously for the declaration of local custom (e.g. Domesday Book) for the assessment of taxation (e.g. Saladin Tithe, 1188), was now finally adopted for Parliamentary representation.

Edward united the new system of estates with the old principles of representation.

γ. Edward I was not the "creator of the House of Commons," and his policy of summoning representatives of the cities and boroughs had been anticipated by Simon de Montfort. But "his policy did much to settle the character of that House as being the House of assembled shire moots."

IV. **General Notes.**

A. The Great and Model Parliament was an excellent example of Edward's "policy of definition." It ensured the adequate representation of the clergy, barons, and people, and afforded a model to its successors.

B. The three estates of clergy, lords, and commons never seemed likely to combine. The clergy soon ceased to attend, and about 1341 the Parliament was sharply divided into two Houses—Lords and Commons.

Reference:

A. Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History*, pp. 206–10.

THE CONFIRMATION OF THE CHARTERS, 1297

I. The Opposition to the King.

Edward I was attempting to hold Gascony, to make a diversion in Flanders with the help of his ally Guy Count of Flanders against Philip IV, and to conquer Scotland. This task, which was beyond the power of England, led to attempts by the King to raise money and to collect forces to fight in Flanders under Edward himself, and in Gascony under Edmund of Lancaster.

A. Archbishop Winchelsey and the clergy.

(1) 1296. Boniface VIII, by the bull Clericis Laicos, forbade the clergy to pay taxes to any lay power. This was due—

α. To the attempt to maintain the independence of the Church.

β. To the desire to stop wars, the cost of which was largely met by taxes on the clergy.

(2) 1297. Consequent refusal of Winchelsey to agree to a grant of one-fifth, demanded by Edward.

(3) The clergy outlawed by the King.

(4) Winchelsey excommunicated his opponents.

(5) The King seized Church property.

B. The barons.

(1) The barons were discontented owing to the growing power of the King and his disregard for Magna Charta and the Charter of the Forests.

(2) The death of the old baronial leaders, such as Gilbert of Gloucester, left at the head of their party the Constable, Bohun Earl of Hereford, and the Marshal, Bigod Earl of Norfolk. Both had personal grievances against Edward I, who had punished Hereford for waging private war against Gilbert of Gloucester, and had suspended the Earl Marshal.

(3) The refusal of the clergy to make a grant made an appeal to the barons necessary, but at an assembly of the barons held at Salisbury (Feb., **1297**), the Constable and Marshal refused to serve abroad save in attendance on the King; and Norfolk, in reply to Edward's assertion that he should either go to Gascony or hang, declared that he would "neither go nor hang."

α. The attitude of the barons was narrow and unstatesmanlike. Their objection was based on the comparatively small point of their own feudal obligation to military service.

β. They failed to appreciate the broader questions of the time and made no mention of illegal taxation or of the proposed illegal use of the national levy for foreign service.

C. The Merchants.

Having failed to secure aid from the clergy and barons, Edward, without any pretence of Parliamentary grant, took money and supplies from the merchants.

(1) He seized wool and hides.

(2) Levied a heavier tax of 40s. per sack on wool. The maletot [male tollita, i.e. unjust tax].

(3) Took stores of corn and meat from the counties.

D. All his opponents united against the King through fear of the loss of rights guaranteed by Magna Charta. The national union which Edward had recognised in the Great and Model Parliament of **1295** was now directed against him, and a movement which hitherto had aimed at the assertion of clerical and feudal immunities became a national rising in defence of English freedom.

II. **The Submission of the Clergy.**

Edward was bound by his promises to his allies to carry on the war and made terms with the clergy, thus dividing his enemies.

A. Winchelsey allowed the clergy to "follow their own consciences" and to make voluntary contributions to the King. Grant of one-fifth to Edward by the great majority of the clergy.

B. Reconciliation of Edward and Winchelsey, and restoration of the Archbishop's confiscated property.

C. Boniface VIII repealed the bull Clericis Laicos.

III. **Continued Opposition of the Constable and Marshal.**

A. Some of the barons made a grant of one-eighth to the King, who ordered a military levy of the whole of the kingdom for service abroad.

B. The Constable and Marshal rightly maintained that the national levy was bound to serve only at home, refused to draw up lists of men liable for service, and were superseded by the King.

C. Presentation of a petition to the King by the constable and marshal protesting against the unconstitutional demand for foreign service, the violation of the Charters and the maletot, and demanding that the King should remain at home.

D. August 24th, **1297**. Departure of Edward for Flanders, his son, Prince Edward, left as regent.

E. The Constable and Marshal forbade the Exchequer officers to collect supplies until the Magna Charta and the Charter of the Forests were confirmed, and denied the legality of recent grants, i.e. they demanded that grievances should be redressed before supplies were granted.

IV. **The Confirmation of the Charters.**

A. The Prince Regent, on the demand of the earls, confirmed Magna Charta and the Charter of the Forests, and accepted additional articles proposed in the form of a petition. His action was confirmed by King Edward at Ghent.

B. The additional articles exist in two forms.

(1) The French version is the authentic form, and provided :—

α. No such aids or prises (as those recently taken and including the maletot on wool) should be taken but by the common consent of the realm.

β. The King's rights to the "ancient customs" on wool are expressly reserved.

γ. There is no mention of tallage.

(2) The Latin version is termed "De Tallagio non Concedendo." This was wrongly regarded by the framers of the Petition of Right, 1628, as a statute, but was in reality either the original petition presented by the earls to the regent, or an "abstract of the regent's act of confirmation." The Latin version is much more stringent than the French.

α. "No tallage or aid" to be taken without the consent of the realm.

β. No corn, wool, or leather to be taken without the consent of the owners.

γ. No reservation is made of the King's rights.

V. **General Notes on the Confirmation.**

A. A great constitutional victory for the barons. The Confirmation embodies the constitutional progress made since Magna Charta, and shows that the leaders of the people expected to play some part in directing national policy.

B. The Confirmation was due to forces which had been steadily growing, and the union of the nation which ensured it, had been foreshadowed in the Great and Model Parliament, **1295**. But the success of the barons was to some extent the result of the coincidence of the complaints of the clergy, barons, and merchants (none of which had a direct bearing on the Charter).

C. No guaranteeing clauses were inserted in the Confirmation as in the Magna Charta. These were no longer necessary, as the nation recognised the importance of its victory, and was resolved to maintain the advantages it had secured.

Reference :

A. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. II, pp. 136–58.

THE EXPULSION OF THE JEWS

I. **Their position in the Country.**

A. A few Jews lived in England before the Norman Conquest, but there was a considerable immigration in the reign of William the Conqueror, who protected them. They settled in special quarters of towns called Jewries. They were the first traders to build stone houses in England, and this was due to their wealth and to the need of defence against their enemies. "The Jew's House," a Norman dwelling-house, is still standing at Lincoln.

B. The Jews and the King.

(1) The Jews were "the King's chattels," and he was the absolute owner of their property and persons.

(2) They paid the King heavy taxes for permission to trade and were used by him "as sponges," being frequently compelled to hand over to the King money obtained from his subjects by trade or usury. They thus became a kind of instrument of indirect taxation and therefore incurred the enmity of constitutional reformers, especially Simon de Montfort.

(3) Their financial value shown

1188. α. By the fact that the Jews were required to pay £60,000 towards the Saladin Tithe, while the amount due from the whole country was £70,000.

1255. β. Richard of Cornwall accepted the Jews as adequate security for the heavy loans he had made to Henry III.

(4) They gained special privileges owing to their relation to the King.

α. They were exempted from ordinary taxation.

β. Richard I established a special Exchequer Court to receive payments from the Jews, and the Justices of this court took civil cases affecting Jews.

II. **Their unpopularity was due to**

A. The special privileges they enjoyed.

B. The heavy interest they exacted for loans and the jealousy of wealthy Christians who were forbidden by the Church to lend money at interest.

C. The great profits they made by lending money, to Crusaders in particular.

D. Religious antipathy and the strong opposition of the Church. Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln, a strong opponent of the Jews.

E. This hatred shown by

(1) **1189.** A general massacre of Jews at Lynn, Norwich, Lincoln, and especially at York, where five hundred having slain their wives and daughters set fire to the castle where they had taken refuge and were burned to death.

(2) **1215.** Magna Charta limited the rights of Jews over their debtors and provided that debts due to Jews should bear no interest during the minority of the deceased debtor's heir and should not be paid out of the widow's dower.

III. **The Expulsion of the Jews, 1290.**

Edward I, like his mother Eleanor of Provence, was the enemy of the Jews and

A. **1275.** By the Statute de la Jewerie

(1) Ordered every Jew of twelve and upwards to pay a tax of threepence a year to the King.

(2) Forbade them to lend money at usury.

B. **1290.** King Edward expelled the Jews from England.

(1) This action was due to his own enmity, to the general hatred of the Jews and to the strong opposition of the Church. One reason given was because, owing to losses caused by the statute against usury, they had gained illegal profit by clipping the coinage.

(2) The clergy granted the King a tenth of clerical incomes in addition to a general grant of one fifteenth of movable property made by clergy and laity. But the King's financial position was greatly weakened by the departure of the Jews, which was partly responsible for the financial crisis of **1294**.

(3) The Jews were allowed to take their money with them. About 16,000 left the country, many of whom, in spite of a safe-conduct granted by the King, were robbed and very cruelly treated as they went.

(4) Italian bankers (especially the Friscobaldi of Florence) took the place of the Jews as the King's agents and incurred similar unpopularity.

References :

A. Medley's *English Constitutional History*, pp. 532–4.

B. *Handbook to Yorkshire*, John Murray, pp. 68–9.

EDWARD I

I. **His Work.**

A. In England—his work successful.

(1) He carried on the work of Henry II by asserting the royal supremacy over the Church and barons, and abolished the importance of tenure as an element in politics.

(2) He recognised the importance of the people, and his Great and Model Parliament gave national self-government. In **1297** he issued an address to the nation justifying his policy against the complaints of the earls.

(3) His reign was a period of definition. He attempted (e.g. by the distraint of knighthood, the Statute of Westminster, and the recognition of estates in the Model Parliament) to define the functions of every part of the State.

(4) A great legislator, called "the English Justinian." The early part of his reign to **1290** was a great period of constructive legislation, but later legislation was limited by foreign wars and baronial opposition.

B. In Great Britain—his work partially successful.

Edward attempted to unite Great Britain into one kingdom. His design was statesmanlike but premature. His attempt to make Scotland subordinate failed, but he conquered Wales

C. Abroad—his work generally unsuccessful.

(1) He aimed at keeping the Balance of Power in Europe, thus anticipating the policy of Wolsey. But he failed owing to

α. The limited resources at his disposal and the heavy debts his father left;

β. The wars with Wales and Scotland, which prevented him from using all the resources of England to promote his aims on the Continent.

(2) He succeeded in regaining Gascony 1303, but this was due more to the difficulties in which Philip was placed owing to his quarrels with Boniface VIII and with the Flemings than to the power of England.

II. His Character.

A. Edward I was a man of high aims, of moral life and deep religious feeling.

B. His power of government and organisation had been developed owing to the active part he took in politics during the end of his father's reign, and he showed himself a practical statesman.

C. He generally "kept troth," but at times showed a disposition to respect the letter rather than the spirit of his promises. In the negotiations respecting the succession to the Scottish crown he misused the advantage of his position to assert rights to which he had no claim, and in 1305 he obtained a bull from Clement V to release him from the oath he had sworn in 1301 to keep the Forest Charters.

D. He was generally self-restrained, but his absolute conviction of the justice of his aims made him intolerant of opposition and sometimes violent and vindictive.

E. But he was one of the best men and best kings that have ruled over England.

References:

A. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. II, pp. 101–5.
"Edward I." *Twelve English Statesmen*, chap. I.

THOMAS EARL OF LANCASTER

I. **His Personal Influence.**

Son of Edmund Crouchback, therefore grandson of Henry III, and first cousin to King Edward II. Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby. He married the daughter of Henry of Lincoln, and thus got the earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury. Brother-in-law of Philip the Fair and uncle of Queen Isabella.

II. **Leader of the Opposition.**

Owing to his personal animosity to Gaveston he opposed Edward II, and became the centre of general discontent.

A. Lancaster was the leader of the Ordainers and was largely responsible for the Ordinances of **1311**.

(1) The Ordinances provided

α. That illegal exactions should be abolished and the King should "live of his own";

β. That the consent of the baronage was necessary for

1. Alienation of the crown lands,
2. The appointment of the chief officials of the kingdom,
3. The departure of the King from England,
4. The summoning of forces and declaration of war;

γ. That Gaveston and the King's foreign agents (especially the Friscobaldi) should be expelled from the kingdom, and that the customs reserved to the King should be collected by native agents;

δ. That the Charters should be properly observed;

ε. That the privileges of the Church should be maintained;

ζ That Parliament should meet annually.

(2) Criticism of the Ordinances.

α. The Petition of **1310**, which led to the appointment of the Ordainers (a commission of reform), came from the magnates, and the commons had no voice in the election of the Ordainers. This arrangement followed the precedent of the Mad Parliament, not of Edward I, and was reactionary in character.

β. The extensive powers claimed for the barons were contrary to the spirit of the constitution, and, if carried out, would probably have led to the establishment of a baronial oligarchy.

γ. The provisions for the abolition of new taxes show the importance of the work of Edward I's Parliaments.

Thus (δ) the Ordinances do not show an advance in constitutional theory over the Provisions of Oxford, and as a statesman Thomas of Lancaster was behind the time.

B. He was responsible for the murder of Gaveston (who had been recalled and restored to his estates by Edward) at Blacklow Hill, near Warwick, in **1312**. Hence the breach between Pembroke and Warrenne (who had promised Gaveston safety), and Lancaster.

III. **Ruler of the Country.**

A. The deaths of the Earl of Lincoln, Winchelsey in **1313**, Gloucester (at Bannockburn), and the discredit of the royal power after Bannockburn, **1314**, made Thomas of Lancaster the ruler of the country.

(1) He became the leader of the Council and commander of the army (Pembroke was superseded).

(2) The barons of north supported him.

(3) The commons looked on him as their champion against the bad government of the King.

(4) The clergy looked on him as the supporter of orthodoxy.

B. A bad ruler. No practical policy. Failed to appreciate his duty to cease from opposition and to give good government. Failed to see the constitutional importance of the people, called few parliaments, effected no great reform, and failed to check the growing power of Bruce.

C. Growth of a middle party (Pembroke, Warrenne, and Badlesmere) distinct from the baronial party of Lancaster and the court party of the King. The middle party with the support of the King, and of those desiring strong successful rule, deprived Lancaster of the chief power by the Treaty of Leek in 1318.

D. Growth of a court party, led by the Despensers, who strongly opposed the supremacy of the baronage which Lancaster wished to establish, and, while sympathising with constitutional development, looked to the King as the supreme power.

Hence union of Lancaster and the middle party and banishment of the Despensers. The Queen was refused admission to Leeds, Badlesmere's castle in Kent. The King attacked Badlesmere, Lancaster remaining inactive through hatred of Badlesmere.

1322. Lancaster defeated at Boroughbridge and executed at Pontefract.

IV. **The Importance of Lancaster.**

A. Lancaster's private character bad. An example of a selfish feudal baron, with no appreciation of constitutional development and of the importance of the Commons. But regarded (wrongly) as a hero by many owing to his opposition to the King.

B. From the struggle of Lancaster and the King arose the blood feuds which led ultimately to the Wars of the Roses.

C. Reaction after the death of Lancaster shown by the assertion at York in 1322: "Matters touching the realm to be established in Parliament by the King and by the consent of the prelates, earls, barons, and *the commonalty of the realm*, as has been hitherto accustomed."

References:

A. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. II, pp. 336–68.

B. *The Days of Bruce*, by Aguilar, Warne.

THE CAUSES OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

I Philip VI (Philip of Valois) rightly continued the policy of absorbing the great fiefs, which was essential for the development of a strong monarchy in France. Edward III wished to keep all that was left to England in Guienne and Gascony.

Therefore the war was inevitable. Other causes are secondary.

II. Philip VI, like his predecessors, strengthened his position by helping the Scots against Edward III, who was thus hampered in his attempt to maintain and extend his possessions in Gascony and Guienne. Therefore Philip gave support and shelter to David Bruce. Hence David's invasion of England which was checked at Neville's Cross **1346.**

III. Edward strengthened his position by his alliance with the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, his brother-in-law, **1338.** Therefore Benedict XII, in exile at Avignon, the enemy of Louis, stirred up Philip against Edward and the Emperor.

IV. Edward gave shelter to Robert of Artois, Philip's brother-in-law, who claimed the county of Artois. The personal relations between Philip and Edward had been distinctly friendly hitherto, and this fact delayed the beginning of the war. The reception of Robert put an end to these friendly relations.

V. Philip supported Count Louis of Flanders in his struggle against the Flemings, who were routed at Cassel **1328,** and ordered the imprisonment of all the English in Flanders. Therefore Edward prohibited the export of English wool, which was indispensable to Flanders as the raw material of the cloth trade. The Flemings, led by Jacob van Artevelde of Ghent, who "showed them that they could not live without the King of England," made an alliance with Edward. The English, who cared little for Scotland and Guienne, resented the injury caused by Philip's policy to English trade and supported Edward. The interference with English trade made the dispute with France a national question.

VI. The Flemings had sworn an oath of allegiance to the King of France, and they felt bound by their oath to obey the King of France. Therefore Edward claimed the throne **1337**, and thus secured their allegiance.

A. The reason for his claim to the throne was to secure the allegiance of the Flemings, and the claim was not made until the Flemish question arose. Thus Edward's claim to the throne of France was not (as is sometimes stated) the main cause of the war.

B. The claim that a woman might transmit the right of succession was regarded as reasonable at the time, and such transmission often took place in France in the case of fiefs. The Salic Law was a legal fiction of the next generation, but even so Charles of Navarre, grandson of Louis X, had a better claim than Edward.

C. But the French barons in **1328** had consulted the best interests of France by choosing as king Philip of Valois, a Frenchman born and bred, whose interests were solely French.

VII. The war was supported in England by various classes—

A. The clergy, who strongly resented the dependence of the Pope (Benedict XII) on the French King, owing to the Babylonish captivity at Avignon (**1305–1377**).

B. The merchants, owing to the interruption with the Flemish trade, the damage done to English shipping by French privateers in the Channel, and the wish to maintain trade with Gascony. The necessity of protecting commerce was recognised by Edward, and partly explains his active naval policy and his attempt to keep command of the narrow seas.

C. The barons and military class, who welcomed the chance of fame and plunder.

Reference :

A. *Political History of England, 1216–1277*, by Tout, Longmans, pp. 323–38.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR TO 1375

I. First Period of the War, 1337–1340.

A. The First Confederacy against France.

1338. Attempt of Edward III to unite the Emperor Louis the Bavarian, the Duke of Brabant, the Counts of Guelders and Hainault, and the Flemish towns against Philip.

1338. Louis appointed Edward his Vicar-General west of the Rhine.

1339. Unsuccessful invasion of France. The Emperor and the Flemings gave little assistance. Failure of the first confederacy.

B. The Second Confederacy against France.

1339. Second confederacy formed by Edward, including the Flemings, led by van Artevelde of Ghent and the Duke of Brabant.

1340. Great naval victory at Sluys due to the skill of the English archers. Edward was thus enabled to invade France again, but he failed to capture St. Omer and Tournai.

A truce was made between Edward and Philip, which continued until **1342**, owing to Edward's inability to raise money to meet the expense of continuing the war.

Failure of the second confederacy. But the Flemings had profited by the alliance with Edward to weaken the power of the Count of Flanders and to organise their communes.

II. The Succession in Brittany.

Rivalry of John de Montfort, supported by the Celtic population, and Charles of Blois, nephew of Philip VI, for the Duchy of Brittany.

1342. Great victory of the Earl of Northampton, supporting Montfort, at Morlaix.

1345. Edward planned a threefold attack on France from Guienne, Brittany, and Flanders. His advance checked by the murder of van Artevelde, the death of John de Montfort and of Edward's brother-in-law, the Duke of Holland.

III. **Creçy, 1346.**

A. Successes of the French under John of Normandy (afterwards King John) in Guienne. Edward set out with a large army for Bordeaux, but, partly owing to storms, landed in Normandy, marched along the Seine towards Paris, and retreated towards Picardy to join the Flemings. He crossed the Seine and the Somme (at the ford of Blanche Taque) and defeated Philip at Creçy, near Abbeville.

B. The battle, August 26th, **1346.**

(1) The English fought on foot in three battalions commanded by the young Prince of Wales, by the Earls of Northampton and Arundel, and, a reserve force, by the King. Archers were posted on each side of the two former. The English position was strengthened by shallow holes dug along the front of the lines. Edward's forces who had rested the previous night did very little marching on the day of the battle.

(2) The French nobles compelled Philip (who utterly failed as a general) to attack the English, although their main army had not yet come up and their men were tired out with a long day's march and had the sun in their eyes. The shafts of the Genoese crossbowmen, whose strings were wetted by rain, failed to reach the English, whose longbows did great execution. The French men-at-arms rode down the Genoese, but failed to reach the English lines. Fifteen charges made by the French were all unsuccessful, although the Prince of Wales—the hero of the day—was at one time very hard pressed. The French were utterly undisciplined, but fought with great bravery. The French were completely routed, and lost the blind King John of Bohemia, nearly a hundred nobles, 1000 knights, and from 15,000 to 20,000 men. The English lost less than 1000 men.

(3) The tactics of the battle are of great importance.

α. "It was a combat of infantry against cavalry, of missile weapons against heavy armour and lances, of trained professional soldiers against a combination of foreign mercenaries with disorderly feudal levies." [Lodge, *Close of the Middle Ages.*]

β. The English archers won the day, and the success of the English archers, mixed with footmen, led to the elimination of the armed knight as a factor in mediæval warfare.

(4) The political results of the battle.

1347. α. Edward III captured Calais, which he made an English town. For two hundred years Calais afforded the English an easy entrance into France.

β. John of Normandy was compelled to abandon his operations in Guienne, which was reconquered by Henry (formerly Earl, now created Duke of Lancaster), who overran Poitou and sacked Poitiers.

γ. The French could no longer send effective aid to Charles of Blois in Brittany, where Thomas Dagworth routed and captured Charles at La Roche and ensured the supremacy of Montfort.

(5) 1346. David of Scotland, who had tried to help the French by invading the north of England, was defeated and captured at Neville's Cross, near Durham, by the northern levies.

(6) 1347. The Truce of Calais gave peace for a time to England, France, Scotland, and Brittany. Edward was compelled to make a truce owing to lack of money to carry on the war and to the failure of the Flemings and the great nobles of the Netherlands to render effective help. In attempting to conquer France he was undertaking a task too great for his resources, although the glory gained at Crecy obscured the fact.

IV. **From Creçy to Poitiers.**

A. Brittany.

Gradual success of the French party under Bertrand du Guesclin partly because Edward III could not send adequate reinforcements.

B. Ponthieu.

Gradual extension of English power around Calais.

C. **1350.** Great naval victory over Spanish privateers off Winchelsea. "Espagnols sur Mer."

D. Guienne.

(1) **1355.** Unsuccessful attempt to co-operate with Charles the Bad, King of Navarre, whose lands in Normandy afforded a means of attacking France from the north-west.

(2) **1355.** Expedition of the Black Prince to Narbonne, and devastation of French territory adjoining Guienne.

[(3) **1356.** Berwick, recently captured by the Scotch, recaptured by Edward III.]

E. The Battle of Poitiers, **1356.**

(1) **1356.** Expedition of Henry Duke of Lancaster to Normandy to help Charles the Bad.

Northward march of the Black Prince to join Lancaster on the Loire. The Prince intercepted by King John at Poitiers.

(2) The battle, September 19th, **1356.**

α. The French had 40,000[1] men, the English 7000.

β. The English were drawn up in three "battles," two in front, under Suffolk and Salisbury, and Oxford and Warwick, and one in the rear under the Black Prince.

γ. The English position was well chosen on higher ground than that held by the French. The left flank was protected by the River Miausson, the front by a hedge, a ditch and bushes and vineyards affording cover to the archers. Thus the advantage of superior numbers enjoyed by the French was somewhat diminished.

[1] Froissart gives rather different numbers engaged at Creçy (page 166) and Poitiers. See *Froissart's Creçyand Poitiers*, Blackie.

δ. The French fought mainly on foot and the battle was stubbornly contested. The English victory was due to the skill of the archers, the difficulty the French found in delivering an attack owing to the narrowness of the lane leading up to the English front, the timely help brought by the Black Prince to the two leading "battles" when hard pressed by King John, and a successful attack made on the French flank by a small force of cavalry led by the Captal de Buch, a Gascon nobleman. King John and his son Philip (afterwards Philip the Bold of Burgundy) were captured, and the French lost heavily, but, as at Crecy, the English were too weak to follow up their victory.

. The Treaty of Bretigny, 1360. "The Great Peace."

A. France was now in a miserable condition owing to the war, to gross mismanagement of the finances, to a rising of the people of Paris against the Dauphin[1] Charles, who was acting as Regent during his father's imprisonment in London, to the Jacquerie,[2] a rising of the peasants against the nobles, and to the ravages of the bands of soldiers called the Free Companies.

B. But the French refused to confirm the terms made by King John in London, and in **1359** Edward again invaded France. The French declined to fight pitched battles, and Edward, finding it most difficult to get food for his army, agreed to the Treaty of Bretigny.

C. The Treaty.

(1) Edward gave up his claims to the French Crown, and to the Angevin dominions north of the Loire.

(2) Edward received as absolute owner, and without any obligation of homage, Calais, Ponthieu, Guines in the north, and Guienne, Gascony, Poitou, and Saintonge in the south.

[1] The eldest son of the King of France was called "the Dauphin," because was invested with Dauphiné in the east of France.

[2] So called from "Jacques Bonhomme," the nickname of the peasants.

(3) King John to be ransomed for 3,000,000 crowns. This treaty was not a final settlement. The growing national feeling of France and the inadequate resources of England made the ultimate recovery of the ceded territory certain.

VI. From the Treaty of Bretigny to the End of Edward III's Reign.

A. Brittany.

1364. The war of the Breton succession ended with the defeat of the French under Bertrand du Guesclin at Aurai by Sir John Chandos and the recognition as Duke of Brittany of Montfort, who did homage to Charles V of France.

B. Aquitaine.

(1) **1367.** The Black Prince, now Duke of Aquitaine, by a victory at Najara, restored Pedro the Cruel to the throne of Castile, from which he had been driven by his brother Henry of Trastamara, aided by Bertrand du Guesclin. But the English forces were greatly weakened by pestilence, the health of the Black Prince was ruined, and he was greatly embarrassed by the refusal of Pedro to pay his share of the expenses.

(2) The Black Prince was a good governor, and the towns of Aquitaine flourished under his rule. But the barons were jealous of the English officials, and a hearth tax imposed to meet the expenses of the campaign of **1367** roused great opposition. They appealed to Charles V, and war was renewed.

(3) **1370.** Limoges was recaptured from the French by the Black Prince. Massacre of the inhabitants—men, women, and children. The great blot on the reputation of the Black Prince.

C. The ruin of the English power.

1372. Henry of Trastamara (who had slain his brother Pedro and held Castile in defiance of John of Gaunt, who had married Pedro's daughter) defeated the English fleet under the Earl of Pembroke at La Rochelle. The English thus lost the command of the sea gained by the victories of Sluys, **1340**, and "Espagnols sur Mer," **1350**.

1373. John of Gaunt, obliged to march overland owing to the defeat of the fleet, led a vast army from Calais through Central France to Bordeaux. Great English loss, owing to the tactics of Du Guesclin, who continually harassed the army, but declined a pitched battle.

Gradual loss of Southern France.

1375. The truce of Bruges ended the fighting in Edward III's reign.

The English lost all their conquests, except Bordeaux, Bayonne, Calais, and Ponthieu; but these gave the English facilities for invading France, which they used with success later.

D. The causes of the English failure.

(1) Charles V was not a mere knight-errant like John, but diplomatic, patient. He re-established the Government, united France, and aroused French national feeling.

(2) England had no foreign allies.

α. Pedro was dead, and Henry of Trastamara hostile.

β. Charles the Bad of Navarre joined the French.

γ. The marriage of Philip of Burgundy (brother of Charles V) with Margaret of Flanders strengthened the influence of France in the Netherlands.

δ. The Holy Roman Emperor Wenceslaus was hostile to Edward.

(3) The successes of Bertrand du Guesclin and the adoption of guerilla warfare by the French. John of Gaunt in **1373** found no enemy to defeat in battle, and could not capture towns.

(4) The loss of the command of the sea and the consequent difficulty of sending reinforcements.

(5) Unrest in Aquitaine.

(6) The ruined health of Edward III and the Black Prince.

(7) Dissatisfaction in England at the want of military success and consequent reluctance of Parliament to grant supplies.

References:

A. *The Close of the Middle Ages*, by Lodge, Rivingtons, chap. iv.
"Crecy." *Art of War in the Middle Ages*, by Oman, pp. 603–15.
"Poitiers." *Art of War in the Middle Ages*, pp. 623–34.

C. *Sir Nigel* and *The White Company*, by Conan Doyle, Smith Elder.

THE BLACK DEATH

I. Origin and Course.

It came from China; appeared in Europe first at Constantinople, and followed the trade routes; **1348**, first appeared in England at Weymouth, then in Bristol, London, East Anglia, and Lancashire; and then Scotland. It reappeared in **1361** and **1369**.

It destroyed one-third, some say one-half, of the population. "In Bristol the living could hardly bury the dead," and two hundred were buried daily in Charterhouse Yard, London, in **1348–1349**. The old escaped better than the young, and labourers and clergy died in great numbers. Parishes were depopulated; districts thrown out of cultivation; cattle and sheep exterminated.

Results.

A. Labourers.

(1) Some landlords had commuted for money payment [i.e. for rent] the services their tenants formerly rendered. The labourers, owing to the diminution in their numbers caused by the Black Death, demanded higher wages. The landlords now tried to exact the old services from their tenants instead of rent, and to limit the wages paid to labourers.

(2) Statutes of Labourers, **1349** and **1351**.

α. Compelled landlords to pay and labourers to accept the rate of wages current before the Black Death.

β. Prohibited labourers from changing their residence or breaking contracts.

γ. Prohibited a rise in the price of goods.

1. These statutes were not simple tyranny on the part of Parliament in favour of landlords, because the fixing of prices helped the poor, and it was thought in the Middle Ages that prices and wages could properly be fixed by law.

2. These laws were not generally carried out, but the attempt to enforce them led to bitter class feeling. The labourers often got higher wages. Gradually the old services were swept away, and the relation of landlord and tenant was substituted for ineffective feudal tenure.

Thus arose the social difference between landlord and tenant which was one of the causes of the Peasants' Revolt.

B. Landlords.

They suffered much from the change, especially ecclesiastical landlords, who were heavily taxed. The monks, owing to the fall in their rents, were greatly impoverished and never quite recovered their former

position. But now began the policy of turning lands into sheep farms instead of arable land, and grazing proved more profitable than agriculture. "The profit of the fleece was greater than the profit of the plough."

C. Clergy.

The diminution in the numbers of the clergy led to demands for higher payment. Non-residence and neglect of cures followed. The newly ordained clergy were often badly educated.

Therefore the bishops ordered the clergy to be content with previous payments. To meet the demand for additional clergy new religious houses were founded (e.g. Charterhouse by Sir Walter Manny), and several colleges were now established at Oxford and Cambridge to train secular priests.

D. The King.

It was difficult to raise taxes from landowners owing to their losses. The mortality of sheep affected the royal revenues because the King depended largely on wool as a source of income.

III. **General Results.**

In spite of the very important results of the Black Death it is incorrect to regard it as "the one great turning point in the social and economic history of England."

A. The Black Death was not an isolated phenomenon, and the same effects were not found in other countries where it appeared.

B. It is very important because it accelerated changes which had already begun in England, not because it started new movements.

References :

A. *Social England*, Vol. II, chap. vi.

C. *The Gathering of Brother Hilarius*, by Fairless, Murray.

THE GOOD PARLIAMENT, 1376

Position of the Commons.

A. The Commons had been separated from the Lords **1341**, and gained strength owing to the union of the knights of the shire—socially connected with the great barons—with the burgesses.

B. Increase of power of the Commons during this century, e.g. Petitions of Commons which had received royal assent to be made into statutes without change, **1341**.

C. But they did not for some time claim supervision over the whole of the administration, e.g. in **1348** they refused to advise the King as to the Hundred Years' War "because they were so ignorant and simple."

I. **Popular feeling roused by**

A. The failures of the French war.

(1) **1372.** Defeat of the fleet at Rochelle and loss of command of the sea.

(2) Utter failure of John of Gaunt's expedition.

(3) Loss of Guienne (except Bordeaux and Bayonne) owing to the successes of Bertrand du Guesclin.

B. The action of John of Gaunt, "whose doings were ever contrary"; who, relying upon the assistance of Alice Perrers, the King's mistress, and of Lords Neville of Raby (Steward), Latimer (Treasurer), and Richard Lyons (Edward III's agent), controlled the Government, which the King, through age and weakness, could not direct. He was suspected of aiming at the succession.

II. **The Good Parliament.**

A. Strong action of the Commons in the Good Parliament **1376.** The first time the Commons had become the champions of national rights. But the leading part was taken by the knights of the shire, not the burgesses. The Commons supported by

(1) The Black Prince, anxious to ensure the succession of his son Richard,

(2) Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, husband of Philippa of Clarence and father of Roger Mortimer, the next heir after Richard,

(3) William of Wykeham and Courtenay Bishop of London, the leaders of the clerical party, whom John of Gaunt bitterly attacked.

B. Action of the Good Parliament.

Peter de la Mare, steward of the Earl of March, appointed Speaker. The first man to exercise the full functions of this office.

(1) The Commons Impeached[1] Latimer for malversation and treachery, and Lyons, who had used his opportunities to manipulate trade.

Attacked Alice Perrers, who had sat on the judges' seat in the Courts at Westminster, for interference with justice.

Latimer and Lyons imprisoned and fined. Alice Perrars banished from court.

(2) Protested against Papal exactions, mismanagement of the war, and arbitrary taxation.

(3) Demanded annual Parliaments, free elections of knights of the shire without interference from the crown, and the enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers.

(4) On the death of the Black Prince petitioned for the recognition of Richard II as heir to the throne, and frustrated the attempt of John of Gaunt to nullify the right of succession through a woman, and thus to abrogate the claim of Roger Mortimer.

(5) Petitioned for the appointment of twelve councillors to "enforce the royal council." This petition was granted by the King.

[1] Impeachment is an accusation "by the Commons, sitting as a Grand Jury of the whole nation," before the House of Lords, as "a High Criminal Court of State."

IV. **On the Dissolution of Parliament its work was annulled by John of Gaunt.**

The newly appointed councillors were dismissed. Latimer, Lyons, and Alice Perrers, were recalled, and Peter de la Mare imprisoned. The possessions of William of Wykeham were seized, and an alliance made between John of Gaunt and Wycliffe in an attack on the power and wealth of the Church.

V. **The importance of the Good Parliament.**

A. The Commons took the lead in national policy for the first time and claimed the right of Parliament to control the whole administration.

B. The first use of Impeachment. A powerful weapon against ministers, later used against the Earl of Suffolk **1386**, Duke of Suffolk **1450**, Mompesson (for fraud) in **1621**, Buckingham for failure to guard the high seas and lending ships to be used against the Huguenots **1626**, Strafford (changed to a Bill of Attainder) **1640**, Laud for high treason **1641**, Clarendon **1667**, Sacheverell for teaching the doctrine of passive obedience **1710**, Warren Hastings for misgovernment in India **1788**.

C. Assertion of the responsibility of ministers to Parliament.

Reference:

A. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. II, pp. 448–58.

ENGLAND AND THE PAPACY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

I. **Steady growth of National Opposition to the Pope.**

A. Resistance to Papal demands for money.

(1) The Good Parliament protested against payments to Rome, and said that five times as much money was paid to the Pope as to the King.

(2) Repeated refusal of Parliament to pay the arrears of John's tribute claimed by the Popes.

(3) The clergy, heavily taxed for war, became impatient of Papal demands for first fruits, and objected

α. To the drain of coin from England;

β. To supplying money to pay the expenses of the "French Popes" at Avignon.

B. Resistance to the "provision" by the Pope of foreign clergymen for English livings.

1351. The Statute of Provisors was passed to prevent the Pope from presenting foreigners to English livings. Foreign clergy were unpopular because

α. They were often ignorant of English.

β. They were generally non-resident.

γ. They led to the withdrawal of money from England to the Continent.

C. Resistance to the Papal claim of authority over English law courts. Hence the Statutes of Præmunire.

(1) **1353.** The First Statute of Præmunire

Forbade suits cognisable in the King's courts to be referred to any foreign court on pain of outlawry.

This statute was aimed at the Papal courts, but they were not specially named.

(2) **1393.** The Great Statute of Præmunire.

Any one obtaining bulls or other legal instruments from Rome to forfeit his goods.

D. The authority of the Papacy was much impaired,

(1) By the "Babylonish Captivity" of the Popes at Avignon **1305–1377.** The Avignonese Popes were Frenchmen, under the influence of the kings of France and regarded as allies of France. Hence the refusal of Edward III to accept, during the Hundred Years' War, the mediation of Benedict XII and Clement VI and the hostility in England to the "French Popes."

(2) By the Great Schism, **1378–1417**, during which rival Popes claimed the Papacy.

Great indignation was aroused in England at Bishop Despenser's "Crusade" in Flanders, **1383**, to support the Flemings (the adherents of the orthodox Urban VI) against Charles V of France (an adherent of the Antipope Clement VII).

E. Growth in England of national sentiment, stimulated by the Hundred Years' War and by the growth of vernacular literature, especially Wycliffe's translation of the Bible and Chaucer's poems. This national sentiment strengthened opposition to foreign domination.

I. Growth of Opposition in England to the Clergy.

A. The privileges of the clergy were annulled or diminished.

(1) The clergy were compelled to appear when summoned before a civil court.

(2) Failure of Boniface VIII to save them from royal taxation by the bull Clericis Laicos **1296**.

B. Growing feeling against the wealth and luxury of the clergy (shown in *Piers Plowman* and the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*) and the employment of clergy in secular work.

II. John Wycliffe, "the Morning Star of the Reformation," about 1320–1384.

A. Born in North Yorkshire, became Warden of Balliol Hall at Oxford, about **1360**, and Professor of Divinity. Appointed ambassador at Bruges **1374**, and during his residence abroad was profoundly impressed by the abuses of the Roman Catholic Church.

B. He represented the national feeling of opposition to the Pope and clergy.

(1) He asserted that "dominion was founded in grace," i.e. that no one could rightly exercise authority unless he was a good man. He taught that clergy should exercise "ecclesiastical dominion" over the lives of men, but should not accept secular employment.

(2) He attacked the higher clergy for their immorality and wealth, and preached the doctrine of apostolic poverty against the "possessioner monks," who had large estates. He advocated the disendowment of the Church, and asserted the right of the Crown to seize the temporal possessions of the Church.

(3) He opposed Papal provisions and payments to the Pope.

(4) He was at first orthodox in doctrine, although he attacked clerical abuses, and among his strongest supporters were the Mendicant Friars, whose vows bound them to poverty.

(5) John of Gaunt strongly opposed William of Wykeham and the higher clergy and, although caring nothing for the reform of morals, supported Wycliffe's attack on the wealth of the Church.

C. Wycliffe's change in doctrine.

(1) **1377.** Convocation, largely through enmity towards John of Gaunt, summoned Wycliffe for trial by bishops at St. Paul's. The trial was broken up by Gaunt's supporters. Gaunt's palace, the Savoy, was pillaged by a London mob owing to insults offered by his followers to Courtenay Bishop of London.

(2) Wycliffe's rejection of Transubstantiation.

α. His argument was at first logical. Accidents (i.e. qualities) cannot exist in the abstract, but involve substance. The qualities of bread and wine continue in the sacred emblems, and the substance must therefore be bread and wine, not the Body and Blood of Christ.

1379 or **1380**. β. Following St. Augustine he taught that "Christians receive the Lord's body spiritually."

γ. The rejection of Transubstantiation was "the turning point in Wycliffe's career." John of Gaunt remained orthodox and forsook Wycliffe, but "Good Queen Anne," Anne of Bohemia, who had married Richard II in **1382**, supported him, and Lollardy gained strength at court.

D. **1380.** Wycliffe began to translate the Bible into English.

α. He declared that Scripture afforded a sufficient guide for conduct, and that a godly life, based on the teaching of Christ, was more important than Sacraments. The Church consisted of all who had been saved through Christ, and not of the clergy alone.

β. Wycliffe "the founder of English prose."

E. **1381** (about). Organised his "Poor Preachers," mostly Oxford men, whose learning, piety, and simple life offered a strong contrast to the immorality, laziness, and growing wealth of the friars, who had now become strong opponents of Wycliffe.

F. The Peasants' Revolt, **1381.**

The Peasants' Revolt, though not a religious movement, affected Wycliffe.

(1) The Socialism of the Peasants' Revolt was confused with Wycliffe's assertion of apostolic poverty and of the equality of all men before God, and Lollardism was somewhat discredited in consequence.

(2) Wycliffe's strong opponent, Courtenay Bishop of London, became archbishop on the murder of Archbishop Sudbury by the peasants, and **1382** summoned a council at Blackfriars [called "the council of the earthquake," because disturbed by a shock], in which Wycliffe was condemned as a heretic owing to

α. His denial of Transubstantiation;

β. His rejection of auricular confession.

G. Wycliffe retired to Lutterworth, where he died of a stroke of paralysis received while he was saying Mass, **1384.**

His followers (called Lollards, possibly from "lullen," to sing) were expelled from Oxford by Courtenay, but suffered little persecution under Richard II. They were crushed in the fifteenth century, largely owing to Henry IV's desire to secure the support of the Church, and the literary and intellectual barrenness of that century is partly due to the consequent loss of freedom of thought and expression.

References:

A. *Historical Essays and Reviews*, by Creighton, Longmans, "John Wycliffe."

Social England, Vol. II, pp. 214–34.

THE PEASANTS' REVOLT, 1381

I. **Causes.**

A. Agricultural.

(1) Discontent caused by the attempts of the landlords to enforce the Statutes of Labourers and by the desire of the labourers to take advantage of the increased demand for labour and of the rise in wages caused by the Black Death.

(2) The labourers were harassed by petty demands (dues on sales, special payment to landlords at festivals, restrictions on hunting rabbits—a rabbit on a pole one of the emblems of the rebels), and also by cruel punishments, e.g. branding for breaches of the Statute of Labourers. Hence

α. Attacks on monasteries. The monks had insisted on their rights as landlords, and the teaching of Wycliffe had roused strong feeling against the clergy.

β. Attacks on lawyers, who, by finding faults in deeds of manumission, had enabled landlords to compel many labourers to return to the old conditions. Hence the attack on the Temple in London, the destruction of manor rolls and records, and the murder of lawyers.

B. Political.

(1) Discontent with the conduct of the French war. The failure of John of Gaunt was contrasted with the success of Philpot, a London merchant, who raised a fleet at his own expense and defeated Scotch pirates in **1378**. The French were regaining Guienne, had secured the command of the Channel and burnt Gravesend in **1380**.

(2) Imposition of taxes to meet expenses of the war.

1379. A graduated poll-tax failed to produce as much as was needed.

1380. Therefore a poll-tax of three groats per head was imposed "on every lay person in the realm save

beggars." This was unfair and pressed very heavily on the poorest classes, hitherto exempt from taxation.

The poll-tax was the immediate cause of the revolt.

C. In the towns.

Very varied causes.

(1) To win privileges from landlords, e.g. at St. Albans where the Abbey claimed great authority.

(2) The desire of the poorer classes to limit the power of a rich oligarchy of merchants, or of journeymen to get higher wages. At Winchester there was a rising of Craftsmen against Merchants.

(3) At Cambridge the resentment of the townspeople at the special privileges of the University.

(4) Hatred of foreigners. Frequent attacks on Flemings and Dutch.

D. A vague Socialism.

The Peasants' Revolt was not directly encouraged by Wycliffe, but the socialistic aspect of it was indirectly encouraged by his doctrine of the equality of men before God and by his attacks on the wealth of the clergy. The preaching of John Ball, "the mad priest of Kent," diffused and to a considerable extent created this feeling. His sermon on Blackheath from the text—

> When Adam delved and Eve span,
> Where was then the gentleman?

E. A general feeling of discontent in the country due to resentment against Papal claims, scorn of the immorality of the nobles, confidence in or opposition to John of Gaunt, the presence of many soldiers and sailors discharged from service and prevented from finding work by the restrictions of the guilds.

Thus while the poll-tax was the immediate cause, it would not by itself have led to the outbreak. "It was the fact that this new grievance came at a moment when ancient social problems had reached boiling point that led to an explosion."

II. **The course of the Rising.**

A. Essex.

The Revolt first broke out in Essex, where the grievances were agricultural. March of the rebels to Mile End. Their demands were—the abolition of villeinage, rent to be 4d. per acre, liberty to buy and sell in markets.

The peasants met by the King at Mile End. "I am your king and lord; good people, what will ye?"

Richard II did not really sympathise with them, but granted all their demands although he had no constitutional right to do this.

Thirty clerks drew up guarantees of indemnity and the people went home.

B. Kent.

The rising due mainly to political causes. Wat Tyler was probably an Essex man, not connected with Dartford, and the story of the murder of the tax-collector who insulted his daughter is untrue.

The rebels marched on London, and were addressed by John Ball on Blackheath. Great negligence on the part of the authorities responsible for the defence of London. The rebels burned John of Gaunt's palace, the Savoy, but hanged a rebel who stole a cup, thus showing that plunder was not their main object.

Next day they attacked the Tower, and slew Archbishop Sudbury and Hales the Treasurer.

The meeting with the King at Smithfield and death of Tyler. Great bravery of the young King.

"I am your captain and your king. Follow me."

A promise of emancipation made by Richard.

C. The Eastern Counties.

(1) Norfolk.

Led by a dyer named John Lyster, "the King of the Commons." Captured Yarmouth and murdered Flemish wool merchants, who had settled in East Anglia owing to dissensions in Flanders. Put down by Despenser Bishop of Norwich, "in helm and cuirass, girt with his two-edged sword."

(2) Hertfordshire.

At St. Albans William Grindecobbe led the rebels, who broke to pieces the millstones which had ground the corn that they had to supply to the Abbey mill. This rising was primarily an attempt to restrict the feudal rights of the Abbey.

II. **Results.**

A. An apparent failure. Put down by force. All the leaders and many of their followers executed. Justice Tresillian conducted the assizes. The concessions made by the King were withdrawn on protest of Parliament, and the King's real feelings were shown by his answer to petitioners, "Villeins ye are, and villeins ye shall remain."

B. John of Gaunt, alarmed by the outburst of popular hatred, henceforth supported the Crown, but practically disappears as a political leader.

C. But villeinage gradually died out. The landlords, through fear, granted the demands of the villeins, as many had done before 1381. But the increase in wages led to the extension of grazing and the enclosure of commons for this purpose, and this was one of the causes of later discontent.

References:

A. *The Political History of England, 1377–1485*, chap. II.

C. *Long Will*, by Converse, Longmans, and *Robert Annys*, by Meyer, Macmillan.

THE MERCILESS PARLIAMENT, 1388

I. **Events preceding the Merciless Parliament.**

A. The growing importance of the Commons, who claimed the right of appropriating supplies and auditing accounts. They tried to make the King "live of his own," and protested against his gifts to favourites.

This importance was shown in the Good Parliament by the assertion of the right to control taxation and to control the administration.

B. General discontent in the country (shown by the Peasants' Revolt) still continued.

(1) Dissatisfaction about the French war, especially with the failure of Despenser's "crusade" in Flanders (checked at Ypres 1383), and the capture of Ghent —friendly to England—by the French.

The King and Suffolk wanted peace, while the barons' party wanted war.

(2) Dissatisfaction owing to the failure of operations against the Scotch 1385. A French force landed near the Forth. Richard II's expedition to Scotland failed, although Edinburgh was captured, because the Scotch avoided a general engagement.

C. A strong feeling on the part of the barons against the King's favourites:—

Sir Simon Burley, his old tutor.
Sir Nicholas Brember,[1] Lord Mayor of London and head of the "clothing guilds."
Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford.
Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk.

D. The King's temper bad, he lacked self-restraint and tact.

He struck Archbishop Courtenay for referring to the supposed plot by Richard against John of Gaunt. Angry scenes with Gaunt, who believed that Richard was plotting against his life. Richard refused to work with the Commons, but, relying on the advice of favourites, aimed at strengthening his own power. He refused to rearrange his household at their request. He "would not remove the meanest scullion in his kitchen at their bidding." He made extravagant grants to his favourites, and created de Vere Marquis and Duke of Dublin, with rights over the Pale.

[1] The reliance of Richard II on Brember and de la Pole supports the theory that in his reign we get the beginning of the alliance between the King and the commercial classes against the barons. This alliance, which formed an important element in the policy of the Yorkist and Tudor kings, proved premature in Richard's case.

E. The first attack on Suffolk.

Led by Gloucester, who compelled Richard to submit by referring to the fate of Edward II.

(1) Suffolk was impeached for corruption, malversation, and failure to relieve Ghent. He made a good defence—he had acted by the King's orders, with the consent of the Council, and had done good service. He was imprisoned.

(2) A Council of Eleven was appointed to govern England and to control the King's household.

(3) The King refused to accept reform, and released Suffolk.

(4) The judges at Nottingham, including Tresillian, told the King that

α. The sentence on Suffolk was wrong;

β. The appointment of the Council of Eleven was wrong;

γ. The King alone had the right of dismissing ministers;

δ. The King's opponents were traitors.

(5) The King sent de Vere to raise a force in Cheshire, thus incurring the danger of Civil War. Therefore Henry of Derby, son of John of Gaunt, left the King. Vere was routed at Radcot Bridge, in Oxfordshire, and the King was placed at the mercy of the barons.

I. **The Merciless Parliament, 1388,**

Packed by Gloucester, and supported by the City of London.

A. The "Lords Appellant."

(1) Derby, Nottingham, Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick "appealed" the five traitors, for

α. Using the King for their own purpose, and withdrawing him from the magnates.

β. Making the King waste his treasure.

γ. Treason in favour of France.
And some foolish accusations.

δ. Vere accused of wishing to become King of Dublin.

c. Brember accused of wishing to change the name of London to Troynovant.

(2) Execution of Burley, Brember, and Tresillian.

(3) Translation of Archbishop Neville to St. Andrews, a schismatic see which he could not approach owing to the Scotch war.

B. Reward of the Appellants.

Arundel's brother made Archbishop of York.

Gloucester got the lands of de Vere.

The Lords Appellant, although they had protested against the waste of public money, received £20,000.

The Lords Appellant secured the control of the government.

III. **Cessation of Strife, 1389.**

On the attainment of his majority the King displaced Gloucester and wisely appointed Edward III's old ministers to vacancies on the Council, e.g. William of Wykeham.

John of Gaunt returned after an unsuccessful attempt to gain the throne of Castile and supported the King.

Derby went on a "crusade" with the Knights of the Teutonic Order (who protected the frontier of Germany against the heathen of the Baltic).

"Good Queen Anne" of Bohemia had an excellent influence over Richard II.

Thus the King's position was strengthened and for about eight years he ruled well.

IV. **Criticism of the Merciless Parliament.**

A. Not a constitutional revolution. The King yielded only owing to fear of the fate of Edward II.

B. Shows the importance of Parliament.

1. The barons acted not by themselves, as in 1311, but through Parliament.

2. The Lords decided that the action of the appellants was legal—though contrary to common law—owing to the sanction of Parliament.

C. Shows that the nobles still retained great power, and the real cause of their action was that Suffolk, who was far superior in character and ability to the favourites of Edward II, prevented them from exercising supreme power during Richard's minority.

Reference:

A. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. II, pp. 495–507.

THE REVENGE OF RICHARD II

I. **The King ruled well until 1397 and England had Peace.**

A. The Spanish war ended on the return of John of Gaunt.

B. The madness of Charles VI diminished the danger from France.

C. Steady support given to Richard by John of Gaunt, who was invested with the Duchy of Aquitaine.

II. **Richard was probably determined on Vengeance, but he hid his Designs.**

A. Queen Anne died **1394**. Removal of a restraining influence over Richard. Richard struck Arundel in Westminster Abbey at the funeral.

B. Richard married Isabel of France in **1396**. Truce with France.

(1) Isabel was only seven, and therefore there was no hope of an heir for years, and thus Richard's position was weakened.

(2) Probably the absolutism of the French kings encouraged Richard to assert his prerogative.

(3) Condemnation to death of Haxey (who escaped by claiming benefit of clergy) owing to Richard's anger, for protesting in the Commons in **1397** against the number of bishops and ladies at court.

C. The isolation of the Appellants.

(1) Arundel was expelled from the Council for attacking John of Gaunt, whose badge Richard wore as a sign of his firm friendship.

Bitter enmity between Arundel and John of Gaunt.

(2) Gloucester was unpopular owing to his factious conduct in the Council.

(3) The King pretended that Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel had formed a plot against him.

III. **The King's Revenge 1397.**

A. Eight lords (including Derby and Nottingham, two of the former Lords Appellant) "appealed" Warwick, Gloucester, and Arundel.

B. Gloucester died in prison at Calais.

Probably smothered by Richard's orders.

C. Arundel was executed after condemnation in a packed Parliament, in spite of his protest, "The faithful Commons are not here."

D. Warwick banished.

E. Archbishop Arundel translated to Saint Andrews.

F. The estates of the victims divided among the Appellants. New titles granted; five dukes created in one day. Derby and Nottingham made Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk.

IV. **The King Absolute.**

A. **1397.** A packed Parliament. The King's faithful servant, Bussy, became Speaker.

(1) Annulled the Acts of **1388** and the condemnation of Suffolk **1386.**

(2) Confirmed the opinions of the judges in favour of the King at Nottingham **1387.**

B. **1398.** The Shrewsbury Parliament.

1. Made the King independent financially by giving him a subsidy on wool for life.

2. Delegated the powers of Parliament to a council of eighteen.

"A resolute attempt not to evade but to destroy the limitations which for nearly two centuries the nation, first through the baronage alone and latterly through the united Parliament, had been labouring to impose on the King."—Stubbs.

C. Thus the King was absolute, but

1. He owed his position to the action of Parliament.
2. His supporters, called the "Dukelings," lacked the strength of the old feudal nobles.

eference :

A. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. II, pp. 513–25.

THE FALL OF RICHARD

Richard had never really forgiven Derby (Hereford) and Nottingham (Norfolk) for their action in 1388. An opportunity of vengeance occurred when Hereford accused Norfolk of urging him to join a plot against Richard II through fear of the King's vengeance. Richard banished Norfolk for life and Hereford for ten years. The heavier punishment of Norfolk suggested belief in his guilt, and in that case the sentence on Hereford was obviously unjust.

I. Richard strengthened his position by maintaining a body-guard of Cheshire archers, and to meet the cost took forced loans.

I. Richard frightened people by

A. Condemning in 1398 seventeen counties which had supported the Lords Appellant to pay a heavy fine [called *Le Pleasaunce* because the King fixed the amount according to his pleasure],

B. Compelling his enemies to sign blank papers to be filled up as he wished,

C. Ordering sheriffs to report persons speaking ill of the King.

These measures were not vigorously enforced, but caused much fear.

IV. On the death of John of Gaunt (whose last years afforded a striking contrast to his earlier life, and partly justify Shakespeare's favourable verdict), in **1399**, Richard confiscated estates which ought to have gone to Hereford.

V. Roger Earl of March (Richard's cousin and heir), Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, slain **1398**. Richard went to Ireland to put down a rising, and was thus absent when Hereford landed at Ravenspur, nominally to claim his ancestral possessions. Most of his faithful friends accompanied Richard; his uncle, the Duke of York was left as regent, but he was too weak to oppose Hereford, whose design on the crown was facilitated by the death of Roger, a possible rival. Hereford was supported by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland and recognised by the Duke of York. Bristol captured by Hereford.

VI. Richard submitted and was deposed by Parliament 30 September, 1399. He was accused of

A. Injustice to Hereford, Arundel, and Gloucester.

B. Breaking the constitution by

1. Corrupting the judges;
2. Delegating the power of Parliament to a council of eighteen;
3. Claiming absolute power, e.g. by saying that the "laws lay in his mouth";
4. Tampering with elections;
5. Interfering with the appointment of sheriffs;

C. Appealing to the Pope—strong anti-Papal feeling in England.

VII. Criticism.

A. "Richard had challenged the constitution" and tried to stop the course of constitutional development. An unsuccessful attempt to anticipate the policy of the Tudors.

B. He fell not because of his vengeance in 1397, but because of his foolish policy since 1398, which caused a general feeling of insecurity. "He fooled away the crown." The injustice to Hereford was the occasion, not the sole cause, of his fall.

C. He made no effort to keep his power. Left at Milford the army which might have saved him.

References:

A. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. II, pp. 525–36.

B. Shakespeare, *Richard II*:—

Act I, *Scene* 3: "All places that the eye of heaven visits," etc.

Act II, *Scene* 1: "Methinks I am a prophet new inspired," etc.

THE POSITION OF HENRY IV AT HIS ACCESSION

A. His Claim to the Throne.

(1) He claimed it "by right blood coming from King Henry III." He asserted, wrongly, that Edmund Crouchback, the ancestor of the Lancastrians, was the elder son of Henry III.

By hereditary right the real heir was Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, great-great-grandson of Edward III.

(2) "Through that right that God of His Grace hath sent me with the help of my kin and my friends to recover it."

i.e. By right of conquest.

(3) He owed his crown to conquest sanctioned by election by Parliament. Parliamentary support alone could ensure the continuation of his dynasty; his poverty put him at the mercy of Parliament, which in Henry IV's reign attained a power greater than any predecessor or successor to the time of the Stuarts.

B. **The King's Supporters.**

(1) The party of the Lords Appellant.

(2) The Church, which supported the King because of his opposition to the Lollards.

C. **The King's Difficulties.**

(1) Strong baronial opposition.

α. Richard II's friends opposed Henry IV, especially his half-brother, John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon (formerly Duke of Exeter), and Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent (formerly Duke of Surrey), a nephew of John Holland. Richard II's existence was a continual danger to Henry, as it afforded a rallying ground for the disaffected.

β. Many barons supported the hereditary claims of the Earl of March.

γ. The Percies (Northumberland, Hotspur, and Worcester) had ensured the King's succession, had lent him money, but were dissatisfied with their rewards and very turbulent.

D. **Danger from Scotland.**

Hostility of the Regent Albany, who was inclined to form an alliance with France.

E. **Danger from France.**

Charles VI was apparently willing to take up the cause of Richard II, his son-in-law. Difficulties arose as to the position of Richard's widow, Queen Isabella.

F. **Great danger from Wales.**

Owen Glendower, a Welsh gentleman, learned, refined, a soldier trained in the suite of Arundel, and a landowner, quarrelled with Lord Grey of Ruthin. Henry confiscated or alienated his estates, and made him a rebel. This personal quarrel became later a national rising.

BARONIAL REBELLIONS AGAINST HENRY IV

General.

A. Note the cleavage in the barons, which, beginning with the execution of Gaveston, continued in the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV, and ultimately culminated in the Wars of the Roses.

B. Rebellion had been easy in the reign of Richard II, and the barons in Henry IV's reign were consequently inclined to revolt.

C. Richard, alive, formed a centre of revolt, and after he was killed many believed him to be still alive.

D. Henry's successful rising against Richard had sanctioned the idea that "default of governance" justified deposition, and this idea justified rebellion when his own government failed.

E. Henry put down all the rebellions of the barons, but did not break the power of the barons, to which the fall of the House of Lancaster was finally due.

Actual Rebellions.

A. The Earls of Huntingdon and Kent (half-brother and nephew of Richard, who had lost the titles of Dukes of Surrey and Exeter), the Earl of Salisbury and Lord Despenser plotted to kill Henry at Windsor and proclaim Richard. The plot was revealed by a traitor (probably Rutland, son of the Duke of York). Kent and Salisbury were executed by the people at Cirencester; Huntingdon and Despenser slain by mobs in Essex and at Bristol, **1400.**

Result: The death of Richard at Pontefract.

(1) He was said to have starved himself to death.
(2) He probably died owing to rigorous ill-treatment.
(3) He was not slain by Exton as Shakespeare suggests.
(4) The corpse was exposed to view in London, but many believed that Richard was still alive in Scotland.

B. The Percies.

The Earl of Northumberland, the constable, the Earl of Worcester, his brother, the admiral, and Northumberland's son, Harry Hotspur, warden of the North Welsh Marches.

(1) **1399.** Northumberland had ensured the succession of Henry IV, and had lent him money which had not been repaid.

(2) **1402.** At Homildon Hill, in Northumberland, the Percies had captured Douglas and Murdoch, the Scotch King's nephew. The King demanded their ransoms, which the Percies claimed for themselves.

(3) Henry did not give Hotspur sufficient forces to check Glendower, who now styled himself "Prince of Wales" and raised the national standard of the dragon.

(4) The King refused to ransom Hotspur's brother-in-law, Mortimer, who had been captured by Glendower.

1403. α. A league was formed against Henry between Glendower, the Percies, Douglas (released by the Percies), and Mortimer, who had married Glendower's daughter and supported the claim of his nephew, Edmund Earl of March, to the throne.

1. Glendower failed to join forces with Hotspur, who was defeated and slain at Shrewsbury, where Worcester was captured and executed.
2. Northumberland, who had remained in the north, was pardoned by the King.
3. Successes of Glendower, aided by the French, in South Wales and capture of Cardiff. The French sacked Plymouth and attacked the Isle of Wight.

1405. β. Second rising of Northumberland, supported by Mowbray (son of the Duke of Norfolk) and Scrope Archbishop of York, who joined as a protest against the bad government of Henry IV. Scrope and Mowbray were captured by trickery by the Earl of Westmorland and executed. Great outcry at the execution of Scrope, and the skin disease (which was not leprosy) from which Henry suffered henceforth was regarded as a divine punishment for the deed.

Escape of Northumberland to Scotland, and many executions in Yorkshire and Northumberland.

γ. Third rising of Northumberland, who was defeated and slain at Bramham Moor, near Tadcaster, **1408**.

(5) Danger at home ceased after this victory.

α. The Percies were crushed.

β. The Prince of Wales captured Aberystwith and Harlech, and broke the power of Glendower, who was often obliged to lie "hid in caves and thickets" to escape his enemies.

γ. The capture of Prince James of Scotland, **1405**, gave Henry a means of preventing attacks from Scotland, as the Regent Albany gladly made peace with Henry to ensure the imprisonment of his nephew James and his own consequent supremacy in Scotland.

δ. But domestic politics were complicated by a quarrel between Archbishop Arundel and the Prince of Wales, supported by the Beauforts, sons of John of Gaunt and Katharine Swynford (Henry Bishop of Lincoln and Winchester, and afterwards Cardinal, and his brother John Earl of Somerset).

ε. France was weakened by the quarrel between the Orleanists or Armagnacs[1] (supporting Louis of Orleans, younger brother of King Charles VI, who had become insane) and the Burgundians (supporting Philip the Bold, the youngest son of King John, and uncle of King Charles VI and Louis of Orleans). The quarrel due to the attempts of Louis and Philip to secure the regency of France.

[1] The name Armagnac was derived from Bernard of Armagnac (the father-law of Louis' son Charles), who became the leader of the Orleanists after e murder of Louis.

1407. The quarrel became a civil war, when Louis was assassinated in Paris by order of John the Fearless, who had succeeded his father Philip as Duke of Burgundy.

This civil war saved England from the danger of French invasion.

References:

A. *The Political History of England, 1377–1485*, by Oman, Longmans, chap. VII. and pp. 187–204.
Owen Glendower, *Heroes of the Nations*, pp. 302–9.

B. Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, Part I:—
Homildon Hill (Act I, *Scene* 3): "My liege, I did deny no prisoners."
Glendower (Act. III, *Scene* 1): "In faith, he is a worthy gentleman."
Hotspur (Act III, *Scene* 2): "And even as I was then is Percy now."
Chevy Chase.

C. *Fair Maid of Perth*, Scott.
Both Sides of the Border, by Henley, Blackie.
Cambria's Chieftain, by Everett Green, Nelson.
The Caged Lion, by Yonge, Macmillan.

PARLIAMENT AND HENRY IV

I. **The King was dependent upon Parliament,** which had elected him, on the support of which the continuation of his house depended, and from which alone he could get the grants necessary to carry on the government.

Henry IV was very poor; he possessed the hereditary estates of Lancaster, but received no revenue from Wales, and had to meet heavy expenses owing to

α. The Welsh, Scotch, and French wars and the baronial rebellions.

β. The cost of the fleet and of the defence of Calais.

γ. The cost of the royal household.

He was so poor that he had to borrow £6000 from Richard Whittington, thrice Mayor (*not* Lord Mayor) of London, whose successful trading in a vessel called the *Cat* led to the famous popular story.

Therefore began the "Lancastrian experiment," government by limited monarchy. This failed because it was premature, as the Commons were not equal to the task till the seventeenth century. But the power of Henry IV was greatly limited, although towards the end of his reign this tactful "practical, wary personage" regained some of the power which he had lost, and the concessions he made gained for his house the strong support of the Commons.

I. **The Work of Henry's Parliaments.**

A. Settlement.

(1) Confirmation of the proceedings of the Merciless Parliament, **1388**, and reversal of those of the Shrewsbury Parliament, **1398**. This caused great disputes as to the legal ownership of land, and led to repeated challenges to battle even in Parliament.

(2) Appeals of treason were finally forbidden.

(3) Trial of Richard II's supporters; mild measures, little bloodshed; some titles were revoked, e.g. the Dukes of Surrey and Exeter were degraded to the position of Earls of Kent and Huntingdon (page 195).

B. Parliament and the Church.

(1) **1401.** Passed the Statute de Heretico Comburendo, an acknowledgment of Henry's orthodoxy and of his gratitude to Arundel. Heretics refusing to abjure to be handed over to secular authorities and publicly burned. The statute was generally accepted, as the Church was fairly popular, in spite of its great wealth and the Great Schism, and the principle that heretics deserved death was generally accepted; but Lollardy was not extinguished, and in the Parliament of **1410** there was "an execrable crowd of Lollard knights."

(2) **1404.** The Unlearned Parliament (so called because lawyers were excluded) suggested the confiscation of one year's income of all ecclesiastical property.

(3) **1410.** The Commons pointed out that the estates of the Church would endow fifteen earls, 1500 knights, 6200 esquires, and 100 hospitals.

C. Parliament and the King.

(1) **1401.** The right of freedom of speech in Parliament was recognised by the King.

(2) Complaints of bad governance.

1404. Complaints of expenses and failure of the Welsh expedition.

1406. Demand of good governance and presentation of thirty-one articles of reform, which were accepted by Henry, although they seriously limited the executive power of the Crown.

(3) Finance.

The Commons wished the King "to live of his own," i.e. to meet all his expenses out of the ordinary revenue derived from customs, ferms of the counties, feudal dues, and forests. This was quite impossible, and the ordinary revenue was supplemented by Parliamentary grants. Therefore the Commons tried to get control of the grants they were compelled to make.

1401. Parliament resolved that the King should not make grants without the consent of the Council. This resolution was due to lavish grants made to the Percies and others. The King refused to accept it.

1401. A petition of the Commons that redress of grievances should precede supply was evaded by the King.

1404. Treasurers were appointed to administer grants made to meet the cost of the Welsh and Scottish wars.

1406. Auditors were appointed to audit the account of the grants of **1404.**

1407. Money grants to originate in the Commons and to be declared by the Speaker.

(4) Considerable interference with the King's household.

1404. Queen Joan compelled to send away many of her Breton followers.

1406. Protest against the "rascalry" composing the King's household.

(5) The settlement of the Succession.

1406. The Crown was guaranteed to Henry's heirs,

(6) The influence of the sheriffs over Parliamentary elections was limited by Parliament on three occasions, in **1406, 1410, and 1413.**

(7) The Royal Council.

α. Gradual growth of the importance of the Privy Council from the reign of Henry III. In the time of Richard II it had become a power co-ordinate with the King, and it exercised great authority in the reign of Henry IV owing to the bad health, weak claim and poverty of the King.

β. The Council dealt with finance, trade, Church questions, the interpretation of treaties, and the maintenance of order, and acted as a court of appeal.

γ. Parliament was anxious to curtail the authority of the Royal Council, which was prejudicial to its own, and under Henry IV succeeded in securing control of the nomination of its members, **1404, 1406, and 1410.**

1406. Appointment in Parliament of a "Continual Council" of seventeen to hold office until next Parliament, to choose sheriffs, and to give grants.

1412. The "Continual Council" abolished. The abolition was a proof of the growing power of the King.

Reference:

A. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. III, pp. 1–73.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR AND THE LANCASTRIANS

I. Henry IV.

Less danger from France owing to the division between the Orleanists and Burgundians See page 197. England made an alliance with both as seemed convenient, and English diplomacy proved adroit and unscrupulous.

1407. The assassination of Louis of Orleans by agents of Burgundy aggravated the division.

1411. English alliance with Burgundy supported by the Prince of Wales. England helped Burgundy to defend Paris (which favoured Burgundy) and to defeat the Orleanist besiegers at St. Cloud.

1412. Disgraceful alliance made by Arundel, in spite of the opposition of the Prince of Wales, with the Orleanists, who offered to restore Aquitaine to Henry IV. Failure of Clarence's expedition to support the Orleanists.

But under Henry IV,

1. No claim was made to the French crown.
2. There was no settled policy in regard to France.

II. **Henry V.**

A. The renewal of the war.

(1) Henry's claim to the French crown marks a change in policy.

α. He claimed the Angevin Empire of Henry II, and also Ponthieu, Provence, and Boulogne.

β. He revived the claims of Edward III to the French crown, although the denial of the Salic Law, which made this claim possible, would have justified the claim of Edmund Earl of March to the crown of England.

(2) The state of France.

α. Continued dissensions between the Burgundians and Armagnacs.

β. Charles VI was mad. (Cards were invented to amuse him.)

γ. Queen Isabella of Bavaria was vicious and at enmity with Charles the Dauphin (afterwards Charles VII).

δ. The feeling of nationality in France was dormant.

(3) Henry's claim was supported by

α. The clergy, because a foreign war would distract attention from clerical abuses and divert attacks (largely Lollard) upon their wealth.

(1414. Confiscation of alien priories.)

Hence the hearty support of Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester.

β. The nobles were ready for a war which would bring fame and plunder. Henry IV had checked but had not broken the power of the nobles. The French war for a time ended baronial quarrels in England. No conspiracies, except that of Richard of Cambridge, were made in Henry V's reign.

γ. The merchants, because of the damage done to English shipping by Norman privateers.

(4) The war was unprovoked, unjustifiable, but popular. It caused endless suffering in France, but out of successful resistance came the growth of nationality. In England it was one of the causes of the Wars of the Roses and the overthrow of the Lancastrian House.

The French offered most liberal terms—two-thirds of Aquitaine, a dowry of 800,000 crowns, with the hand of Princess Katharine. Refused by Henry V.

B. The Agincourt Campaign.

(1) **1415.** The capture of Harfleur gave a base of operations with easy communication with England.

(2) **The March towards Calais.**

Foolish and reckless. Henry's army was small, "weak with want of victuals" and dysentery (due partly to eating raw chestnuts).

(3) The Battle of Agincourt.

α. The French (at least five times as many as the English)

1. Took up a position in a defile between two woods, which prevented them from using their superior numbers to outflank the English.

2. Drew up their army in three divisions; hopeless confusion arose when the first two were defeated.

3. Relied on heavy-armed men, the weight of whose armour prevented speedy attack on the muddy ground and rendered flight impossible. Hence an enormous number, greater than the total of Henry's army, were slain.
4. No use was made of a large force of French archers.

β. The English.

1. Their line was equal in length, but not in depth, to the French line.
2. The English archers, protected by stakes, drove back the French heavy cavalry, whose wounded horses threw the rear into confusion.
3. The English attacked the second line—heavy-armed infantry—who were easily routed through the weight of their armour and very close order.
4. The French prisoners were killed by Henry's orders owing to a false alarm that another French force had fallen upon the rear.

γ. Criticism.

1. A great feat of arms. The English had no advantage of higher position as at Creçy and Poitiers. The archers again rendered most valuable service.
2. This victory gave England a position in Europe, led to an alliance with the Emperor Sigismund, discouraged the French, but led to little permanent gain, except the ransom of prisoners and a safe retreat.
3. Further success was due to dissensions in France, not to the victory at Agincourt.

C. The Conquest of Normandy.

A campaign of conquest most skilfully executed. Pillage and arson were rigorously put down. An attack on Paris by Burgundy and a quarrel between Queen Isabella and the Armagnac regent prevented effective help from being sent to Normandy.

1417. Conquest of the central coast line, Caen, Bayeux, Lisieux, by Henry.

1419. John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, after capturing Paris and massacring his Armagnac opponents, concluded an alliance with the Dauphin, but was foully murdered by Tanneguy du Château while paying homage to the Dauphin on the bridge of Montereau. His son, Philip the Good, therefore embraced the English cause.

Fall of Rouen. Ready submission of the Rouennais, who distrusted both Burgundy and the Dauphin, to Henry.

An attempt was made to set up "another England in Normandy." Introduction of the English military and judicial organisation, and of English settlers.

D. The Treaty of Troyes **1420.**

The Conquest of Normandy and the alliance of England with Burgundy led to the Treaty of Troyes.

(1) Henry was to be regent during the lifetime of Charles VI and to succeed him.

(2) Henry was to marry Katharine without a dowry.

(3) The Dauphin Charles was expressly excluded from the throne.

α. A personal, not a corporate, union of England and France. The French were to keep their own laws and liberties.

β. The growth of the feeling of nationality in France and England was sure to make permanent union impossible.

1421. Defeat and death of Clarence at Beaugé by the French and Scotch under the Earl of Buchan.

1422. Henry captured Dreux and Meaux.

August 31, 1422. Henry died of dysentery.

III. **Bedford's Rule, 1422–1435.**

A. Bedford's position.

(1) Bedford was an excellent regent. He governed France by Frenchmen sitting in "estates." Very few English officials, and no English bishops, were appointed.

(2) He married Anne, the sister of Philip the Good, and thus strengthened the Burgundian alliance. He made an alliance with Brittany, thus protecting the borders of the English possessions, the shape of which was a triangle with its apex at Paris.

(3) The difficulties of his position.

α. The English had not enough men to garrison the country.

β. Humphrey Duke of Gloucester (Bedford's younger brother)

1. **1423.** Married Jacqueline of Hainault without the consent of her feudal superior, Burgundy, who hoped ultimately to secure her possessions.

Consequent alienation of Burgundy. English soldiers required for service in France were used to conquer Hainault.

2. **1425.** Bedford was compelled to return home to settle a quarrel between Gloucester and Henry Beaufort, who was acting as Regent of England. His absence weakened the English cause in France.

B. Joan of Arc.

(1) Charles, in the hands of wicked advisers, had "lost nerve" owing to the murder of John the Fearless; he was dissolute, weak, and harassed by doubts as to the legitimacy of his birth, caused by the immorality of his mother, Isabel of Bavaria.

(2) The English had won the battles of Crevant, **1423**, and Verneuil, **1424**, and in **1428** attacked Orleans, the strongest town of the French frontier. It was bravely defended by Dunois, but his friends sent no help, and Sir John Fastolf, by making a square of his
1429. wagons, won the "Battle of Herrings" at Rouvrai. Surrender seemed inevitable.

(3) Joan of Arc appeared. A career unique in history.

α. She was an illiterate peasant girl, who believed that she had been inspired by the "voices" of St. Michael and other angels.

β. Unaided she singled out Charles from his courtiers and won his support by giving him divine assurance of his legitimacy.

γ. Four bishops reported most favourably on her character and orthodoxy.

δ. She got safely into Orleans, inspired the garrison, who called her the "Maid of God," raised the siege and defeated the English at Jargeau and Patay. Charles was crowned at Rheims.

1429.

1430. Joan failed to take Paris, was captured at Compiègne, and in May, **1431**, burnt as a witch at Rouen. Her execution was due to the cruelty of Bedford, to the obsequiousness of his French supporters, especially Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, and to the gross and criminal ingratitude of Charles VII, who did not try to save her, owing to the representations of his servants, who were jealous of her influence

1. She had recaptured the Loire valley, much of Champagne and of the Isle of France.
2. She had roused the national spirit in spite of the apathy of the followers of Charles VII, and this was seen in Normandy later.

C. Bedford's difficulties.

(1) Gloucester was causing further difficulty in England, where enthusiasm for the war had cooled, and a peace party had arisen under Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester.

(2) Burgundy (whose alliance had been maintained only by the cession of land in the north-west and north-east of France) made a treaty with Charles.

(3) Death of Anne, the wife of Bedford and sister of Philip the Good, **1432.**

(4) Marriage of Bedford to Jacquetta of Luxemburg, daughter of Burgundy's vassal, the Count of St. Pol. Burgundy was angry either because he was not consulted or because of the speedy remarriage of his brother-in-law.

(5) Rising of the peasantry in Normandy—very serious. It showed the growth of anti-English sentiment in a hitherto obedient province.

(6) Paris was famine-stricken. (Wolves were seen in the suburbs in **1434**.) Great dissatisfaction with the English rule.

D. The Congress of Arras, **1435**.

Owing to the strong representations of Burgundy a conference was held at Arras between the English and French.

The French offered to give up Normandy and Guienne, for which the English were to pay homage, if the English withdrew all claims to the French throne and to any other part of France, including Calais. The English refused all terms because the French insisted that the title of King of France should be given up. The refusal of the liberal offer of the French for the sake of an empty title was utter folly, especially as the English had steadily lost ground recently in spite of the support of Burgundy.

Death of Bedford, 15 September, **1435**. Burgundy finally gave up the English cause, which never recovered from the loss of the Burgundian alliance.

IV. **The loss of France, 1435–53.**

A. A gallant effort was made by the English governor of Normandy, Richard Duke of York.

1437. York captured Pontoise commanding the Seine valley.

Edmund Beaufort took Harfleur.

B. The Peace party in England was growing stronger, and included Suffolk and the Beauforts (especially Edmund Beaufort, who succeeded his brother John as Earl of Somerset).

1445. Suffolk arranged the marriage of Henry VI to Margaret of Anjou, hoping thus to end the war and to ensure the possession of Normandy and Guienne. But he only secured a truce and promised to surrender Anjou and Maine. Maine was actually surrendered **1448.**

Queen Margaret and Henry VI strongly supported Suffolk and peace. Gloucester, "the Good Duke Humphrey," the leader of the war party, lost influence on the condemnation of his wife Eleanor Cobham for witchcraft, and was arrested and died (probably murdered) at Calais. Suffolk, whose friends got much of his lands, was accused of the murder. It was a foolish deed, as Richard of York was far more able than Gloucester, and now became heir-presumptive.

C. **1449.** The loss of Normandy.

The English broke the truce. Four French armies under Dunois and Charles VII invaded Eastern Normandy, which fell easily because it was badly garrisoned and because the people had turned against the English. The people of Rouen opened their gates, **1449.** The English were routed at Formigny **1450**, and York's successor, Somerset, an incompetent governor, was compelled to surrender. The rest of Normandy lost.

D. The loss of Guienne.

Dunois captured Bordeaux and Bayonne, but the French were unpopular owing to their exactions, and the Gascons urged the English to attempt to regain the towns.

1453. Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, recaptured Bordeaux, but was routed and slain at Châtillon.

Submission of Guienne, although its strong English sympathies were shown by the resolute defence of some smaller towns.

Calais alone was left in English hands.

References:

A. Lodge, *Close of the Middle Ages*, Rivingtons, pp. 320–58.

B. Shakespeare, *Henry V*:—

Act III, *Scene* 1 "Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more."

Act IV, *Scene* 3 "What's he that wishes so?"

Drayton's *Battle of Agincourt.*

Green's *Short History of the English People*, pp. 274–9.

C. *At Agincourt*, by Henty, Blackie.

A Monk of Fife, by Lang, Longmans.

Noemi, by Baring Gould, Methuen.

CHARACTER OF HENRY V

I. His Youth.

The popular view that in his earlier life he was utterly dissolute is wrong. He did not drink habitually in Eastcheap taverns with lowborn associates, and did not strike Gascoigne, and the dismissal of Gascoigne on Henry's accession was not an act of mean revenge, but due to the age of Gascoigne.

He undertook heavy responsibility as Prince of Wales, showed great military skill in his campaigns against Glendower (capturing Aberystwith in 1408 and Harlech in 1409) and took an active part in the work of the Council, where, in conjunction with the Beauforts, he strongly advocated the policy of alliance with the Burgundians. But he was guilty of occasional lapses into vice. On his accession to the throne "sodaynly he became a new man."

I. **As King.**

A. His policy.

(1) The French war, from a modern point of view, unjustifiable. But Henry was probably convinced of his right to the crown and felt that he ought to follow the hereditary tradition of English kings, viz. war with France. He was strongly supported by the whole nation. He felt justified in this policy owing to his determination to use the power gained by the expected conquest of France in a campaign against the Turks for the deliverance of Jerusalem.

The French war made him "the greatest king in Christendom" and England the leading country in Europe. This is shown by the visit of Sigismund in 1416, and by the fact that the Great Schism was ended at the Council of Constance owing partly to Henry's influence.

1416. A great league was formed by the skilful diplomacy of Henry between England, Holland, Bavaria, the Hanse Towns and Burgundy.

But his foreign policy, though successful for a time owing to his personal popularity and military success, was entirely wrong. The growing feeling of nationality in England and France rendered the union of the two countries impossible. His death showed the folly of his policy, which in France caused endless misery ending in national union, and in England led to the Wars of the Roses and the fall of the House of Lancaster.

(2) At home he was a "reconciling and uniting force." His military policy won the support of the clergy, nobles, and people, and Richard of Cambridge's was the only baronial rising in his reign.

He won over possible opponents by moderation.

a. John Holland, son of the Earl of Huntingdon, who had rebelled against Henry IV (p. 195), and the son of Hotspur, were restored to lands and honours as the Earls of Huntingdon and Northumberland.

β. Edmund Earl of March was received into high favour, in spite of his hereditary claim to the throne and of Cambridge's rebellion on his behalf.

γ. Richard of York, son of Cambridge, was brought up at court.

But the execution of Cambridge, though justified by his rebellion, continued the "tradition of bloodshed," and his descendants overthrew Henry VI.

B. As a soldier.

(1) He was a great general in the field.

(2) The campaign of **1417–1419** was skilfully conducted.

(3) His careful attention to details helped to win the affection of his soldiers.

(4) He was generally merciful to conquered enemies (e.g. the people of Rouen).

α. The execution of Alan Blanchard (the captain of the crossbowmen at Rouen) was justified by his previous conduct.

β. The slaughter of French prisoners at Agincourt was apparently justified by the necessities of the case, but the execution of the Scotch prisoners taken at Meaux, and of a trumpeter simply for blowing a defiant blast against the King at Meaux, cannot be justified.

(5) The march from Harfleur, **1415**, was reckless and foolhardy and the victory at Agincourt does not justify it.

C. His religion.

He was sincerely and devoutly pious.

(1) He wished to prove by a crusade that he was "the most Christian Champion of the Church."

(2) He persecuted the Lollards.

α. The persecution of heretics was regarded as a duty by mediæval kings.

β. Henry V was not fond of persecution. He tried to convert the Lollard Badby at the stake, and thus to save his life.

γ. The Lollards were politically dangerous owing to their connection with Wales, where Cobham found refuge.

D. He restored the navy.

Built ships. His naval ordinances, rather than those of Richard I, are the foundation of our Admiralty law.

He appointed naval surgeons and took measures for victualling the ships.

E. His character.

(1) He was probably sincere, though apt to take a narrow view when his own interests were concerned.

(2) He felt the grave responsibility of his position and showed this in his dignified and solemn manners.

(3) Shakespeare's Henry V is a more accurate picture than Prince Hal.

(4) He was a "typical mediæval hero" and "the flower and glory of knighthood." In spite of faults of action and policy he stands for patriotism and the glory of England, and thus resembles Queen Elizabeth.

References:

A. *English Men of Action*, "Henry V," pp. 152–5.

B. Shakespeare, *Henry V*:—

Act IV, *Scene* 1: "Upon the King! let us our lives, our souls."

C. *Every Inch a King*, by Sawyer, Dodd, Mead, and Co., and *Agincourt*, by James, Warne.

JACK CADE'S REBELLION, 1450

I. Gross Misgovernment of the Kingdom.

Suffolk was unable to gain success abroad or to ensure peace at home. At home the "Lancastrian experiment" failed because the barons were "overmighty," the Church, largely political, had lost influence, and the King was utterly incapable. There was no one able and willing to redress the abuses of the time.

II. Cade.

There is little definite information about Jack Cade; he was possibly Irish; he called himself Mortimer; he had served under York in France, and was a man of education and military skill. He was possibly in secret league with the enemies of Suffolk; he supported the Duke of York, who, in 1459, was accused of complicity in the rebellion.

III. The Rising.

A. Causes.

General dissatisfaction with the ministry, especially with the conduct of the French war. The immediate cause was the defeat of the English at Formigny in 1450, followed by the impeachment, flight, and murder at sea of Suffolk. His body was washed up on the coast of Kent, which was threatened with devastation by the King in consequence.

B. The rising of Kent under Cade "to correct public abuses and to remove evil counsellors." The "Complaint of the Commons of Kent" protested against

α. The loss of France,

β. The murder of Humphrey of Gloucester,

γ. Financial mismanagement—

(1) The waste of public money,

(2) The failure to pay the King's debts,

(3) The heavy taxes,

(4) The extortion of officials,

δ. The interference of barons and sheriffs in Parliamentary elections;

and demanded

α. The banishment of the supporters of Suffolk,

β. The admission of York to the Council,

γ. The abolition of the Statute of Labourers.

The rebel army of 20,000 men at Blackheath was well armed and well organised. It defeated at Sevenoaks a royal army disaffected through lack of pay. Cade entered London without opposition, and murdered Lord Saye, the Treasurer. The Londoners, roused to resistance by the pillage of their houses, defended London Bridge against Cade. The rebels dispersed on a promise of pardon. Cade's was revoked because it was granted in the name of "John Mortimer," and he was slain by the Sheriff of Kent. A second rising in Kent utterly failed.

Risings in Norfolk and Wiltshire (where Ayscough Bishop of Salisbury was slain) were easily suppressed.

IV. Importance of the Rising.

A. It was a proof of the general discontent with the incapable Lancastrian government.

B. It was mainly political—although the rebels demanded the abolition of the Statute of Labourers—and was thus different from the Peasants' Revolt.

C. It revealed the utter weakness of the King, who was quite unable to control the barons.

D. It is quite possible that Cade received secret encouragement from the Yorkists, but there is no definite proof of this.

References:

A. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. III, pp. 155–7.

B. *King Henry VI*, Part II:—

Act IV, *Scene* 2: "We Jack Cade, so termed of our supposed father."

CAUSES OF THE WARS OF THE ROSES

I. **The Weakness of the Lancastrian Rule.**

A. The failure of its foreign policy.

The loss of Normandy (inevitable, but popular anger was aggravated by the mismanagement and incompetence of Somerset, Governor **1448–1450**) and Guienne.

Anger at the surrender of Maine **1448**, a condition of the marriage of Henry and Margaret which took place **1445**.

B. Its failure at home was shown by Jack Cade's rebellion. "The realm of England was out of all good governance."

(1) The "Lancastrian experiment" of limited monarchy had broken down. The Commons had secured great constitutional power, but "constitutional progress had outrun administrative order," and the country was not yet ready for self-government.

(2) The King was poor, the finances badly managed, money and grants were recklessly bestowed on favourites and friends of the Queen.

(3) The King was too weak to control the barons, to put down the "sturdy beggars" who increased in numbers owing to the smaller demand for agricultural labourers through the introduction of sheep-farming and to the discharge of soldiers and sailors at the close of the French war.

(4) The law was badly administered—there was little protection for the weak against the strong.

II. **The Excessive Power of the Great Barons—the "Over-mighty Subject."**

A. Two great factions—"a dynastic cleavage of the barons."

1. The Yorkist, whose centre was the Nevilles.

The head, Richard of York (son of Richard Earl of Cambridge and Anne Mortimer), united the Mortimer and York estates and married Cicely, daughter of Ralph Earl of Westmorland,

Richard Neville I, the younger son of Ralph, married Alice Montacute, the heiress of the Earl of Salisbury killed at Orleans 1429. His brothers were Barons Latimer, Fauconberg, and Abergavenny.

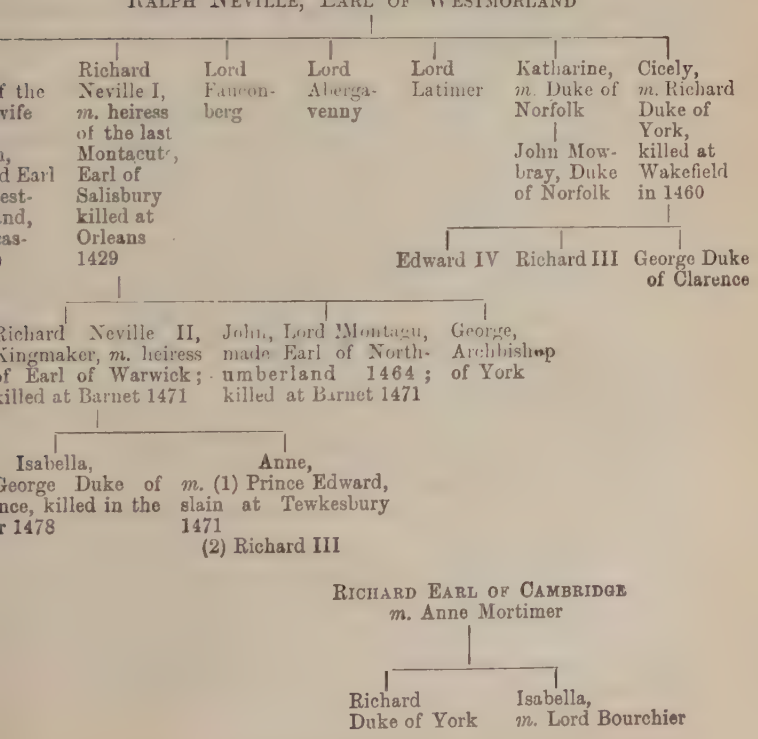
Richard Neville II, son of the above, married Anne Beauchamp, heiress of the Earl of Warwick.

John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, son of Richard Neville's sister.

Lord Bourchier married York's sister Isabella.

Thomas Bourchier was made Archbishop of Canterbury.

THE NEVILLES


Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland
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Richard Neville I, m. heiress of the last Montacute, Earl of Salisbury killed at Orleans 1429
Lord Fauconberg
Lord Abergavenny
Lord Latimer
Katharine, m. Duke of Norfolk
John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk
Cicely, m. Richard Duke of York, killed at Wakefield in 1460
Edward IV
Richard III
George Duke of Clarence
Richard Neville II, Kingmaker, m. heiress of Earl of Warwick; killed at Barnet 1471
John, Lord Montagu, made Earl of Northumberland 1464; killed at Barnet 1471
George, Archbishop of York
Isabella, George Duke of nce, killed in the r 1478
Anne, m. (1) Prince Edward, slain at Tewkesbury 1471 (2) Richard III
Richard Earl of Cambridge m. Anne Mortimer
Richard Duke of York
Isabella, m. Lord Bourchier

(2) The Lancastrian party included the majority of the House of Lords, especially Edmund Duke of Somerset (created Duke 1448 and killed at St. Albans 1455) and the Beaufort connection,

Percy Earl of Northumberland,

The Duke of Buckingham,

Ralph Earl of Westmorland, the head of the elder branch of the Nevilles (i.e. the children of Ralph, first Earl of Westmorland, by his first wife, who were jealous of the power of Richard Neville and the other children of the second wife).

The Queen was a strong supporter of this party, and by her conduct made the King the nominal head of a faction and gravely weakened his position.

B. Their vast estates and enormous wealth made the barons "overmighty," and led to the recurrence of the evils of the feudal system.

(1) By the grant of livery to the retainers who bore their crests and badges they raised such great baronial armies that Henry VI could not raise a national army.

"The Bear and Ragged Staff"—the famous crest of Warwick.

(2) They used these armies for private war (especially in the north, where the Percies and the Nevilles were fierce enemies) and for illegal usurpations (e.g. Lord Moleyns took forcible possession of the manor of Gresham in Norfolk belonging to John Paston).

(3) They "maintained" the causes of their supporters in the law courts and thus perverted justice.

III. **Unpopularity of Somerset.**

He was imprisoned for the loss of Guienne on the accusation of York. In 1455 he was released by the King and made Governor of Calais. York and his friends were not summoned to the Council, and took up arms in self-defence against Somerset, who was slain at the "ill day of St. Albans." Thus the first battle of the Wars of the Roses was due to constitutional causes, viz.

(1) An outbreak against an unpopular minister,

(2) The assertion of the right of York to attend the Council.

The death of Somerset made the Queen the head of the Lancastrians.

IV. **Queen Margaret was most unpopular.**

She was "the strength and weakness of the royal cause."

A. Her marriage was associated with the loss of Maine and Anjou.

B. She was a strong supporter of the party of Suffolk and Somerset.

C. She tried to stir up the French to attack Warwick when he was Governor of Calais, the "wild Irish" against York when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland **1449–50**, and the Scotch against the northern Yorkists. She also gave Berwick to the Scotch.

D. She gave her badge (the Swan) to the men of Cheshire in **1459**, and this was one of the causes of York's second rising.

E. Her vindictive policy at Coventry **1459** (when York and his friends were attainted), and her cruelty after her victories at Wakefield **1460** and second St. Albans **1461**, aggravated the struggle.

F. She refused to recognise York as heir after the battle of Northampton **1460**, and took up arms to assert the right of her son. Thus the war, commenced to overthrow an unpopular minister, became a struggle for the crown.

V. **The Claim to the Throne.**

A. The Lancastrians' claim, resting on the grant of Parliament and prescription, was valid, in spite of their "defect of genealogy." They were the "heirs male." Henry VI said: "My father was king; his father was also king; I myself have worn the crown forty years from my cradle."

B. The Yorkists were "heirs general" claiming in female line through Lionel of Clarence (elder brother of John of Gaunt), and in male line through Edmund of Langley, Duke of York (younger brother of John of Gaunt). But

(1) York had taken the oath of allegiance to the Lancastrians, and

(2) He had used the arms of Langley and not Clarence, and this weakened his claim.

C. Any possible claim through the Beauforts was barred by the statute of **1407**, which expressly denied their right to succeed. But Henry VII based his claim partly (incorrectly) on his descent from John of Gaunt through his mother, Margaret Beaufort.

D. York apparently did not claim the throne until **1460**, when Margaret's persistent attacks led to the claim. His claim to supersede Henry VI at once was strongly opposed by Warwick and refused by Parliament.

E. Edward IV's accession was a "legitimist restoration," warranted by the urgent need of strong and good government and not by his hereditary claims.

VI. **The tone of the Nation had been lowered by the unjust war with France.** The century was one of low ideals and of selfish materialism. Striking poverty of literature. The influence of the Church was very weak, and there was great immorality among the nobles. The Wars of the Roses displayed a lack of chivalry, religion, and morality.

References:

A. *Political History of England, 1377–1485*, by Oman, pp. 352–62.

B. Shakespeare, *Henry VI*:—

PART II, ACT I, *Scene* 1: "Anjou and Maine are given to the French."

PART III, ACT I, *Scene* 1: "Enforced thee! art thou King and wilt be forced?"

THE WARS OF THE ROSES

I. Geographical Division of Parties.

A. The North.

(1) The Yorkists were strong in the north, although the power of the Nevilles in Durham and the North Riding was balanced by

α. The Percies,

β. Ralph, second Earl of Westmorland, head of the elder branch of the Nevilles.

(2) After Northampton, 1460, Margaret roused the Northerners and won the battle of Wakefield, 1460, with their help.

(3) The Yorkist victory at Towton, 1461, gave Edward IV command of the country up to the Tees.

(4) Northumberland, though conquered by Warwick, rose in favour of the Lancastrians in 1464, when Sir Ralph Grey and the Duke of Somerset broke their oaths of allegiance to Edward. The victories of Montagu at Hedgeley Moor and Hexham, and the capture of Bamborough Castle, completed the Yorkist conquest of England.

B. The Midlands.

In the west the Mortimer interest ensured the Yorkist supremacy on the Welsh Marches.

The cruelties following Wakefield 1460, the execution of Salisbury, the murder of Rutland the mutilation of York's body—his head was stuck on Micklegate Bar at York crowned with a paper crown—and the excesses of Margaret's Northern army who stole the sacred vessels from churches, alienated the Midlands from the Lancastrian cause.

C. London.

(1) Yorkist, especially after the excesses of the Lancastrians after second St. Albans, **1461.**

(2) The great importance of London was shown, **1461**, by the race for London between Edward Earl of March (who had defeated Jasper Tudor at Mortimer's Cross) and Margaret (who had won the battle of Wakefield).

(3) Margaret's failure to push on to London, which had been abandoned by the Yorkist leaders after second St. Albans, was apparently a grave blunder.

D. The South.

The towns of the south tended to support the Yorkists in the hope that they would ensure the "good governance" necessary for trade.

Somerset supported the Lancastrian cause in the south-west.

E. East Anglia.

Yorkist owing to the influence of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, nephew of Salisbury.

F. Kent.

Yorkist owing to the influence of Warwick, who found in Calais, of which he was Warden, a safe refuge, as Richard of York did in Ireland.

G. Wales.

Lancastrian owing to the influence of the Tudors, sons of Katherine of France (widow of Henry V) and Owen Tudor. Their power was broken by the defeat by Edward at Mortimer's Cross of Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke (uncle of Henry of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII).

II. **Periods of the War.**

A. First Period, **1455–1459.**

(1) Opposition to an unpopular minister (Somerset) and the claim of the Yorkist leaders to attend the Council, i.e. constitutional questions, were the immediate cause of the war.

(2) The war was not at first vindictive. At first St. Albans only "some six score slain"—possibly fewer.

(3) The Yorkists had the worst. They won the battle of Bloreheath, but their leaders, attainted at Coventry, fled from England after Ludlow, **1459**, and might have been crushed but for the failure of the Lancastrians to make the most of their opportunities.

B. Second Period, **1459–1461.**

(1) Change in the nature of the struggle, which became dynastic owing to York's fear of Margaret's power (which led him to claim the crown to strengthen his position) and Margaret's attempt to gain the crown for her son in spite of the recognition of York as heir after Northampton **1460.**

(2) Great success of the Yorkists—Mortimer's Cross **1460,** Towton **1461.** But the Yorkist cause was weakened by the deaths of York and Salisbury at Wakefield **1460,** and Margaret's victory at second St. Albans **1461.**

(3) Growing cruelty to prisoners. The war became a baronial blood feud.

α. At Northampton, **1460,** Warwick gave orders to spare the commons, but at Towton, **1461,** the leaders on both sides ordered no quarter to be given, and 35,000 men were slain.

β. Gross cruelty shown by Margaret after Wakefield and second St. Albans, when she made Prince Edward, aged seven, pass sentence of death on her prisoners.

γ. Cruelty of the Yorkists. Execution of Owen Tudor after Mortimer's Cross. General proscription of Lancastrian leaders after Towton **1461.**

Many executions by Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, the Constable, who illegally tried his Lancastrian prisoners according to Roman Law.

C. Third Period, 1461–1485.

(1) The victories of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham, **1464**, established firmly the Yorkist power and made Edward IV less dependent upon the Nevilles, whose support had ensured his succession.

(2) **1471.** The power of the Nevilles was broken at Barnet, Margaret's army was routed at Tewkesbury, and the Lancastrian cause was ruined for a time.

(3) Final Lancastrian triumph at Bosworth **1485.**

III. The Effects of the Wars of the Roses.

A. They led to the end of the baronial supremacy owing to the destruction of the power of the two parties.

The towns and agricultural districts took little part in the war, which was waged by the barons and their retainers. The country generally was not greatly affected. Trade continued and justice was regularly administered during the struggle. Froissart notes that "there are no buildings destroyed or demolished by war, and the mischief of it falls on those who make the war."

B. They led to the establishment of Yorkist and Tudor absolute monarchy, to a period of "constitutional retrogression."

(1) Parliament had been growing gradually stronger since Edward I's time, and the unsuccessful "Lancastrian experiment" was based on the idea of a limited monarchy.

(2) Parliament was rarely summoned by the Yorkist kings, who legislated through the Council, imposed arbitrary taxes (benevolences), and interfered with the liberty of the subject by illegal imprisonment.

(3) The Tudors called Parliament more frequently, but used it as the instrument to carry out their own wishes.

But Parliament continued to exist, and successfully reasserted its supremacy in the seventeenth century.

References:

A. *English Men of Action*, "Warwick," *passim.*

B. Shakespeare, *Henry VI*, Part III:—

Act I, *Scene* 4 (battle of Wakefield): "Brave warriors, Clifford and Northumberland," and "She wolf of France, but worse than wolves of France."

Act II, *Scene* 1 (second battle of St. Albans): "Ten days ago I drown'd these news in tears."

C. *Where Avon into Severn Flows*, by Frederick, Lothrop. *In the Wars of the Roses*, by Green, Nelson.

THE KINGMAKER

Richard Neville Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, son of Richard Neville Earl of Salisbury, married Anne Beauchamp, heiress of the Earl of Warwick.

First Period of Opposition to the Crown.

Opposed Somerset and fought at the first battle of St. Albans, **1455**. Fled to Calais (of which he was Captain) after the defeat at Ludlow. Returned **1460**, seized London, defeated the Lancastrians at Northampton, but neglected to attack the Lancastrians in the North. Strongly resisted York's demand of the crown after the battle of Northampton, but agreed to his ultimate succession after Henry VI's death. Defeated by Margaret at the second battle of St. Albans, **1461**, joined Edward Earl of March at Chipping Norton, and marched with him to London, where Edward was crowned King.

I. **Second Period. The Chief Minister of Edward IV.**

A. The war.

After Towton Edward left to Warwick and Montague the direction of the war. Warwick subdued Wales and overran Northumberland. Montagu finally conquered Northumberland at Hedgeley Moor and Hexham, **1464**.

After **1464** Warwick's support was no longer essential as Edward's power was firmly established.

B. Foreign policy.

Warwick wanted an alliance with France against Burgundy and urged Edward to marry Bona of Savoy, sister-in-law of Louis XI, and to marry his sister Margaret to a French prince.

(1) **1464.** Edward announced his marriage with Dame Elizabeth Grey, daughter of Lord Rivers (formerly steward to John Duke of Bedford, whose widow, Jacquetta of Luxemburg, he had married), and widow of a Lancastrian knight.

Edward's marriage

α. Was a blow to Warwick's foreign policy;

β. Weakened Warwick's position at home.

Edward deliberately advanced his wife's relatives to form a party to counterbalance Warwick. Lord Rivers, the Queen's father, was made an earl and Treasurer. Her sister Katharine married the Duke of Buckingham.

(2) **1468.** Edward married his sister Margaret to Charles the Bold Duke of Burgundy

α. Without the knowledge of Warwick, who was on an embassy to Louis XI.

β. Valuable commercial connections with Flanders were thus ensured.

Warwick's brother George was dismissed from Chancellorship.

III. **Second Period of Opposition to the Crown.**

A. Warwick fled to Calais, married his daughter Isabel to Edward's brother, Clarence, and supported his claim to the throne.

Warwick was probably implicated deeply in the rising of Robin of Redesdale,[1] supported by his cousin, Sir Henry Neville. The rising was directed against the Woodvilles. Edward IV was taken prisoner at Edgecote, and Lord Rivers executed, **1469**.

[1] Possibly Sir John Conyers, who had married Warwick's cousin.

B. Warwick returned to England. Edward was imprisoned in Warwick's castle of Middleham in Yorkshire.

1470. Edward IV put down a Lancastrian rising at "Losecoat Field,"[1] and pretended that Warwick was implicated in it (doubtful, as Warwick was not yet in alliance with the Lancastrians). Warwick and Clarence fled to Calais.

C. Louis XI reconciled Warwick to Margaret, and Warwick's daughter, Anne, married Prince Edward.

Warwick returned to England. Edward fled to Burgundy. Henry VI was restored to the throne. A truce was made with France, and Tiptoft Earl of Worcester, "the great butcher of England," executed. Warwick was now apparently supreme, but

α. Clarence was dissatisfied owing to the assertion of Prince Edward's claim to succeed before him.

β. The Lancastrians did not trust Warwick, and Margaret and Prince Edward remained in France.

D. Edward landed at Ravenspur, nominally to regain his ancestral possessions, was joined by Clarence, Warwick was defeated and slain at Barnet, **1471.** Margaret was defeated at Tewkesbury, Prince Edward was slain in battle — not murdered afterwards by Richard of Gloucester as is often stated.

End of opposition to Edward IV.

V. **Character and Importance of Warwick.**

A. He shows the constitutional position of the leader of the Opposition in the Middle Ages. The risings against Somerset and Edward IV were not purely factious, because at that time armed resistance was often the only means of ensuring a change of policy. Warwick resisted the Yorkist claim to the throne until the policy of Margaret made the assertion of that claim necessary to ensure his own safety.

[1] So called because the conquered Lancastrians threw away their coats to facilitate their flight.

B. Warwick is the most conspicuous example in English history of the "Overmighty Subject."

(1) As Earl of Warwick and Salisbury he had great estates in South Wales, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and the North Riding of Yorkshire. His power was greatest in the north, where he held strong castles at Raby, Middleham, and Barnard Castle.

(2) He possessed great military power; he raised very great armies from his own estates and six hundred retainers followed him to Parliament.

(3) He was Captain of Calais and Admiral. **1461** made Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster. Grand Chamberlain, Warden of the Cinque Ports and Scottish Marches.

(4) Supported by the Neville connection.

Brothers { John, Lord Montagu, created Earl of Northumberland, **1464**.
George appointed Chancellor and Archbishop of York.

Uncles { Lord Latimer.
„ Fauconberg.
„ Abergavenny.

Cousin . John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.

5. His riches and power enabled him to act as "Kingmaker." From **1461-1464** he was supreme. Then Edward IV, seeing the danger arising from Warwick's great power, raised up the Woodvilles as rivals to Warwick.

C. He was a great statesman and administrator.

His policy was at first constitutional. Later he met the treachery and ingratitude of Edward IV with diplomacy and intrigue.

D. He was a good general, though possibly lacking in personal bravery, and a most successful admiral.

E. At times cruel, jealous of rivals, but his opposition to the Woodvilles and his lavish generosity made him popular, and "he had ever the good voice of the people."

References:

A. *English Men of Action*, "Warwick," by Oman, pp. 234–43.

C. *The Last of the Barons*, by Lytton, Routledge.

EDWARD IV

I. **After 1471 he was very Powerful.**

A. The death of Prince Edward (in the battle of Tewkesbury) ruined the Lancastrian cause, which had received severe blows at Towton, Barnet, Tewkesbury. There was now no descendant of Henry IV left. Edward IV claimed the crown unchallenged, by male descent from Edmund of Langley, son of Edward III, and female through Lionel of Clarence.

B. The King was rich (unlike the Lancastrians).

α. Benevolences, or forced loans, a new kind of extortion, yielded large sums.

β. He held the York estates, and confiscated those of the Lancastrians, especially of the King maker.

γ. Great profit was derived from the law courts (which did good service in checking disorder).

δ. **1475**. Got from Parliament a generous grant for war with France, and at Pecquigny from Louis XI £15,000 and £10,000 a year for not fighting.

ε. **Made much money by trade.**

II. **The Yorkist Absolutism.**

A. Parliament.

Unlike the later Tudors, Edward IV avoided calling Parliament; he was able to "live of his own," and did not need grants.

1475–1483. Parliament met only once, and then made no grants. Summoned in **1483** only because of expected war with Louis XI, who was arranging a marriage of his son to Mary of Burgundy, in spite of the Treaty of Pecquigny, by which he had been betrothed to Elizabeth of York.

Edward IV's reign was a constitutional disappointment. "For the first time since the days of John not a single law which promoted freedom or remedied the abuses of power was even proposed."

B. Justice.

The King interfered with the course of justice. He intervened personally in the trial of Clarence. He sanctioned the use of torture, and prisoners accused of treason were deprived of the right of trial by jury.

C. Administration.

The administration was weak. The nobles retained great power, and frequently oppressed the people.

III. **His Foreign Policy.**

His indolence prevented him from taking advantage of the opportunities afforded by his kinship with Charles the Bold. But

A. Charles the Bold was fickle, unstable, continually diverted from steady opposition to France by trouble in the Netherlands and by his attempt to extend his dominions to the Rhine.

B. France was more united and Guienne, formerly strongly English, was no longer likely to rebel.

C. Thus the Treaty of Pecquigny was a wise arrangement, but a disgrace to England.

D. Internal troubles in Scotland averted danger from the North. There was no active intervention in Scotland except a successful expedition of Richard of Gloucester, who regained Berwick, 1482.

IV. **A Strong Supporter of Trade.**

A. Edward IV engaged in trade himself.

B. 1474. He granted the Hanse merchants a settlement in the Steelyard, London, exempt from the authority of the Corporation.

C. Great growth of commerce in his reign.

V. **A Patron of Art.**

He was interested in Caxton's work, and some of his supporters, especially Tiptoft, "the Butcher," and Earl Rivers (Edward's brother-in-law), were strong supporters of the Renaissance.

VI. **His Character.**

A. He had shown himself, when necessary, vigorous and energetic.

B. He was a most skilful general, e.g. against Warwick and Margaret, 1471. A clever diplomatist, e.g. in regard to Louis XI, caring little for honour, but gaining great practical advantages.

C. He was cruel to his enemies. He approved of the death of Clarence (probably actually drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine, though possibly poisoned by a cup of that wine) and Henry VI. But he did not oppress the common people.

D. He was very popular owing to his handsome person and affable manners.

E. But after his throne was secure his character deteriorated. Relying absolutely on his brother, Richard of Gloucester, "he rusted away in inglorious ease and self-indulgence."

F. He was one of the worst men who have sat on the throne of England, and his premature death was due to his evil living.

References:

A. Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. III, pp. 199–226.

B. *Short History of the English People*, p. 292.

C. *White Wyvill and Red Ruthven*, by Green, Nister.

RICHARD III

Son of Richard Duke of York, brother of Edward IV. Married the Kingmaker's daughter Anne.

I. **Before 1483.**

He had shown himself a bold and successful soldier in the Wars of the Roses and Scotch expedition **1482**, supporting the Duke of Albany against his brother, King James III. A good administrator, especially in North Yorkshire and Durham, where he had received the Kingmaker's lands, and was very popular.

He was absolutely faithful to Edward IV, who left the government largely to him.

He probably fell owing to overweening ambition when the opportunity of securing the throne unexpectedly occurred. In prosecuting this object he showed himself ruthless, cruel, and treacherous.

II. **The Claim to the Throne, 1483.**

A. He relied upon his northern followers, who occupied London. He was helped by the Duke of Buckingham (created Constable) and Mowbray (given the Duchy of Norfolk).

B. He arrested and (on day of his accession) executed Earl Rivers and Lord Richard Grey, Queen Elizabeth's brother and son by her first husband.

Thus broke the power of the Woodvilles.

C. He got possession of Edward V and his brother the Duke of York.

Hastings, a faithful friend of Edward IV, was summarily executed, because likely to oppose the deposition of Edward V.

D. His chaplain, Dr. Shaw, in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, asserted the illegitimacy of Edward IV's children, owing to his betrothal before he married Dame Elizabeth Grey, and because he had been married "in a profane place contrary to the law of God's Church." He even said that Edward IV himself was illegitimate. The son of Clarence was declared ineligible owing to his father's attainder. Richard was accepted as King by a few citizens at the Guildhall owing to the presence of Buckingham, and by Parliament owing to a display of force.

Richard crowned King.

Up to this time there was no national resistance. Richard was personally popular and the Woodvilles were hated.

III. **The Murder of the Princes.**

Possibly owing to a plot against Richard made by the Marquis of Dorset (Edward V's half-brother) the two princes, Edward V and his brother Richard of York, were murdered by Richard's orders.

The popular suspicion of Richard's guilt was correct, and confirmed by the discovery of bones during repairs to the White Tower **1674**.

This, the most brutal murder of the times, was a blunder as well as a crime, and was the main cause

of Richard's fall. It led to the revolt of Buckingham, who made terms with Morton (Henry of Richmond's agent). A rising in the south and in Wales failed owing to a flood on the Severn which prevented Buckingham from joining the southern rebels, and owing to a storm which scattered Richmond's fleet.

IV. **Richard's attempt to strengthen his Position.**

A. Execution of Buckingham, **1483.**

B. Many excellent laws passed by Parliament, **1484.**

1. The jury system was improved.
2. Serfs on the royal estates were enfranchised.
3. The navy was reorganised.
4. A postal service was formed.
5. Customs duties were lowered (books to pay no duty).
6. Benevolences were declared illegal.

C. Treaty with Brittany, where Richmond had taken refuge. But Richmond fled to France, where the Regent strongly supported him.

D. Treaty with Scotland.

E. Richard III obtained the support of the Pope by promising the obedience of England.

V. **His Fall.**

A. No one could trust him and the Lancastrians, the Woodville party and the friends of Buckingham were united through fear.

B. Although his wife Anne Neville was alive, he proposed to marry his niece Elizabeth of York, and thus alienated many.

C. In spite of the statute of **1484** he extorted benevolences in **1485** and this caused very grave discontent.

D. He lost nerve owing to remorse for the murder of his nephews. "Whenever he went abroad his body was privily fenced and his hand ever on his dagger."

E. His supporters deserted him.

1. The Stanleys let Richmond (who had landed at Milford Haven) pass Shrewsbury unmolested.
2. Northumberland refused to go into action at Bosworth.
3. Stanley deserted on the field.

Richard fought with the utmost bravery and "died like a king" at Bosworth, **1485**.

References :

A Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, Vol. III, pp. 226–340.

B. Shakespeare, *Richard III* :—

Act I, *Scene* 1 : "Now is the winter of our discontent."

C. *The Black Arrow*, by Stevenson, Cassell.

THE SAXON CONQUEST OF HAMPSHIRE

The account given on page 9 has been generally accepted and is supported by Dr. Hodgkin. But the theory that the Jutes were the original conquerors and that the Saxons entered Hampshire from the north about A.D. 600 deserves consideration.

A. The Jutes.

1. Even in Roman times the Jutes had made small settlements on the mainland, especially in lonely places along the river Meon. After the Romans left larger Jutish settlements were made in the Meon valley and possibly to the west of Southampton Water.

2. The ornaments, arms and utensils found in 1900 in a burial place at Droxford on the Meon strongly resemble those found in Kent which was undoubtedly colonised by the Jutes.

B. **The Saxons.**

1. No Saxon weapons have been found in Hampshire.
2. The Saxons steadily made their way westward along the Thames, and about 571 made settlements near Oxford and near Wallingford.
3. The first West Saxon bishopric was planted at Dorchester (near Oxford), and not at Winchester, which is not mentioned in the Chronicle until 643.
4. It is possible that the Thames valley between Oxford and Reading, and not Hampshire, must be regarded as the beginning of Wessex.

Compare *Political History of England*, Vol. I, pp. 90–3 with *A School History of Hampshire*, Clarendon Press, pp. 36-9 and *England before the Norman Conquest*, Oman, pp. 225–6.

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BRITISH HISTORY

BY

WILLIAM EDWARDS, M.A.

HEADMASTER OF THE MIDDLESBROUGH HIGH SCHOOL

PART II

THE BEGINNING OF MODERN HISTORY

1485–1660

SECOND EDITION

RIVINGTONS

34 *KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN*

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PREFACE

It is found impossible in most English schools to devote more than two periods a week to the study of History, and teachers find considerable difficulty in doing thoroughly the work required for public examinations in the time allotted. This difficulty is increased in the case of those who attempt to deal with local records, with the development of civilisation and literature, and with contemporary European history.

The difficulty arises largely because in textbooks the chronological order is usually followed, and events and movements of considerable duration are treated not as wholes, but as portions of the reigns over which they extend. The adequate treatment of such subjects involves oral teaching, and either the dictation of notes in school or the copying of notes by the scholar out of school. The former plan unduly encroaches upon the short time available for actual teaching, the latter trespasses upon leisure time already seriously limited by home work.

These notes have been compiled in order to supplement the information given in the textbook and to lessen the amount of time devoted in school to the mere giving of notes. An attempt has been made to treat each subject fully (this has necessitated a certain amount of repetition), to bring out clearly the leading principles involved and to indicate the exact part played by the actors. The notes are supplemented by references; those under heading A being to the standard histories and biographies which may be found in any well-equipped public library; those under B

to short passages of prose or poetry suitable for reading aloud to the class and not included under A; those under C to historical novels and tales suitable for the scholar's private reading. But it is not intended entirely to obviate the writing of notes by the scholars, and there are some obvious omissions which must be rectified in class, while it is clearly impossible to give in a book like this any information on local history, the study of which adds greatly to the reality and interest of the general subject. No plans, maps, or architectural illustrations have been included, and it is suggested that these should be copied into the scholar's notebook (in the case of the last with the co-operation of the art master), and that they should not be merely consulted in a textbook or atlas as occasion arises.

These notes comply, to a considerable extent, with the suggestions as to the teaching of History contained in the recent circular of the Board of Education. They deal with the leading events of European History, the great inventions of the Middle Ages, and the geographical discoveries of the sixteenth century. They may be used as headings for essays, and the references "A" will afford further material for the "practice in original composition" upon which the circular lays stress. An attempt has been made to select the most important questions and to indicate their chief features by means of the main headings. At the same time the sub-headings give fuller information for those who wish to study the subject in greater detail.

These notes are intended mainly for the use of scholars preparing for History Scholarships at the Universities, for the Oxford and Cambridge Higher Local, Higher Certificate, and Senior Local Examinations, for the Honours and Senior Certificates of the Central Welsh Board, the Irish Intermediate, the Scottish Leaving Certificates, the First Class of

the College of Preceptors, the Civil Service, the Matriculation, Intermediate, and Pupil Teacher Certificate Examinations. It is obvious that much of the information given will be beyond the capacity of candidates for Junior Examinations, but it is hoped that the main headings may prove useful for these, and, if the main headings are thoroughly learned the first time the history is done, the notes as a whole may be taken in the higher forms.

In a number of schools it is not possible to find room on the staff for a specialist in History, and it is hoped that these notes, which are the result of considerable experience in teaching, may be found suggestive and helpful to form masters taking the subject whose main interest lies in other parts of their work.

The author would welcome any suggestions for the correction and improvement of this book. He gladly acknowledges the kindness of Mr. R. J. C. Garrett, M.A., of the High School, Middlesbrough, and of Mr. S. Scruton in revising and correcting Part II.

W. Edwards.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

The author has taken advantage of the opportunity afforded by the demand for a second edition to correct a few errors that had escaped notice in the first. He would be very grateful to any readers who care to suggest further improvements in these Notes.

W. Edwards.

High School,
Middlesbrough.

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THE BEGINNING OF MODERN HISTORY

The reign of Henry VII marks the division between Mediæval and Modern History. The chief features of the time were :—

I. Political.

A. The royal power was now consolidated in the kingdoms of Western Europe, in England under Henry VII; in France owing to the success of Charles VII in opposing the English and to the diplomacy of Louis XI; in Spain owing to the union of Castile and Arragon and the expulsion of the Moors **1492**; and in Austria under the Emperor Maximilian. (The kings of Germany were too weak to establish a strong central government, and in consequence Germany did not get political unity until the nineteenth century.) The growth of the royal power was accompanied by the growth of the feeling of nationality.

B. The consolidation of royal power led to the recognition of the new principle of the Balance of Power, by which leagues were formed to weaken any king whose power seemed dangerous to the others. This principle is a most important feature in the policy of Henry VII and Wolsey.

C. The decline of the Holy Roman Empire.

The claim of the Holy Roman Emperors to succeed the old Roman Emperors as "universal monarchs" was incompatible with national development, and the weakness of later emperors made it impossible for them to enforce authority over the powerful kings of France, England, and Spain.

D. Decline of the power of the Papacy owing to

(1) The growth of the idea of national churches in England, France, and Germany, and of national resistance to Papal exactions.

(2) The Papacy was greatly discredited by the "Babylonish Captivity" at Avignon, the Great Schism, the immorality of many of the clergy and the infamous character of some of the Popes, especially of Alexander VI, **1492–1503**, the father of Cæsar Borgia.

(3) The attempt of the Popes to secure political sovereignty over the Papal States in Central Italy weakened their position as the mediators of Europe.

II. **The Revival of Learning.**

A. Causes.

(1) The poet Petrarch was the pioneer of a revival of interest in the old classical writers. The search for classical manuscripts was one of the features of the first half of the fifteenth century, and the Vatican Library was founded by Pope Nicholas V, who died **1455**.

(2) **1453.** The capture of Constantinople by the Turks was not the original cause of the Renaissance, but gave great impetus to the movement owing to the consequent flight to Italy of Greek scholars bringing many manuscripts.

B. The Renaissance in Italy.

(1) Cordial reception of Greek refugees by the great Italian nobles, especially by Cosimo and Lorenzo de Medici, and the foundation of the "Academy" at Florence, whence the new learning spread over Italy.

(2) The Italian Renaissance, a many-sided movement, was marked not only by the revival of interest in the classics, but also by

α. The growth of Italian literature, e.g. Machiavelli and Ariosto.

β. The growing appreciation of the beauties of nature ("men opened their eyes and saw") and the development of science.

γ. The growth of education. Vittorino da Feltre founded a famous school at Mantua.

1450–1550. δ. The great age of Italian painting. Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Michael Angelo, and Titian.

ε. The introduction of "Renaissance" architecture, e.g. St. Peter's at Rome and the cathedral at Florence; Michael Angelo, Bramante, and Brunelleschi the greatest of the Italian architects.

ζ. The development of metal-working. Benvenuto Cellini the greatest Italian craftsman.

(3) Defects of the Italian Renaissance.

α. It was an aristocratic movement, and the common people gained little benefit.

β. It was non-Christian. In its early stages Platonism superseded Christianity, and its later history was marked by irreligion and gross immorality. These faults led to the strong opposition of the Catholic Church, which had been purified by the Counter Reformation, and, owing largely to this opposition, the Italian Renaissance came to an end.

C. The Renaissance in England.

The expedition of Charles VIII to Naples in **1494** and the capture of Rome in **1527** by the Imperialists helped to bring the Renaissance beyond the Alps, and the movement gained a large measure of success in England.

(1) The Renaissance was strongly supported by Henry VIII and his family, and by Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More.

(2) Classical learning revived, and Greek received much attention.

1491. Grocyn, who had studied at Florence under Politian, delivered the first public lectures on Greek at Oxford.

1499. Erasmus visited Oxford, where Colet, also a pupil of Politian, was co-operating with Grocyn.

1511–1513. Erasmus was Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge.

The English Renaissance was free from the immorality and paganism of the Italian, and Greek was studied largely owing to its importance as an instrument of Biblical criticism.

1516. The publication of Erasmus' Greek Testament.

α. He applied to the New Testament the principles of textual criticism, and thus "laid the foundations of modern Biblical scholarship."

β. His object was to give a true picture of Christ freed from the glosses with which mediæval scholars had obscured His teaching.

γ. His aim was democratic. He looked forward to the time when "even the weakest woman might read the Gospels and the epistles of St. Paul."

(3) The foundation of schools an important feature.

1512. Colet (now Dean of St. Paul's) founded St. Paul's School, and later foundations included the "Edward VI Grammar Schools" and Westminster and Christ's Hospital Schools.

In all these new schools the teaching was based on the classics.

(4) The "Lady Margaret" Professorships of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge were founded by Henry VII's mother (Lady Margaret Beaufort, daughter of John Beaufort Duke of Somerset (died **1444**), and wife of Edmund Tudor Earl of Richmond); and Henry VIII founded the "Regius Professorships."

(5) The English Renaissance was mainly literary and religious, but Linacre (who had studied in Italy) did much for the study of medicine, and Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* (published in **1516**) [οὐ + τόπος, "nowhere"] is the beginning of English political and social philosophy.

(6) In Shakespeare the English Renaissance finds its fulfilment. In him appear the enthusiasm, intellectual power, keen interest in man and nature, and the appreciation of beauty which characterised the Italian writers. But in him we get also a deep love of his country which the individualism of the Italian Renaissance rendered impossible in Italy.

References:

A. Italy. *A Short History of the Renaissance in Italy*, by Symonds and Pearson, Smith, Elder.

England. *Short History of the English People*, chap. VI, sect. 4.

C. *The Cloister and the Hearth*, by Reade, Chatto and Windus.

III. **Geographical Discoveries.**

A. North America.

1492. Columbus discovered the West Indies.

1497. John Cabot discovered the mainland and landed in Labrador.

B. The East Indies.

(1) **1453.** The capture of Constantinople by the Turks made the old trade route to the East (via the Danube, Asia Minor, and the Red Sea) impracticable for Europeans.

(2) The Portuguese explorers discovered a new route round the Cape of Good Hope.

α. Prince Henry of Portugal (Prince Henry the Navigator), **1394-1460**, explored the West Coast of Africa (partly to get slaves, partly to extend the Christian religion), and discovered the Azores.

β. **1486.** Bartholomew Diaz sailed round the Cape of Good Hope.

γ. **1497.** Vasco de Gama discovered Natal,[1] and reached Calicut in India **1498.**

δ. **1510.** Capture of Goa and **1511** Malacca by Albuquerque, and the beginning of the Portuguese Empire in the East.

[1] So called because discovered on Christ's natal day.

C. South and Central America.

α. **1500.** Discovery of Brazil by the Portuguese.

β. **1519.** Cortez landed in Mexico with a Spanish force.

γ. **1520.** Magellan, a Spaniard, sailed round Cape Horn through the Straits of Magellan into the Pacific.

δ. **1532.** Pizarro invaded Peru.

D. The importance of these discoveries.

(1) They led to the foundation of European colonies, and thus profoundly affected modern history.

(2) They led to a vast extension of commerce.

α. The Mediterranean was no longer the chief centre of European trade.

β. Decline of the commercial importance of Venice and Pisa.

γ. Rapid growth of the ports of western Europe, especially London, owing to its position between the New World of America and the Old.

IV. **Important Discoveries.**

A. The mariner's compass.

Possibly brought to Europe from China by Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, about **1260**. Columbus discovered the variation of the compass **1492**.

The mariner's compass greatly facilitated geographical exploration.

B. Printing.

(1) Invented by Laurence Kostar, of Haarlem, who printed from wooden blocks about **1440**.

(2) John Gutenberg, of Maintz, printed from cut metal types about **1450**.

(3) William Caxton, a London mercer, erected the first English printing press in the Almonry at Westminster **1476**. His first book *The Recuyel of the Hystoryes of Troy*.

(4) Aldus Manutius established the *Aldine Press* at Venice, **1490.**

The invention of printing gave a great impetus to the Renaissance by substituting for costly and often large manuscripts small and cheap books. The New Learning was thus brought within reach of the people.

(5) The discovery (about **1300**) that paper could be made from rags greatly facilitated the production of cheap books.

C. Gunpowder.

(1) Possibly known to the Chinese. Mentioned by Roger Bacon. Three small cannon were used at Creçy, **1346**, but it was not until the end of the fifteenth century that gunpowder came into general use.

(2) It revolutionised methods of warfare, and led to the disappearance of the steel-clad knight and the bowman who had played so important a part in mediæval warfare.

(3) Stone-built castles, hitherto most difficult to capture, could not resist artillery, and the power of the barons was weakened accordingly.

1535. Capture by Skeffington, the Lord Deputy, of Maynooth Castle, the stronghold of the Geraldines, after a fortnight's siege.

(4) The possession of firearms explains the easy victory of the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru, and the defeat of the Spanish Armada was largely due to the superior gunnery of the English.

References:

A. *Cambridge Modern History. The Renaissance*, chaps. I and II.

C. *Westward with Columbus*, by Stables, Blackie.

CAUSES OF THE POWER OF THE TUDORS

I. **The Weakness of every Part of the Nation except the King.**

A. The Barons.

(1) Had been weakened by the Wars of the Roses and by the Confiscation that followed.

(2) The power of the survivors was broken by laws against livery, **1504**, and maintenance; these laws were rigidly enforced by the Court of Star Chamber.

(The Star Chamber, a special committee of the Council with extensive criminal jurisdiction, was founded **1487**. So called from "starres" or bonds kept therein. It consisted of the Chancellor, Treasurer, Privy Seal, one temporal and one spiritual peer, and the two chief justices. It dealt with questions of treason, libel, disobedience to proclamations, cases reserved by the King, and the punishment of juries for wrong verdicts. At first it rendered great service owing to its success in weakening baronial power with which the ordinary courts could not cope, e.g. the Earl of Oxford was fined £15,000[1] for keeping retainers. Later, owing to the absence of a jury and to the right of arrest enjoyed by every member, it gravely limited the freedom of the subject, and was abolished **1641**.)

(3) The King alone possessed artillery, and the castles which hitherto had been one of the chief sources of the barons' strength were easily subdued, e.g. the capture of Maynooth, the stronghold of the Geraldines, **1535**.

(4) Clergymen (Morton, Bishop of Ely, who probably did not invent "Morton's fork," Fox, Bishop of Winchester, Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, Wolsey, Archbishop of York), and not barons, received the chief offices.

[1] Equal to £150,000 in modern money.

(5) The newly created barons were dependent on the King. Thus the danger from the "Overmighty Subject" passed away.

B. The Church.

(1) The Papacy was degraded by such popes as the immoral Alexander VI (1492–1503), whose chief aim was to build up a principality for his son Cæsar Borgia, and the warlike Julius II (1503–1513), neither of whom extended the legitimate influence of the Church.

(2) The higher clergy were becoming royal officials.

(3) The evils of pluralities and absenteeism, the degradation of the friars, the growth of abuses in the monasteries weakened the hold of the Church on the nation.

C. Parliament.

(1) The "Lancastrian experiment" of constitutional rule was premature and had broken down, thus discrediting Parliament.

(2) The power of the House of Lords was broken.

(3) The House of Commons, owing to interference with elections, and to the limitation of the county franchise to 40s. freeholders, and of the borough franchise to a few privileged voters, was not representative and was quite unable to govern.

(4) Henry VII, though his title to the crown was Parliamentary, was largely independent of Parliament, and ruled through the Council. Foreign war ceased and he called Parliament only twice in the last thirteen years of his reign.

II. **The Tudor Kings were very rich,** unlike the Lancastrians, and used their wealth to ensure their independence of Parliament. See page 253.

III. **The Repression of "Sturdy Beggars."**

The Tudor Kings ruled absolutely, imposing taxes without consent of Parliament, using proclamations instead of legislation, interfering with the liberty of subjects by unfair trials, but their rule was justified because they alone could save England from the grave danger from "sturdy beggars," whose numbers were increased by the enclosure of arable lands for grazing and the consequent diminution in the demand for labour, and by the disbanding of the baronial forces after the Wars of the Roses. "There is no country in the world where there are so many thieves and robbers as in England"; many murders were committed, but few were punished, and the abuse of privilege of the clergy and sanctuary aggravated the evils of the times.

IV. **The Justification of the Tudor Despotism.**

It was the only effective power in England. The strong despotic central government of the Tudors

I. Checked the evils of vagabondage and gave the peace that was necessary for the growth of commerce and development of learning.

II. Guided England safely through the crisis of the Reformation.

HENRY VII AND IRELAND

I. **Ireland was strongly Yorkist.**

A. **1459.** Richard of York had been a most popular Viceroy, and the Yorkist cause was strongly supported by the Geraldines, led by Thomas Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare.

B. Yorkist pretenders were sure of help in Ireland.

1487. Lambert Simnel was crowned in Dublin.

Gerald Fitzgerald, "The Great Earl of Kildare," supported Perkin Warbeck, who in **1495**, after his unsuccessful landing in Kent, found refuge in Ireland.

C. It was most difficult to enforce the authority of the English kings. Even within the Pale the Irish retained their language, dress, and customs, and outside it the turbulent Anglo-Irish barons, especially Kildare, were almost independent.

II. Henry VII's New Policy.

1494. Prince Henry was made governor and Sir Edward Poynings appointed deputy to crush the barons and raise a revenue from Ireland.

A. The work of Poynings without the Pale.

(1) Complete failure of an expedition against O'Donnel, the chief of Tyrconnel.

(2) Attempt to win over the Irish nobles by grants and pensions.

(3) **1495.** Repulse of Perkin Warbeck's attack on Waterford. Flight of Warbeck to Scotland.

B. The work of Poynings within the Pale.

1494. A Parliament at Drogheda

α. Forbade private war and the keeping of retainers.

β. Passed "Poynings' Law," which provided

1. That the Irish Parliament should not be summoned without the King's consent.
2. Laws passed by the Irish Parliament to be sanctioned by the King.
3. Laws passed by the English Parliament to be valid in Ireland.

γ. Attainted the Earl of Kildare, who was imprisoned in the Tower.

C. 1496. Poynings recalled, owing to the cost of his administration. The Earl of Kildare appointed Lord Deputy. "All Ireland cannot rule this man" objected a loyal Irish bishop. "Then," answered Henry, "this man shall rule all Ireland."

D. Irish trade was heavily penalised in favour of English.

The general result of Henry's policy was the closer connection of England and Ireland.

Reference:

A. *Twelve English Statesmen*, "Henry VII," chap. VIII.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF HENRY VII

I. **The Position of England in 1485.**

A. Owing to the Wars of the Roses England had lost influence in Europe.

B. The two most powerful nations were

(1) France, united by national sentiment aroused by the Hundred Years' War, strengthened by the growth of the royal power, especially under Louis XI (1461–1483), who had secured Burgundy. France seemed dangerous to England owing

α. To the traditional alliance with Scotland.

β. To the attempt of Charles VIII (1483–1498) to conquer Brittany.

(2) Spain. The Spanish monarchy was very strong owing to

α. The marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Arragon.

β. The gradual conquest of the Moors, which was concluded in 1492.

II. **The First Period, 1485–1494.**

A period of successful diplomacy depending upon alliance with Spain.

A. Spain was hostile to France because Ferdinand wished to regain Roussillon and Cerdagne. He therefore promised to help Anne of Brittany against France, and **1489** made the Treaty of Medina del Campo with Henry VII, by which it was agreed that Prince Arthur should marry Katharine of Arragon, and that Henry, Ferdinand, and Maximilian of Austria (betrothed to Anne) should defend Brittany against Charles VIII.

B. Help sent to Brittany.

1490. English troops were sent to Brittany and to Flanders to help Maximilian.

1491. Charles VIII conquered Brittany, married Anne (in spite of her betrothal to Maximilian), and annexed Brittany.

C. **1492. The Peace of Estaples.**

The annexation of Brittany roused indignation in England. An English expedition to France led to the capture of Boulogne, but Henry soon concluded with Charles, who was bent on the conquest of Naples, the Peace of Estaples, by which Henry received £149,000 and Charles withdrew his support from Perkin Warbeck.

The King's action was wise. It was impossible to conquer France, and peace was necessary to allow Henry to settle finances, to develop trade, and to check the expected invasion of Perkin Warbeck. The peace of Estaples angered Maximilian of Austria, who was deserted by Henry, and in consequence recognised Warbeck in Flanders as King of England. But the removal of danger from France strengthened Henry's position in

regard to Spain. The possibility of an alliance between England and France made Ferdinand most anxious to conciliate Henry.

D. Scotland.

The enmity between Scotland and England continued, and James IV opened negotiations with Margaret of Burgundy and supported Warbeck. But the Peace of Estaples removed the possibility of an alliance between France and Scotland, and events proved that there was little real danger from Scotland alone.

During this first period the position of England in Europe was materially strengthened.

III. **The Second Period, 1494–1501.**

A. The League of Venice.

1494. Expedition of Charles VIII to Italy. Submission of Florence and Rome and conquest of the kingdom of Naples. Ferdinand of Arragon and Pope Alexander VI were most anxious to induce Henry VII to join the League of Venice formed by Alexander, Ferdinand, Maximilian (now Holy Roman Emperor), Venice and Milan to expel from Italy Charles VIII, whose recent conquests made him dangerous to the rest of Europe. The beginning of the idea of the Balance of Power. Ferdinand attempted to reconcile England with Flanders and Scotland.

July, 1496. When Charles VIII was preparing to lead a second expedition into Italy Henry, who had made the *Intercursus Magnus* with Flanders, joined the League without promising to fight France or to pay a subsidy. This was a great triumph for Henry, whose support seemed essential for the success of the League.

B. Flanders.

February, 1496. The *Intercursus Magnus*, a commercial treaty made between Henry and Philip of Flanders (son of the Emperor Maximilian) established free trade between England and Flanders, and deprived Warbeck of his last Continental supporter.

C. Scotland.

1496. James IV invaded the North of England on behalf of Warbeck. Complete failure of the expedition.

1497. Truce with Scotland, largely owing to the influence of Ferdinand. Warbeck was compelled to leave Scotland. (Rising of Cornishmen, owing to heavy taxes levied for the defence of the north. The rebels routed at Blackheath, the survivors heavily fined, but very few executed.

Capture and imprisonment of Warbeck.)

D. France.

1498. Louis XII (who succeeded Charles VIII in **1498**) was anxious to prosecute his claims to Milan and renewed the Treaty of Estaples to prevent Henry from interfering with his plans in Italy.

E. Spain.

1501. Marriage of Prince Arthur with Katharine of Aragon. Warwick had been executed in **1499**, nominally on the ground of complicity in a further conspiracy of Warbeck, really to remove the last Yorkist heir to the throne and to ensure the succession of Arthur.

Thus the support of Spain, the most powerful kingdom of Europe, was secured for the maintenance of the Tudor dynasty in England.

The remarkable success of Henry's diplomacy had made England one of the most important nations in Europe.

IV. **Third Period, 1501–1509**

A. Scotland.

1502. Henry's daughter Margaret married James IV of Scotland, and this marriage led to the union of the crowns of England and Scotland under James I, and ultimately to the union of Great Britain in **1707**

B. Spain.

(1) **1502.** Prince Arthur died and Prince Henry (afterwards Henry VIII) was betrothed to Katharine, a special dispensation being secured from Pope Julius II.

α. Ferdinand wished to maintain the alliance with England owing to his fear of France.

β. Henry VII wished to keep Katharine's dowry.

(2) **1504.** Isabella of Castile died, and Ferdinand's power was greatly weakened by the loss of Castile, which Isabella had left to her half-witted daughter Joanna, the wife of Philip of Flanders.

C. Philip of Flanders.

(1) Henry was now inclined to make an alliance with Philip.

α. Ferdinand was weakened by the loss of Castile and married Germaine de Foix, the niece of Louis XII.

β. Henry VII (whose wife Elizabeth of York had died in **1503**) wished to marry Philip's sister Margaret of Austria.

γ. Henry wished Philip's son Charles to marry his daughter Mary.

(2) **1506.** Philip, who had been shipwrecked on the coast of Dorset, made with Henry

α. The Treaty of Windsor, by which he agreed to the proposed marriage of Henry and Margaret.

β. A second commercial treaty, which gave English wool merchants great privileges in the Low Countries, to the detriment of the Netherlanders, who termed it the *Malus Intercursus*.

(3) **1506.** On the death of Philip Henry wished to marry his widow Joanna.

Thus in the third period the treaty with Flanders promoted English trade. But the policy of Henry (whose character deteriorated at the end of his reign) was less statesmanlike than previously, and his marriage schemes were often little better than undignified intrigues. The alliance of Ferdinand and Louis XII weakened the position of Henry, who was not invited to join the League of Cambrai, formed by Ferdinand, Louis, Maximilian, and the Pope for the partition of Venice in **1508**.

References:

A. *Twelve English Statesmen*, "Henry VII," chaps. IX and XI.

C. *Quentin Durward* and *Anne of Geierstein*, Scott.

HENRY VII's FINANCES

The poverty of the Lancastrians was one of the reasons for their overthrow, and Henry VII, by reorganising the finances, greatly strengthened his position. His great wealth made him largely independent of Parliament.

I. Parliament.

A. Parliamentary grants though small were most unpopular, as was shown by the Cornish rising of **1497**, and only a small proportion of money voted was received by the King owing to peculation and difficulties of collection. Henry relied little on this source of income and asked Parliament for grants only five times.

B. At the beginning of his reign Parliament

1. Granted tonnage and poundage for life.
2. Sanctioned the resumption of Crown lands.
3. Gave him £14,000 a year on his renouncing the old right of purveyance.

II. **The King's Foreign Policy was Peaceful,** and he thus avoided the cost of war. By the Treaty of Estaples, **1492,** he secured a large indemnity, and on the speedy termination of hostilities he kept the large balance of the money voted by Parliament for the war.

III. **Fines.**

The King shed little blood, but rebels and law-breakers were heavily fined.

1. The Star Chamber was a rich source of revenue, e.g. the Earl of Oxford, although a faithful servant, was fined £15,000 for keeping retainers.
2. Heavy fines were levied on the south-western counties after the Cornish revolt.

IV. **Empson and Dudley.**

Empson and Dudley, "two ravening wolves," became the King's financial agents at the end of his reign, and raised vast sums of money by using the law courts as a means of extortion, by reviving obsolete statutes, by bribing sheriffs and bullying juries.

V. **Forced Loans.**

Forced loans, or "benevolences," were exacted from rich men. Use of the argument called "Morton's Fork," that those who lived extravagantly could obviously afford to help the King, while those who lived economically could contribute from their savings. (This was not invented by Cardinal Morton, Bishop of Ely and Chancellor, but possibly by Fox, Bishop of Winchester.)

VI. **Sale of Benefices and Offices.**

Owing to these measures the King amassed an enormous fortune and left at his death £1,800,000 in bullion.[1] The possession of this wealth partly accounts for the great power of Henry VIII.

Reference:

A. *Political History of England 1485 – 1547*, Fisher, pp. 126–30.

VII Trade Ventures

HENRY VII

. **What Henry VII did for England.**

A. By his skilful diplomacy he made England an important European power and paved the way for the foreign policy of Wolsey and Henry VIII.

B. By avoiding foreign wars and putting down rebellions at home he gave England peace.

C. By repressing the barons and amassing wealth (which made the King independent of Parliamentary control) he laid the foundation of the Tudor despotism which, in spite of all its faults, did so much to promote the welfare of England.

D. He made good laws and enforced justice. "Justice was well administered in his time, save where the King was party, save also that the Council-table intermeddled too much with *meum* and *tuum*."—Bacon.

E. He bound England and Ireland closely together and, by the Scotch marriage in **1502**, took the first step towards the union of England and Scotland.

[1] Equivalent to £18,000,000 in modern money.

F. He promoted commerce and exploration.

(1) The *Intercursus Magnus* (**1496**) and the *Intercursus Malus* (**1506**).

(2) He passed Navigation Acts to regain for England the carrying trade which, owing to quarrels between England and Flanders, had been to some extent secured by the Hanseatic League.

(3) He made commercial treaties with Riga and Denmark, and thus helped English trade with the Baltic.

(4) He made a commercial treaty with Florence and established a "staple" for English wool merchants at Pisa.

(5) **1496.** He gave John Cabot his patronage.

II. **His Character.**

A. He was a "wonder for wise men," sagacious, able to discern and quick to use the opportunities afforded by foreign politics and the condition of England. "What he minded he compassed."

B. The execution of Warwick, **1499**, is a great blot on his character, but his lenient treatment of Simnel and the Cornish rebels shows that he was not naturally cruel.

C. Although he gained great wealth he was not a mere miser. He rightly regarded money as a powerful political weapon and spent lavishly when necessary, e.g. in the entertainment of Philip **1506**.

D. He was a munificent patron of learning, and defrayed the cost of building part of King's College, Cambridge.

E. He was cold and calculating, "nothing uxorious" towards his wife, and his character deteriorated towards the end of his life. But the meanness and sordid intrigue of his later years must not be allowed to obscure the great services he rendered to England.

Reference:

A. Bacon's *History of Henry VII*, last few pages.

THE REFORMATION IN EUROPE

I. The Causes.

A. The old order of Europe was changing. The decay of the Holy Roman Empire and of feudalism, and the development of central government, profoundly affected political systems. Geographical discoveries (p. 241) changed men's ideas of the world. The discovery of gunpowder, the mariner's compass, and printing altered the conditions of warfare, of navigation, and of learning. The Renaissance (p. 238) had introduced new methods of thought, and had taught men "to open their eyes and see." At a time when all old institutions were carefully examined, the Roman Catholic Church, the greatest of all, did not escape keen criticism.

B. The abuses of the Roman Catholic Church.

(1) The Papacy had become discredited (p. 245).

(2) Nations which had become politically independent sought ecclesiastical independence, and strongly opposed the interference of an external sovereign, the Pope. This opposition had been steadily growing for a long time. It had been shown in England in the cases of Simon de Montfort and John Wycliffe (p. 177); in Bohemia the opposition was led by John Huss, who was burned by order of the Council of Constance in **1415**; in France the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges **1438**, and in Germany the Pragmatic Sanction of Maintz **1439**, greatly weakened the power of the Pope and laid the foundation of national churches.

(3) The character of the clergy was too often bad. They were often immoral, greedy of gain, and neglectful of their duty.

(4) Religion had become formal. Too much stress was laid on outward ceremonies, too little on right living, in spite of occasional protests, such as that of Fra Girolamo Savonarola, who tried to carry out a moral reformation in Florence in **1494**. The Roman Catholic Church failed to satisfy the urgent need of "heart religion," for which good men longed.

II. **The Reformation in Germany.**

A. The condition of Germany.

(1) There was great political unrest.

a. There was no strong central power. The Emperor Charles V was more interested in Spain than Germany, and was more anxious to weaken the power of France than to give good government to Germany.

β. The German princes were jealous of the authority the Emperor claimed over them, and objected to the establishment of a strong central power which would limit their authority.

γ. The knights, the lesser feudal lords, of whom the most famous were Franz von Sickingen and Ulrich von Hutten, were turbulent and continually at war with one another, and with the free towns which constituted the real strength of the country. The private wars frequently waged by the princes and the knights distracted the country.

δ. The peasants were serfs, and were cruelly oppressed.

(2) There was great dissatisfaction in religious matters.

a. The repeated interference of the Pope in ecclesiastical questions roused fierce national opposition.

β. There was a steadily growing opposition to the abuses of the Roman Catholic Church.

B. The immediate cause was the opposition of Martin Luther to the sale of indulgences in Wittenberg by Tetzel, acting on behalf of Pope Leo X, who wanted money to pay for the building of St. Peter's at Rome, **1517**.

C. Martin Luther and the Reformation in Germany.

(1) His life.

Born **1483,** the son of a miner, educated at the University of Erfurt, became professor of theology at Wittenberg, was profoundly impressed by the wickedness of the clergy at Rome during a visit in **1510,** adopted St. Augustine's doctrine of "justification by faith," opposed Tetzel in **1517,** and was supported by Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony.

(2) The Council of Worms.

Luther's protest against indulgences did not involve a denial of the Pope's authority, but in his "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation" he denied the Pope's authority, the authority of tradition, and the doctrine of transubstantiation. He was therefore excommunicated by Pope Leo X in **1520,** and, in **1521,** was tried before the Emperor Charles V, at the Council of Worms, where he declared, "I believe things contrary to the Pope and Councils. I am bound by the Scriptures. My conscience is submissive to the will of God."

The excommunication of Luther was ratified by the Diet of Worms, but Luther's opposition to Rome had won the support of many of the princes of the empire and of the nation. At Worms "he single-handed had fought the battle of Germany against the Pope." Charles V, partly through a desire to secure the support of the Pope against France, had lost his opportunity of becoming the champion of German unity and independence, and the leader of the Reformation.

(3) The progress of the Reformation after the Diet of Worms.

The Diet had failed to establish a strong central government, to remedy ecclesiastical grievances, and to help the peasants.

1525. The Peasants' War.

The peasants rose against their oppressors, but were crushed, and more than 100,000 perished. Luther, who relied upon the assistance of the civil power to effect ecclesiastical reform, strongly opposed the peasants, and urged the authorities to "stab and kill and strangle" them.

A quarrel had arisen between the Emperor and the Pope, Clement VII, and in consequence, in **1526**, at the Diet of Spires, each state was allowed to "live, rule, and bear itself as it could answer to God and the Emperor." Consequent division of Germany into Lutheran and Roman Catholic states.

The reconciliation of Charles V and Clement VII, by the Treaty of Barcelona **1529**, led to the re-enactment of the Edict of Worms. At the second Diet of Spires, **1529**, the Lutherans strongly protested against this, and thus gained the name of "Protestants."

The Augsburg Confession, a statement of Lutheran doctrines, was drawn up by Melancthon and Luther and presented to Charles V at the Diet of Augsburg, June, **1530**, by the Lutherans, who desired to come to terms with him if possible. The doctrine of Justification by Faith was asserted with some qualifications, the paying of honour to Saints was not absolutely forbidden, and, although the Confession accepted Communion in both kinds and the marriage of the clergy, and rejected monastic vows and private masses, it did not absolutely deny the supremacy of the Pope.

1531. The League of Schmalkalden was formed by Protestant princes for mutual defence against Charles V, who was preparing to put down Protestantism by force.

1546. Death of Luther. Outbreak of civil war between Charles V, relying mainly on Spanish troops, and the German Protestants. This war was nominally ended by the Peace of Augsburg, **1555**, but led to the Thirty Years' War (**1618–1648**), "the most terrible chapter of German history."

(4) What Luther did.

α. He roused the national spirit of Germany by his opposition to the Pope, but the division of the country into Protestant and Catholic states (perpetuated by the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648, closing the Thirty Years' War) added a great element of discord, which is still seen in the jealousy between the Protestant North (led by Prussia) and the Catholic South (led by Bavaria).

β. He "fired the train" of the Reformation, and the Protestant religion rests upon the principles of "Justification by Faith" and the "Priesthood of all believers," which he asserted.

γ. His translation of the Bible into German supplied a standard of language for the country. Luther's Bible fixed the German language.

δ. But the extension of Lutheranism was limited by

1. Luther's acceptance of many mediæval forms and ceremonies, and his reluctance to break away from the Roman Catholic Church. His original aim was Reform, not Separation, and he did not entirely reject the doctrine of Transubstantiation.

2. Luther's repudiation of the peasants. Lutheranism became therefore not democratic, but oligarchic. But without the support of the German princes, Lutheranism would have failed. "Luther saved the Reformation by cutting it adrift from the failing cause of the peasants, and tying it to the chariot wheels of the triumphant Princes."

3. Luther's reliance upon the support of the civil power of the princes.
4. Lutheranism was a national German movement, and was therefore confined to Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.

III. John Calvin and the Reformation in Switzerland.

A. Calvin's life.

Calvin was a Frenchman, born in **1509**, studied law at the University of Paris, and lectured in law at Orleans. At Basel, in **1536**, he published his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Meanwhile the Eyguenots (German *Eidgenossen* = confederates) had driven the bishop from Geneva, and established a democracy and the Reformed religion **1534**. He finally settled in Geneva in **1541**, where he was practically "civil and religious dictator" until his death in **1564**.

B. The difference between Calvin and Luther.

(1) Calvin's theology.

Calvin relied less upon the mediæval Church than Luther. He made little change in doctrine, although he carried the teaching of St. Augustine to its logical conclusion, and laid much greater stress than Luther on Predestination.

(2) The organisation of Calvinism.

α. Calvin held that Church and State were necessary for society, and that both derived their authority from God. Geneva was organised as a "City Church," in which civil and ecclesiastical officers worked together for the repression of wickedness.

β. The Church was founded, not like Lutheranism on civil power, but on the "republican basis of the congregation," and thus Calvinism

was essentially democratic, and well suited to England, Holland, and Scotland, where the democracy was gaining ground. Calvin thus made the Reformed Church "separate itself from the old traditionally monarchical authority, and adopt the gospel of democracy as part of its creed." This democratic Church was ruled by pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons.

γ. An ecclesiastical consistory was formed of the church ministers, and twelve elders, nominated by the clergy, were appointed to regulate morals and to decide Church questions. Its decisions were enforced by the civil authority of the town, and sin became a crime.

(3) Calvin's educational policy.

Calvin attached great importance to education, and took a great interest in the Academy and University of Geneva. Ministers trained under Calvin's system in Geneva acted as missionaries of the Reformation in France.

IV. **The Reformation in France.**

The Reformers in France were always a small minority of the nation. French Protestantism soon became a political as well as religious question, and the Huguenots sought to obtain not only religious toleration but also triennial meetings of the Estates, the reform of the judicial system and of ecclesiastical abuses. But the Reformation in France never became a national movement.

A. During the short reign of Francis II (**1559–1560**) his wife's uncles, the Cardinal and Duke of Guise, governed the country, and persecuted the Huguenots.

B. Catharine de Medici, mother of Charles IX, **1560–1574**, seized the power on her son's accession, and, owing to her strong hatred of the Guises, entered into friendly relations with the Huguenot leaders, Antony of Bourbon, King of Navarre (father of Henry of Navarre), his brother Condé, and Coligny, the Admiral of France, and some measure of toleration was given to the Huguenots.

C. The massacre of fifty or sixty Huguenots by the Duke of Guise at Vassy March 1st, **1562**, and the attempt of the Guises to seize the King, led to the first of the nine civil wars which were waged in France between **1562** and **1594**.

D. August 24th, **1572**. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Catharine, fearing the growing power of Coligny, arranged the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in conjunction with Henry of Guise. The number slain is variously estimated from 20,000 to 100,000.

E. The victory of Henry IV at Ivry, **1590**, the submission of Paris, **1594**, and the issue of the Edict of Nantes, giving toleration to the Huguenots, in **1598**, settled the question of the Reformation in France for some time.

V. **The Reformation in the Netherlands.**

A. The attempt of Philip II to overthrow Calvinism in the Netherlands, the excesses of the Spanish troops, the pressure of taxation, and the Spanish sympathies of Philip led to a rising in the Netherlands.

B **1567**. The Duke of Alva was appointed Governor of the Netherlands. He created the infamous "Council of Blood," illegally executed in **1568** Counts Egmont and Horn, two Catholic noblemen who had advocated the restoration of the popular assemblies, and levied very heavy taxes.

1568. The Inquisition condemned all the inhabitants of the Netherlands to death as heretics.

C. **1572**. The capture of Brill by the Sea Beggars[1] under William de la Marck was followed by a general rising of the northern provinces under William of Nassau, Prince of Orange.

[1] The rebels received the nickname of "The Beggars" from a remark made about them by Berlaymont to Margaret of Parma (the half-sister of Philip II, Regent of the Netherlands **1559-1567**). "Madam, is it possible that your Highness can fear these Beggars?" The Sea Beggars, the rebel sailors, were never beaten in battle.

William, who had been appointed Stadtholder of Holland by Charles V, opposed the corrupt government of Margaret of Parma. In **1572** he tried to gain the support of Elizabeth, and made an alliance with France, but his position was weakened by the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, which he called "the blow of a sledge-hammer."

D. **1573**. Capture of Haarlem, after seven months' siege, by the Spaniards, and the massacre of the inhabitants.

E. **1574**. Relief of Leyden, after a siege of eleven months, by the Sea Beggars, who cut the dykes and sailed over the land to the city.

F. November 8th, **1576**. The Pacification of Ghent united the Catholic southern and the Protestant northern provinces against the Spaniards, who had sacked Antwerp four days before. But the jealousy between Catholics and Protestants led the seven northern provinces to make the Union of Utrecht **1579**, and these "United Provinces" ultimately became the Protestant kingdom of Holland.

G. Philip published a Ban against William, who maintained his position in spite of repeated defeats by the Duke of Parma and of grave difficulties with the Duke of Anjou, who had accepted the sovereignty of the Netherlands.

H. July 10th, **1584**. Assassination of William by Gerard at Delft.

I. Failure of Leicester, who had been appointed Governor-General of the Netherlands.

J. Maurice of Orange, son of William the Silent, continued his father's work. He proved a most successful soldier and was helped by the opposition of Henry of Navarre to Philip II, which distracted the attention of the

latter. The independence of the United Provinces was practically assured in **1609**, and formally recognised by the Treaty of Westphalia **1648**. The Protestant religion was accepted by the United Provinces, but serious differences arose between the House of Orange, who were strong Calvinists, and the people, who tended to become Arminians (p. 357).

VI. **The Results of the Reformation.**

A. Where it failed it produced reaction.

α. In Italy and Spain the Roman Catholic Church was more firmly established.

β. Many abuses had been removed by the Council of Trent **1545–1563**; there was a marked improvement in the character of the Popes, who enforced discipline and abandoned the idea of aggrandising themselves in Italy. Owing to these reasons, to the foundation of the Order of Jesuits by Ignatius Loyola **1534**, and to the organisation of the Inquisition in **1542**, the Counter Reformation took place, and by this movement the Roman Catholic Church regained much of its lost ground.

B. Where the Reformation succeeded it promoted the cause of liberty.

(1) National liberty followed the overthrow of Papal influence.

(2) In spite of the intolerance of many of the early Protestants (e.g. **1553** Servetus was burned at Geneva for denying the doctrine of the Trinity, Roman Catholics were persecuted in England, the Puritans of the New England States proved intolerant to those of other religious views) the Reformation ultimately gained for individuals the liberty "to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience," which Milton declared to be "above all liberties."

(3) National language and vernacular literature were profoundly affected by the publication of the Bibles of Luther, Tyndal, and Cranmer, and of Calvin's Institutes.

(4) National education was stimulated, e.g. John Knox tried to establish a school in every parish, Edward VI[1] grammar schools were founded in England and common schools in Germany.

(5) Domestic life was improved by the dissolution of monasteries and the marriage of the clergy.

(6) Religion became more "popular." The assertion of the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, the use of the national language in the Bible and for Church worship made religion "less a thing of the clergy and more a thing of the people."

C. But the cost of the Reformation was heavy. It led to fierce struggles, much bloodshed and wide devastation. It divided Europe into two hostile camps, and delayed the union of Switzerland, the union of Germany, and the emancipation of the peasantry of Germany until the nineteenth century.

References:—

A. Germany. *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. II, chaps. VII and VIII.

Netherlands and France. *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, by Johnson, Rivingtons, chaps. VIII and IX.

B. Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (in Bohn's Library).
The Siege of Naarden, Vol. II, p. 380.
The Siege of Haarlem, Vol. II, pp. 385–410.
The Siege of Leyden, Vol. II, pp. 488–510.
William the Silent, Vol. III, pp. 497–505.

C. See pp. 316 and 318.

[1] The theory, adopted by Green, that Edward VI was the founder of English secondary education is incorrect. Very few of the so-called Edward VI Grammar Schools were founded in his reign.

CARDINAL WOLSEY, 1471–1530

Thomas Wolsey, the son of an Ipswich butcher, was known as the "Boy Bachelor" at Oxford. He became tutor to the children of the Marquis of Dorset, chaplain to Henry VII, Dean of York, Bishop of Tournai (owing to his success in organising the expedition to France, **1513**). Appointed Archbishop of York, Cardinal (in **1515**), and Papal Legate, **1517**. He held also the bishoprics of Lincoln, Bath and Wells, and Winchester, and received the temporal revenues of the Abbey of St. Albans.

I. **His Foreign Policy.**

A. The Holy League.

(1) England had joined the Holy League, formed in **1511** against France between the Pope, Venice, and Ferdinand of Arragon, who wished to regain Navarre from France.

1513. The English captured Terouenne and Tournay, and defeated the French at Guinegate (the Battle of Spurs). The Scotch, in alliance with France, invaded England, but were routed at Flodden Field, where James IV was slain.

(2) Ferdinand, who had secured Navarre and objected to the proposed match between his grandson Charles of Flanders and Henry VIII's sister Mary, deserted Henry and made peace with France.

(3) **1514.** Wolsey, therefore, checked Ferdinand's scheme by arranging a marriage between Louis XII and Henry's sister Mary. But his clever diplomacy was nullified by the death of Louis XII in **1515**.

B. Alliance between England, France, and Spain, **1518**.

(1) Growing power of France.

1515. α. Francis I won a victory at Marignano in Italy, and regained Milan.

β. The Duke of Albany, an adherent of France, became supreme in Scotland.

γ. Alliance between Francis I and Charles, who on the death of Ferdinand, **1516**, had received Naples and Spain.

(2) Wolsey made an alliance between England, France, and Spain, **1518**, nominally to check the Turks, and gave up Tournai in return for a liberal payment from Francis I. He thus removed any danger from France, and apparently ensured peace in Western Europe.

C. Alliance with the Emperor Charles V, **1521**.

(1) The Emperor Maximilian died in **1519**. Francis and Charles were most anxious to become Emperor, and after a severe contest the latter succeeded his grandfather as the Emperor Charles V.

(2) The support of Henry became of great importance to Francis and Charles.

α. Francis wanted to secure Naples and regain Navarre.

β. Charles wanted to secure Burgundy and regain Milan.

γ. The dominions of France were more compact, but less extensive than those of Charles, who ruled over Flanders, Naples, Austria, Spain, and the Netherlands.

δ. The power of Charles was weakened because his dominions were scattered, and local difficulties in Spain and Flanders prevented the cordial co-operation of all parts. He was in financial difficulties, and the question of the Reformation in Germany was becoming urgent.

(3) The Field of the Cloth of Gold, **1520**.
Failure of Francis to secure the alliance of Henry.

(4) Alliance with Charles, **1521**.

α. Due to the diplomacy of Wolsey, who hoped that Charles would ensure his succession to the Papacy, and wished to break the power of France.

1523. β. Unsuccessful expedition to France in alliance with Charles. This French war was a great mistake.

(1) It prevented the settlement of pressing domestic questions, e.g. Ireland and vagabondage in England.

(2) It was very costly, and Wolsey incurred much unpopularity by demanding in Parliament a property tax of 20%.

(3) The Scotch, under Albany, in alliance with France invaded the North of England.

(4) It facilitated the advance of the Turks.

D. Alliance with France, 1527.

(1) The alliance with Charles V had proved disappointing.

α. England had gained nothing.

β. Wolsey had been three times disappointed in his hopes of securing the Papacy.

γ. The English nobles resented the loss of the French pensions granted in 1518.

(2) The growing power of Charles V appeared dangerous to Europe.

1521. α. His troops captured Milan.

1525. β. Francis I, attempting to regain Milan, was utterly routed and captured by the Imperialists at Pavia.

1527. γ. Capture of Pope Clement VII and sack of Rome by the Imperialists.

(The Turks, profiting by the rivalry of Charles and Francis, conquered Hungary at the battle of Mohacs, 1526.)

(3) Alliance between England and France, 1527. Due to

α. The dangerous power of Charles V,

β. The desire of Henry VIII (now beginning to consider the question of a divorce from Katharine) to make the Papacy independent of Katharine's nephew Charles V.

(4) Further Imperialist successes led to the alliance between Pope Clement VII and Charles V (the Treaty of Barcelona), and also between Charles and Francis (the Peace of Cambrai, **1529**, called "The Women's Peace" because negotiated by Margaret of Flanders, Charles' aunt, and Louise of Savoy, Francis' mother). This was one of the causes of the fall of Wolsey.

E. General notes.

(1) Wolsey continued the work of Henry VII, who had made England a power in Europe. His idea of the Balance of Power made England the mediator of Europe. This was made possible by the insular position of the country.

(2) The idea of the Balance of Power was replaced by that of alliance with the Empire, **1520–1525**, but was again adopted after Pavia.

(3) With the exception of the commercial relations between England and Flanders, there was little real community of interest between England and the Empire, and mediation rather than active intervention was the correct policy for England.

II. **Domestic Policy.**

A. His main object was the extension of the royal power.

(1) He kept down the power of the nobles, e.g. by means of the Star Chamber.

(2) His rule was unconstitutional.

α. Parliament was summoned only once between **1515** and **1529**, and then for purposes of taxation.

β. **1523.** When Parliament refused his demand for a 20 per cent property tax he came to the House in person and interfered in the debate. Parliament granted 10 per cent.

γ. **1522.** He raised money by benevolences.

B. He saw the need of reforming the Church, which had steadily lost influence in England since **1307**, and had become "politically, morally, and spiritually weak." But, unlike Luther, he wished to reform the Church from within, and to use the royal authority and his own power as Papal Legate for this purpose. His sincere wish to reform Church abuses may have been one reason for his attempt to secure the Papacy.

(1) **1511.** He abolished some of the evils of sanctuary and of privilege of the clergy.

(2) **1524.** He held a visitation of the monasteries, and suppressed forty which had less than seven inmates.

(3) He established Legatine Courts to remedy abuses.

C. He was a supporter of the Renaissance, partly perhaps because he saw the need of better education for the clergy. Used some of the endowments of the suppressed monasteries to found Cardinal College [now Christ Church] at Oxford and a college at Ipswich.

D. Showed real concern for the interests of the poor.

(1) He tried unsuccessfully to check the growing evil of enclosures. The increase in enclosures was due to the fact that pasturage was twice as profitable as arable.

(2) He greatly improved the administration of justice, and protected the poor from oppression by the rich.

III. **The Fall of Wolsey.**

A. The Divorce Question.

(1) The absence of a legitimate male heir would involve England in very grave danger on the death of Henry VIII.

(2) Henry's infatuation for Anne Boleyn made him more eager for a divorce.

(3) The fact that Katharine was Charles V's aunt and that Pope Clement VII was in the power of Charles increased Wolsey's difficulties.

(4) **1528.** Owing to the success in Italy of the French (now in alliance with Henry) Clement appointed Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio commissioners with full power to try the case and pass a final verdict.

(5) **1529**. The treaties of Cambrai and Barcelona (page 271) deprived Henry of French support, and strengthened the authority of the Pope, who, fearing that if Charles were opposed he might support Luther in Germany, summoned the King and Queen of England to appear before the Papal Court.

B. Wolsey and the Divorce.

(1) Wolsey did not suggest the divorce, but was obliged to support it to please Henry VIII. His failure to secure the assent of the Pope led to his downfall, and to the accession to power of his enemies, Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, and Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, who was appointed President of the Council. Wolsey's property was confiscated because, by accepting Legatine power from Rome, he had broken the Statute of Praemunire. Withdrawal of Wolsey to his see of York, where he did excellent work in correcting abuses.

(2) **1530**. Wolsey, hoping to regain his position, made overtures to France. Norfolk brought the matter before Henry. Wolsey was arrested for high treason and died at Leicester on his way to London.

(3) The fall of Wolsey was due to the conflict between his desire to support the Church (which opposed the divorce) and to serve the King (who wanted the divorce). The utter ruin of the greatest subject in Europe shows the enormous power of Henry VIII, which Wolsey's policy had greatly strengthened.

References:

A. *Twelve English Statesmen*, "Wolsey," chaps. I. and XI.

B. Shakespeare, *Henry VIII*:—

ACT III, *Scene* 2: "Farewell! a long farewell, to all my greatness."

ACT III, *Scene* 2: "Cromwell, I did not think to shed a tear."

ACT IV, *Scene* 2: "For after the stout Earl Northumberland."

C. *Windsor Castle*, by Ainsworth, Routledge, and *Darnley*, by James, Warne.

THE REFORMATION OR "ORGANIC" PARLIAMENT, 1529–1536, AND THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES, 1536 AND 1539

I. General Notes.

A. An epoch-making period in the history of English legislation. This Parliament snapped the bonds between England and Rome, abridged the liberty of the subject, settled the succession to the crown, exalted the royal power, ensured the King's supremacy over the Church, abolished the smaller monasteries, redistributed the national wealth, dealt with the social questions of mendicancy and enclosures, and incorporated Wales with England.

B. Although largely a "packed" Parliament it was not an assembly of slaves, but "representative of an orthodox, priest-hating, crown-loving nation." Although Parliament was subservient to the King and released him from his debts, gave him the right of limiting the succession, and later in 1539 gave his proclamations the force of laws, yet the fact that the English Reformation was the work of Parliament and not of the King alone was of the greatest constitutional importance.

C. There was a strong national feeling in England against the Church of Rome and the power of the Pope owing to clerical abuses.

(1) There was a general belief that the Church was being ruined by its wealth and worldliness.

(2) There was strong opposition to Papal aggression.

(3) Men felt that drastic measures alone could purify the Church.

(4) The spirit of inquiry, due to the Renaissance, was fatal to the old position of the Roman Catholic Church.

(5) The special abuses of the time in England included—

α. The abuse of trials for heresy.
β. The abuse of mortuary fees.
γ. The abuse of clerical tithes and fees.
δ. Pluralities.
ε. Non-residence.

D. Great importance of Thomas Cromwell, who moulded the form of the legislation against the Pope and against clerical abuses.

I. **First Period.**

1529–1530. "The attack on the outworks."

A. Henry was unwilling to break with the Pope. He showed his orthodoxy by burning Tyndal's Bible, published in 1526, but wished to frighten the Pope into granting a divorce by the danger of the withdrawal of England from Rome. The divorce was very unpopular in England, and Henry's recognition of this fact made him the more anxious to secure the assent of the Pope.

B. **1529.** A Bill was passed dealing with acknowledged abuses (mortuary fees, pluralities, probate), fixing clerical fees, and enforcing discipline.

II. **Second Period.**

1530–1535. "The Breach with Rome."

A. **1531.** The clergy, declared guilty of breaking the Statute of Praemunire for accepting Wolsey's Legatine Authority in Convocation, purchased pardon by paying £100,000 and by recognising Henry as supreme Head of the Church in England "as far as the law of Christ will allow." This was the action of Henry himself, not of Parliament, but later proceedings were commenced by the Commons. The divorce was approved by a majority of the Universities of Europe.

B. The establishment of the King's authority over the Church, 1532.

(1) Legislation.

Convocation to pass no laws without the King's permission.

This was a good measure because it was most improbable that Convocation would have really reformed the Church.

(2) Finance.

Conditional discontinuance of annates. Henry pretended he could stop this if the Pope submitted: "our efforts have been incessant to resist the importunity of our people for passing the statute."

1533.

(1) Cranmer appointed Archbishop of Canterbury with regular Papal bulls. This showed that there was as yet no formal breach with Rome.

(2) Parliament abolished appeals to Rome. This "the first definitive infringement of the constitutional relations between the English Church and Rome."

(3) The divorce.

α. Convocation pronounced against the marriage of Henry and Katharine. Henry married Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth born.

β. Henry threatened to appeal to a General Council against the Pope.

γ. Charles V was too busy to fight Henry.

δ. The people's support was essential. Hence orders were issued to preachers to deny in their sermons the jurisdiction of the Pope in England.

1534.

(1) Final refusal of annates, Peter's Pence, and all payments to Rome.

(2) Archbishops and bishops to be elected by Congé d'Elire, and the penalties of Praemunire attached to a refusal to elect the King's nominee.

(3) A Royal writ declared necessary for Convocation.

(4) The succession was vested in the successors of Anne Boleyn.

(5) The divorce. The Pope declared in favour of Katharine, hence Henry's opposition was no longer disguised. The repudiation of Katharine was unpopular in England, and led to the beginning of a reign of terror to ensure obedience to the King. Execution of the Maid of Kent, whose protest on moral grounds against the divorce represented the general feeling of the nation.

(6) The Act of Supremacy.

The King declared Head of the Church of England. The most important of all the Acts of this Parliament. The nation generally was strongly opposed to the Papal supremacy and readily accepted these changes, although great sympathy was felt with Katharine and Mary.

1535. Execution of Fisher and More and some Carthusian monks for refusing to accept the Act of Supremacy. Fisher and More

α. Refused to acknowledge "that a temporal lord could be head of the spirituality."

β. Both—especially More—were thoroughly loyal to the King.

γ. But it was the universal belief of the age that force could be rightly used to put down heresy.

δ. The execution of Fisher and More put an end to all hope of reconciliation with the Papacy. Fear of the possible union of France and Charles led to negotiations with the German Protestants, but Henry's refusal to accept the Augsburg Confession (page 260), asserting Lutheran doctrines, made union with them impossible.

IV. **The Fall of the Monasteries.**

(1) The Bishops aided the King by licensing and instructing preachers, by deleting the Pope's name from the prayer books, and proclaiming the King's title. The "proved pliancy of the bishops" was not enough. Therefore

(2) **1535.** Thomas Cromwell, a layman, was made Vicar-General and Ecclesiastical Dictator.

(3) The position of the monasteries.

α. Monastic property had been frequently attacked. Henry V seized the property of alien priories. Wolsey and others took their endowments for schools, and pensions on monastic estates were often given to laymen.

β. The monastic ideal was declining, and many monasteries were no longer the homes of learning.

γ. Clerical bailiffs were unpopular, and large profits were derived from tolls on fairs held in monasteries.

δ. Much good work was still done by the monks, who kept schools, encouraged farming, carried on a great trade in wool, and dispensed hospitality, *but* it is a question whether their lavish hospitality did not greatly encourage vagabondage.

ε. The King wanted money.

Cromwell issued "injunctions" requiring the monks to preach the King's Supremacy, improving discipline and limiting extravagance, and ordered a visitation. The report disclosed many gross abuses. "In the Parliament House there was nothing but 'Down with them.'"

(4) **1536.** Suppression by the Reformation Parliament of the lesser monasteries, i.e. those with less than £200 a year.

This measure was accepted by the great abbots, possibly in the hope of saving their own religious houses. Three hundred and seventy-six religious houses were suppressed, mostly in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.

[**1536.** Statute of Union of England and Wales. Wales incorporated with England, Welshmen to enjoy all the rights of Englishmen, and English land laws applied to Wales.

1543. Wales divided into twelve counties. Counties and boroughs sent representatives to Parliament.]

The Reformation Parliament was dissolved on April 14th, 1536.

(5) Strong opposition to the dissolution of the monasteries.

a. In Lincolnshire.

Not a rebellion against the King. The rioters showed great respect for the King. Their object was to restore the monasteries. A peaceful demonstration was useless, for "force alone could compel Henry to banish Cromwell, disgrace Cranmer, restore monasteries, and arrest the Reformation." The rising was soon suppressed—followed by a few executions.

β. Yorkshire. Pilgrimage of Grace, **1537.** Led by Robert Aske, a Yorkshire gentleman practising law in London. Yorkshire rose in arms, but it was a religious pilgrimage rather than a campaign, although it was partly due to political and social causes.

1. Its main object was to restore the smaller monasteries and suppress heresy.
2. Also political, due to opposition to the Treason Act, compelling men to reveal their opinions on penalty of treason, **1535**; to the hatred of Cromwell by the nobles; to the illegitimacy of Mary; to the power given to the King to devise the crown by Parliament.
3. Social—owing to opposition to enclosures and to the heavy fines levied for the renewal of leases.

York and Hull submitted. Lord Darcy surrendered to Aske at Pontefract and joined the Pilgrimage of Grace.

The Duke of Norfolk, whose soldiers sympathised with the Pilgrimage of Grace, held a conference with the rebels at Doncaster. Before considering their complaints, Aske asked for and received a promise of pardon and declared his fidelity. The demands of the rebels:—

1. The supremacy of the Church to be restored to Rome.
2. Mary to be declared legitimate.
3. Repeal of the Statutes of Treasons and Uses[1] and of the King's power to devise the crown.

[1] By Common Law landed property could be left only to the eldest son or heir of the owner. This restriction had been evaded by imposing on the heir, the only legal owner, the duty of paying a part of the rent "to the use" of a younger son or other interested party. By this means the gentry, who often possessed much land but little money, were able to make provision for their younger children, but the creation of "Uses" and of "Uses upon Uses" had led to very great confusion. The Statute of Uses, **1535**, recognised the holder of the "Use" as the legal owner of the property, and forbade "Uses" for the future, thus restricting the testamentary power of landowners. The Act was most unpopular, and was amended in **1540**. These mediæval Uses were the origin of modern Trusts.

4. The punishment of Cromwell.
5. The stoppage of enclosures.

Norfolk promised a free Parliament. Henry VIII won over Aske by promises, but in Aske's absence, the commons, fearing they were being betrayed by the nobles, rose again. They attacked Hull and Scarborough, but failed to take them. Aske and Darcy helped to put down this rising, but both were executed, together with the Abbot of Jervaulx and a former Abbot of Fountains.

γ. A third rising in Cumberland and Westmorland was put down easily with great cruelty.

δ. All three risings failed.

1. The free Parliament promised by Norfolk was never held.
2. Cromwell remained powerful.
3. The Council of the North—a committee of the Privy Council—was appointed for Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Westmorland, and Cumberland to deal with revenue, fortresses, justice, and ecclesiastical questions. This proved a very cheap and efficient means of ensuring good government in the north.

(6) 1539. Dissolution by Parliament of 645 greater monasteries "without any debate." Consequent disappearance of mitred abbots from the House of Lords.

(7) Effects of the dissolution of the monasteries:—

α. Henry VIII became "the richest king that had ever been in England."

β. Henry's supporters received large grants of abbey lands, and thus gained a strong vested interest in the Reformation. The refusal of the grantees to restore the abbey lands checked Mary's attempt to restore Roman Catholicism.

γ. A small portion of the spoil was used to defray the cost of erecting six new bishoprics and founding schools.

δ. Much hardship was inflicted on the poor and there was great increase in vagrancy. The Poor Laws of Elizabeth were passed to meet this danger.

ε. Loss of ecclesiastical influence in the House of Lords owing to the disappearance of the mitred abbots.

References:

A. *Short History of the English People*, chap. VI, § 6.
"The Pilgrimage of Grace." *Political History of England, 1485–1547*, chap. XV. Fisher.
"The Dissolution of the Monasteries." Froude's *Essays*. Everyman's Library. Dent.

B. "More." Froude's *History of England*, Vol. II, pp. 112 and 267–78.
"The Organic Parliament." Froude's *History of England*, Vol. II, p. 347.

C. *The Household of Sir Thomas More*, by Manning, Routledge.
Darnley, by G. P. R. James, Routledge.

THE COURSE OF THE REFORMATION, 1536–1540

I. **The Reformation or Organic Parliament** had made the breach with Rome.

II. **The Execution of Fisher and More** had shown the determination of the King to be supreme.

III. **Changes in Oxford and Cambridge,** where civil law had largely replaced canon law, where greater attention was being paid to Greek and Hebrew, and where the old scholastic teaching had died out, weakened the Roman Catholic position.

IV. **The Death of Katharine of Arragon.**
Katharine, who steadily refused to acknowledge the divorce, died in 1536, and thus the danger of rebellion owing to popular sympathy was removed.

V. **The Execution of Anne Boleyn.**

A. The King's marriage with Anne Boleyn was most unpopular at home, and was not recognised by the Lutherans who refused to condemn the King's first marriage.

B. Anne Boleyn had no son, therefore the succession was still unsettled.

C. The King was weary of her.

D. She was condemned for adultery after a shameful trial and executed May 19th, **1536.** The next day Henry married Jane Seymour.

(The new Parliament of **1536** gave the King the right to determine the succession to the throne.)

VI. **The Ten Articles** were accepted by Parliament in **1536.**

A. Henry refused to accept the Augsburg Confession because the Lutherans recognised his marriage with Katharine. Henry wished the English Church to be quite independent of the Continental Protestant Churches, and hoped for an understanding with the Emperor.

B. But it was necessary to declare doctrine. Therefore the Ten Articles were issued "to establish Christian quietness and unity." They declared the necessity of

α. Transubstantiation—non-Lutheran.

β. Works as well as faith—non-Lutheran.

γ. The Bible, creeds, and first four councils as the basis of religion.

C. The importance of the Ten Articles.

(1) They were conservative—they kept the Mass and maintained the Roman Catholic doctrine. *There was no change in doctrine in Henry VIII's reign.*

(2) They were issued by the King, who, as supreme head of the independent English Church, repudiated the authority of the Pope and asserted his right to decide doctrine.

(3) They attached great importance to the Scriptures, and thus tended to help on Protestantism, which was based upon the Scriptures.

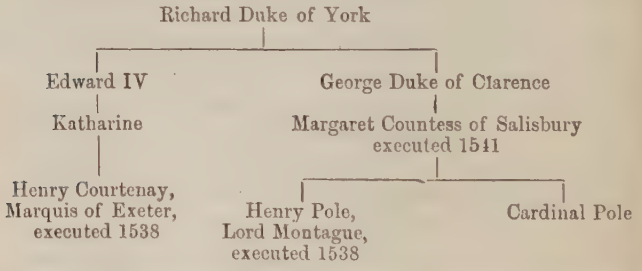
VII. **War between Francis and Charles** in **1536** made Continental interference impossible for a time.

VIII. **The Papal Bull, 1538.**

A. General destruction of relics and shrines, and especially of the shrine of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury. Great indignation at Rome.

A Bull of excommunication was issued against Henry by Pope Paul III, and there was an apparent danger of intervention from France and the Empire, united by the Truce of Nice, **1538,** and from Scotland.

B. Cardinal Pole was concerned in the issue of the Bull. Therefore Henry executed his brother, Lord Montague, and later his mother, the Countess of Salisbury, daughter of George Duke of Clarence. The Marquis of Exeter, a grandson of Edward IV, was also executed owing to the grave danger of Papal intrigues in favour of the descendants of Richard Duke of York.



C. The country remained steadily loyal to Henry in this time of danger.

IX. **Cranmer's Bible.**

Cranmer's Bible, "The Great Bible," **1539** (based on Mathew's Bible, **1537**, which included the New Testament of Tyndal, **1525**, and Coverdale's Bible, **1536**), was ordered to be read in churches.

A. This rendering had a Protestant tendency and returned in some important points to the traditions of early Christianity, e.g.

πρεσβύτης was translated "elder," not "priest."
ἐκκλησία was translated "congregation," not "church."
μετανοέω was translated "repent," not "do penance."

B. Cranmer's Bible did much to gain for the Reformation the support of the English nation.

X. **The Greater Monasteries.**

Suppression by Parliament of 645 greater monasteries, 1539.

(This 1539 Parliament gave the King's proclamations the force of laws, "but with difficulty and long debate," and with limitations protecting life, liberty, property and the law of the land.)

XI. **Statute of Six Articles, 1539.**

A. Asserted Roman Catholic doctrine.

Burning to be the penalty for denying Transubstantiation, communion in one kind, celibacy of the clergy, the obligation of monastic vows, masses for the dead, and auricular confession.

B. Due to the opposition of Norfolk and the strong Catholics to the "Protestant" party led by Cromwell, Latimer, and Cranmer.

C. This made alliance with the German Protestants very difficult.

D. "The whip with six strings" was popular in England, because it expressed the feeling of the nation, which, while willing to acknowledge the King as head of the Church, remained faithful to Roman Catholic doctrine.

XII. **The Marriage of Henry and Anne of Cleves,** Jan. 6th, 1540.

A. Anne was a sister of William of Cleves, who, in spite of the Emperor Charles V, had become Duke of Guelders a province always opposed to the Emperor.

B. Difficulties.

α. Henry's devotion to Roman Catholic doctrines.

β. The strength of the Germans was untried, although the League of Schmalkalde was important.[1]

γ. Alliance with France or Germany seemed more promising for Henry.

[1] The League of Schmalkalde had been founded in 1531 to resist any attempt of Charles V to put down the Reformation by force.

C. The marriage was a direct challenge to Charles V.

D. Reasons.

(1) Henry wanted the friendship of the Schmalkaldic League, who could make a diversion in Germany if Charles V attacked Henry.

(2) Henry wanted to ensure the succession.

E. The marriage ruined Cromwell, who had promoted it. Henry took a violent dislike to the "great Flanders mare," and the marriage was soon dissolved by the obsequious Parliament.

Reference:

A. S. R. Gardiner's *Students' History*, chap. XXVI.

THOMAS CROMWELL

The son of a blacksmith, his low origin was one reason for the strong opposition of the nobles. He had been a soldier in Italy, a merchant in Flanders, and a lawyer in England. Entered Wolsey's service and secured much of Wolsey's power after his fall.

I. **His Great Object was to make the Royal Power Absolute,** and he directed the work of the Reformation Parliament to this end.

A. Quarrelled with the Pope and repudiated the claim of any spiritual potentate to interfere in England.

B. Act of Supremacy, **1534**, compelled all men to acknowledge Henry as head of the Church.

C. Treasons Act, **1534**, made words and refusal to plead treasonable, as well as overt acts.

D. The Dissolution of the Monasteries, **1536** and **1539**, showed the power of the King over corporations, however old.

E. The execution of Exeter **1538**, Montague **1538**, and the imprisonment of the Countess of Salisbury (executed **1541**) showed the old nobility the danger of plotting against the King.

F. **1536.** The King allowed to regulate the succession.

G. **1539.** The King's proclamations given the force of laws, i.e. by **1539** the King was absolute and Cromwell was no longer essential.

I. **Cromwell and the Reformation.**

A. Cromwell was not a religious man, but used the Reformation to weaken the power of the clergy in England, and to secure the assistance of foreign powers against the Pope.

B. While he did not actually persuade the King to break with Rome he "moulded the legislation by which the breach was effected" from **1529**, and his influence was supreme during the reign of terror, **1534–1540.**

C. He did not accept nor did he refuse Lutheranism.

D. **1535.** He was appointed Vicar-General, i.e. ecclesiastical dictator.

E. Ordered the clergy to read the Ten Articles, supported the issue of the Bible in English, destroyed images, etc., especially the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket, and dissolved the monasteries. These acts were welcomed by the Lutherans, and Cromwell acted with Cranmer and Latimer, the more Protestant party, against the extreme Catholics led by Norfolk and Suffolk. The Statute of Six Articles (asserting orthodox Catholic doctrine) was a severe blow to Cromwell and his friends.

F. **1538.** The Truce of Nice between Charles V and Francis I led to the marriage of Henry and Anne of Cleves, which was arranged by Cromwell to check the danger arising from the union of France and Germany.

G. July 29, **1540.** Execution of Cromwell.

III. **Character of Cromwell.**

A. A most skilful lawyer and business man. An admirable instrument for Henry in drawing up the necessary laws and making the many arrangements involved by the Reformation.

B. Inferior to Wolsey in foreign politics, e.g. he did not correctly estimate the position of the Emperor.

C. An exceptionally keen observer of English affairs (business and ecclesiastical), this helped him to

D. Manage Parliaments with the utmost skill. Cromwell used Parliament, Wolsey had avoided calling Parliament until obliged.

E. Hard and ruthless. "He saw life through plain glass, spurned ethics and sentiment," and followed the policy recommended by Machiavelli.

(1) Trials were unjustly conducted and juries coerced.

α. Execution of More **1535**. Cromwell was one of the Commissioners.

β. He coerced the council into condemning the Carthusians.

γ. He was responsible for the judicial murder of the abbots of Reading and Glastonbury in **1539**.

(2) He packed Parliaments when necessary.

(3) He drew up the ferocious Statute of Treasons **1534**.

F. A loyal and faithful servant to Wolsey and Henry VIII. He greatly helped on the Reformation in England. He was actuated by public policy, not private caprice, in his choice of victims.

Reference:

A. Green's *Short History of the English People*, chap. VI, § 6.

HENRY VIII

. **Strong position at his Accession.**

A. He got his father's wealth without the unpopularity which its acquisition had caused.

B. The Nobles were weak. The Church was discredited. The Commons were unrepresentative.

C. Personally very popular. Genial. Commanding presence.

D. Great ability.

A sportsman, an adept at military exercises, a skilled musician, of great eloquence, learned (e.g. his book against Luther).

I. **Desired absolute power in England and a commanding position in European Politics.**

A. In England.

(1) Supported by Wolsey and Cromwell, although after the fall of Wolsey his policy was his own.

(2) His assertion of absolutism led to the breach with Rome.

(3) The necessity of maintaining the royal power by ensuring the succession was one of the causes of the divorce.

B. On the Continent.

(1) The rivalry of France and Spain (especially after Charles V became Emperor, 1519) gave an excellent opportunity for diplomacy, and Henry proved a skilful and unscrupulous diplomatist.

(2) But he was guided by Wolsey in the early part of his reign.

(3) He revived the old and impossible claim to the crown of France.

(4) But in 1523 the reluctance of Parliament to grant supplies compelled him to modify his policy owing to lack of national support.

(5) The lack of a male heir complicated his foreign policy. "If Mary were left unmarried England would be weakened in the diplomatic markets of Europe."

(6) After the fall of Cromwell, **1540**, Henry, following the advice of Norfolk, tried to secure the meeting of a General Council to reform the Catholic Church from within, and to obtain the co-operation of Charles V for this purpose. This led to

1542. War with France (allied with Scotland).

1544. Boulogne captured.

1544. Treaty of Crépi made between France and the Emperor.

1545. English naval victory in the Solent.

1546. Peace made between England and France.

C. In Scotland.

The King tried to break the French party in Scotland, led by Cardinal Beaton and Mary of Guise, and to pave the way for the future union of England and Scotland.

1542. Scotch defeated at Solway Moss.

1543. Failure of proposed marriage between Prince Edward and Mary Stuart (later Mary Queen of Scots).

1544. Edinburgh was captured by Hertford (brother of Jane Seymour).

1546. Cardinal Beaton murdered. Peace made by Henry with Scotland and France.

D. In Ireland.

The Geraldines were crushed in **1535**, and Ireland gave no more trouble in Henry's reign. But there was no permanent settlement, and the failure to provide for Irish education out of the wealth of the suppressed monasteries is a great blot on Henry's policy.

E. In Wales.

1536. The Act of Union with Wales, providing for the representation of Wales in Parliament and the division of the Marches into shires, was a wise and successful measure.

I. **Henry was supported by England.**

A. Englishmen hated the Pope, but most held fast to Catholic doctrine. Henry, a devout Catholic, *made no change in doctrine*, e.g. the Six Articles. "The people show great joy at the King's declaration concerning the sacrament, being much more inclined to the old religion than to the new opinions."

B. Henry made use of Parliament, representing England, to carry through his home policy. Parliament was generally subservient, but the fact that it *was* used (after the fall of Wolsey) was most important, and Henry yielded in 1525 to strong representations against the heavy taxes imposed owing to the French war.

C. Although some of the King's acts were unpopular (e.g. the divorce of Katharine and the destruction of the monasteries), the country was thoroughly loyal to the King, and this was shown most clearly by the strong assertions of loyalty made by More after his condemnation in 1535, and by the supporters of the Pilgrimage of Grace 1537.

V. **Henry a man of very strong will with a firm conviction of his own rectitude.** He had enormous power and, especially after the fall of Wolsey, ruled tyrannically—though in accordance with popular will.

A. The fall of Wolsey and Cromwell brought out "the awful power of the throne."

B. 1536. The King himself issued the Ten Articles.

C. Parliament made the King's proclamations as valid as laws, and gave him the right of settling the succession.

D. Henry packed Parliaments and treated opponents with the greatest cruelty, e.g. Montague and the Countess of Salisbury.

The Creator of the Tudor Navy.

Henry was the first sovereign for many years to make a real effort to found a Royal Navy, which he saw was essential for national defence.

A. He founded Trinity House, for the training of pilots, and also naval schools, and encouraged shipbuilding and fisheries (the training ground of seamanship).

B. Introduced the "galleasse," a swift, easily handled sailing-ship, which proved superior to vessels rowed with oars, led to a great English victory over the French in **1545**, and laid the foundation of England's naval supremacy.

C. Encouraged geographical discoverers, e.g. William Hawkins of Bristol, who explored the West African coast.

VI. **Conclusion.**

Although Henry's government was absolute, often tyrannical and cruel, he gave England what she wanted, viz. a sovereign powerful enough to guide the country in the great political, religious, and economic struggle through which it was passing. His personal interests coincided with those of England, and though in course of time the absolutism he founded gave place to more popular government, it brought England safely through a most dangerous crisis, and made possible "the magnificent development of the Elizabethan age."

Reference:

The Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, pp. 462–3.

SOMERSET

Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, brother of Queen Jane Seymour and uncle of Edward VI, seized the chief power on the death of Henry VIII and was nominated Protector. He was soon created Duke of Somerset.

I. **Difficulties.**

A. Religious.

(1) Somerset adopted the Reformed views, which were popular in London but not in the country, especially in the west.

α. Parliament repealed the Statute of Six Articles, and allowed communion in both kinds and the marriage of the clergy.

β. Images were destroyed in churches and Catholic foundations plundered. Somerset pulled down two churches to build Somerset House in the Strand.

γ. The Latin Mass abolished.

δ. Parliament repealed the Statute of Treasons of Henry VIII and the Statute de Heretico Comburendo (passed **1401**).

ε. **1549.** First Prayer Book, moderate; simplicity of worship enforced.

ζ. **1549.** Parliament passed the Act of Uniformity to compel the use of the Prayer Book.

(2) **1549.** Great distress, for which the Reformation was blamed. Rising in Devon under Pomeroy and Arundel, caused by the new service, "like an Xmas game." The rebels demanded the restoration of the Six Articles, the recall of Pole, and the restoration of the Mass; defeated at St. Mary's Clyst and Sampford Courtenay by Russell.

B. Scotland.

The marriage of Edward and Mary Stuart had been arranged, but Somerset failed to prevent the spread of French influence, in spite of the opportunity afforded by the murder of Beaton **1546**. The French captured St. Andrews. Somerset invaded Scotland and all parties united against him.

1547. He routed the Scots at Pinkie, but Mary was sent to France, where she soon married the Dauphin Francis (Francis II).

C. Social.

(1) Somerset, except in London, disendowed town guilds, which were benefit societies of artisans and paid for Masses for the dead. They were very strong in Norfolk.

(2) The new lay landlords of the old abbey lands proved hard masters to the peasants.

(3) The low wages and the high price of corn owing to the growth of sheep-farming and of the enclosure of commons caused much distress.

(4) The coinage was debased.

Ket's insurrection in Norfolk, **1549**, not religious but economic, due to the suppression of guilds, debasement of coinage, and enclosures. The rebels captured Norwich, but were routed at Mousehold Hill by Dudley Earl of Warwick.

D. France.

War with France. Somerset failed to secure the alliance of the Emperor against France.

II. **Fall of Somerset.**

A. Due to the jealousy of Warwick and certain of the nobles.

(1) The nobles hated him for his arrogance to them and his sympathy with the people.

(2) He had incurred much unpopularity for executing his brother, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, who had plotted against him. The sentence was deserved, but Sudeley was executed by Bill of Attainder, and did not receive a fair trial.

B. He had real sympathy with the Reformation and with the poor. His opposition to enclosures led to lack of energy in putting down Ket's rebellion. He set up a Court of Requests in his own house to ensure justice for the poor.

C. He saw the need of uniting England and Scotland.

D. But he was utterly unpractical, and failed in all his undertakings.

E. He lost his office of Protector in **1549**, and was unjustly executed for conspiracy against Warwick in **1552**.

For references see page 297.

NORTHUMBERLAND

John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, was the son of Henry VII's minister Dudley, executed in **1509**. At Mousehold Hill he had defeated Ket's followers; he obtained supreme power on the fall of Somerset in **1549**, and was created Duke of Northumberland in **1551**.

I. **Foreign Policy.**

A. France.
He gained peace by giving up Boulogne.

B. Scotland.
He gained peace by withdrawing the English garrisons.

II. **Domestic Policy.**

A. Failed to redress grievances, but caused great discontent by debasing the coinage.

B. **1552.** By a stringent Statute of Treasons he strengthened the position of the Council.

III. **The Reformation.**

A. He cared little for religion, but allied himself with the advanced Reformers from personal motives.

B. Completion of doctrinal changes due to the influence of Calvinists upon Cranmer, and to the growth of Protestantism. The Church of England now took practically its present form.

(1) Altars were demolished and stained windows broken.

(2) Gardiner and Bonner were deprived of their sees and replaced by advanced Protestants such as Ridley and Hooper.

(3) **1552.** Issue of a second Prayer Book, more Protestant than the first.

(4) Forty-two Articles of Religion issued.

(5) **1552.** Second Act of Uniformity passed to enforce the second Prayer Book.

C. Results.

(1) Deterioration of national character owing to the removal of the restrictions of the old religion, and the failure, or neglect, to enforce those of the new.

(2) Confusion in the service in spite of orders for its regulation.

e.g. *α.* Great differences as to material and position of the altar.

β. Great differences as to vestments. Hooper of Gloucester objected to what he called the "livery of the harlot of Babylon."

(3) Gross misuse of churches, e.g. as stables.

(4) Continued seizure of Church lands (Somerset and Warwick took lands worth £5,000,000).

(5) Gross abuse of patronage. Livings were often presented to servants and gamekeepers, the patron taking the revenue.

IV. **His Attempt to Maintain the Protestant Succession.**

Owing to his support of the advanced Reformers Warwick incurred the enmity of Mary. He was, therefore, bound to change the succession to protect himself. Edward VI, a strong Protestant, was willing to ensure the Protestant succession. He accepted the illegitimacy of Mary and Elizabeth and left the throne by will to Lady Jane Grey, granddaughter of Henry VIII's sister Mary and her second husband, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and wife of Lord Guildford Dudley. But on the death of Edward VI, in **1553**, Northumberland, deserted by the navy and by his own army, was captured, and, although he had actually proclaimed Mary as Queen, he was executed on August 22nd, **1553**.

V. **Character.**

Unscrupulous, greedy, ruthless, ambitious, more corrupt than Somerset, whose high ideals he did not share. His fall was due to

(1) His unpopular Reformation policy,

(2) His treatment of Mary,

(3) His utter failure to give the country good government.

References :

A. *Age of Elizabeth*, Book I, chap. II, by Creighton, Longmans.

C. *The Prince and the Pauper*, by Mark Twain, Chatto and Windus.

The Colloquies of Edward Osborne, by Manning, Routledge.

MARY, 1553–1558

"A Parenthesis in the Tudor Period"

I. **To Wyatt's Rebellion, 1554.**

A. Mary's accession was popular. The violence of the Reformers had roused great opposition, and most of the nation were glad to accept Roman Catholicism "as in the last years of Henry VIII," including

1. The release of Gardiner, who was made Chancellor,
2. The restoration of the Mass,
3. The suppression of the Prayer Books,
4. The repeal of the Acts of Edward VI,
5. The expulsion of married clergy from their livings, and deposition of Edward VI's bishops.

But the restoration of Henry VIII's system satisfied the nation.

B. The Spanish Marriage.

1. Mary hoped by it to remove the danger of the accession of Mary Stuart, and she was in love with Philip.
2. The marriage was intensely unpopular in England. People feared that England would become a dependency of Spain, that the Papal authority would be restored, that the Reformation would be crushed and the Inquisition introduced, and that England would be compelled to fight France on behalf of Spain.

Many wished Mary to marry Courtenay Earl of Devon, the last of the Yorkists. The proposed Spanish marriage led, in 1554, to the insurrection of Sir Thomas Wyatt, who attacked London, but was captured. Lady

Jane Grey was now executed, although she had no connection with the rising. Gardiner tried to prove the complicity of Elizabeth, and urged Mary to execute her.

The failure of this insurrection was the turning point of the reign. It crushed Protestantism (leniency was no longer safe) and ensured Mary's marriage July, **1554**, in Winchester Cathedral.

II. **Policy of Reconciliation with Rome following her Marriage.**

A. **1554.** Pole's attainder was reversed. He was appointed Papal Legate and granted absolution to Parliament.

B. **1554.** Henry VIII's laws were annulled, and Gardiner, who had supported Henry VIII, now desired the restoration of Papal Supremacy to ensure the continuance of Roman Catholicism.

C. But Parliament refused to restore the abbey lands, or to repeal the Statute of Praemunire, and restored annates to the Pope only after a severe struggle.

III. **Persecution.**

1555. Re-enactment of the Statute De Heretico Comburendo and the burning of Rogers, Canon of St. Paul's, at London, and Bishops Hooper at Gloucester, Ferrar at Caermarthen, and Latimer and Ridley at Oxford.

A. Due to the Queen, embittered by Philip's neglect (he had returned to the Continent when he saw he could get no real power in England), by disease, by jealousy of Elizabeth and failure of an heir. She hoped that persecution would make Protestants recant and honestly desired to save their souls by burning their bodies.

B. Charles V, fearing the temper of the people, urged moderation.

C. Gardiner and Bonner at first supported the policy, but became tired of it, viewing with suspicion the action of the Spaniards, who were the real instigators of persecution. Mary, who was perfectly sincere, sent "rattling letters" to the Council to stir up the bishops to greater zeal. Death of Gardiner, November, **1555.**

D. Cranmer, burned at Oxford March, **1556**, was the most important martyr. Mary hated him for his share in the divorce and Northumberland's plot, for Cranmer's Bible and the Prayer Book. He had been consecrated by the Pope, therefore the authority of the Pope was necessary for his degradation. It was thought that Cranmer's execution would terrify people of lower rank, but "Cranmer's martyrdom was the death-blow to Catholicism in England."

E. The dioceses of Canterbury and London had most victims, nearly all in humble positions, and about three hundred suffered martyrdom in all.

F. Persecution utterly failed. The courage shown by the martyrs confirmed others ("If the Protestants had not known how to govern they knew how to die") and fierce hatred against Romanism was caused by the fires of Smithfield. A rising took place in the Isle of Wight, and owing to French aid given to these rebels, Philip induced Mary to engage in the French war which led to the defeat of the French at St. Quentin by the Spaniards and English, and to the capture of Calais by the Duke of Guise in **1558**.

IV. **November, 1558, Mary died.**

She was brave, sincere and deeply religious, but her policy defeated its own ends and won for her the nickname of "Bloody Mary." Her last years were utterly miserable, and she is one of the saddest figures in the history of England.

References:

B. Martyrdom of Latimer and Ridley. Froude's *History*, Vol. V, pp. 556–8.

C. *Tower of London*, by Ainsworth, Routledge, and *Francis Cludde*, by Weyman, Unwin.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF ELIZABETH AT HER ACCESSION

I. **Religious.**

A. The Catholics desired to be united to Rome again, and to have their old position restored. They tended to uphold Mary Stuart's claim and were inclined to seek the support of Spain.

B. The Protestants had been made fiercer by persecution, and some (influenced by Calvin) wished to carry the Reformation further.

C. But many men, caring really little for religion, wanted peace, hated persecution, and were ready to accept any reasonable arrangement. It was these who supported the Queen in making a compromise in matters of religion. She kept some Catholic and some Protestant doctrines, but opposed the extreme section of both parties.

II. **Political.**

A. Spain.

(1) Philip, the champion of Catholicism, wished to make England a Catholic country and to marry Elizabeth.

(2) But France was jealous of Spain, and Philip feared that if Elizabeth died, Mary Stuart, wife of the Dauphin, would become Queen of England and unite England and France. Thus Elizabeth was able to play one off against the other, and so to diminish the danger. Later Philip was kept busy owing to the revolt in the Netherlands, which broke out in 1572 with the capture of Brill by De la Marck and the "Beggars of the Sea," and with his attempt to conquer Portugal and to resist the Turks who were threatening his territories in the East.

B. France.

(1) Mary Queen of Scots had married Francis II and claimed the English throne through her grandmother, Margaret Tudor (daughter of Henry VII, who had married James IV). Also, Elizabeth had been declared unable to succeed by Henry VIII, and Catholics did not acknowledge the divorce of Katharine of Arragon.

(2) France had command of the Channel.

(3) But the jealousy of France and Spain helped Elizabeth, who pretended that she would marry a French prince, and so gained the temporary support of France.

(4) The Huguenots were becoming powerful and checked the Catholics in France.

C. Scotland.

(1) Grave danger from Scotland where Mary of Guise, widow of James V and mother of Mary Queen of Scots, had made a strong French party. Mary claimed the crown matrimonial for Francis II.

(2) But the French party were opposed by the Reformers, who tended to make an alliance with England, and by the Treaty of Edinburgh, **1560**, the French withdrew from Scotland. Francis II died in **1560**.

III. **Lack of Money and grave financial disorder due to—**

A. The expenses of the French war in Mary's reign,

B. The cost of restoring annates and Church lands held by the crown to Rome in Mary's reign,

C. The rapacity of reforming nobles in Edward VI's reign,

D. The debasement of the coinage.

E. But Elizabeth was economical, except in dress, and avoided war for a long time, and Cecil proved a most able financier.

IV. **Disorder in Ireland,** owing to the violence of Reformers in Edward VI's reign, to the confiscation of land by Mary, and the settlement of King's and Queen's County (called after Philip and Mary).

The recognition of Shan O'Neill as Earl of Tyrone led to comparative peace for a time.

V. **Social Discontent.**

Continuance of enclosures, growth of poverty and vagrancy among the peasants, who suffered greatly from plague and famine.

VI. **Elizabeth had no Regular Fleet,** and only a small army badly equipped

Reference:

A. Froude's *History*, Vol. VI, pp. 103–12.

THE SETTLEMENT OF RELIGION

Grave difficulties—the Catholics desiring the restoration of Roman Catholicism, the Protestants desiring revenge for the Marian persecution. The question was complicated by the inability of the Catholics to recognise Anne Boleyn's marriage and by their attitude to Philip of Spain and Mary Queen of Scots.

But the majority of Englishmen cared little for religion. They wanted peace. Elizabeth had no real religious feeling (she had feigned Catholicism during Mary's reign), and aimed at uniting moderate men by adopting "a middle way." She tried to ensure outward conformity with religion established by law, and to uphold her own ecclesiastical supremacy. Said "she would not animate Romanism, but neither would she tolerate newfangledness."

I. **The Elizabethan Compromise.**

The restoration to the position "as in the last years of Henry VIII" was now impossible.

A. Elizabeth tried to please the Protestants by

1559. α. Restoring the Prayer Book of Edward VI.

1559. β. Re-enacting the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy.

1571. γ. Giving royal authority to the Thirty-nine Articles to which the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI had been reduced by Convocation in **1563.**

B. And Catholics by

1559. α. Making some modifications in the Prayer Book.

β. Elizabeth took the title of "supreme governor," not "head" of the Church.

γ. The Oath of Supremacy was administered cautiously.

δ. Vestments were kept.

C. She refused to identify herself with any religious party on the Continent.

(1) Cecil wanted the Queen to form a league of Protestants against Catholics. She wisely refused, as this would have made her a party chief.

(2) **1561.** Pope Pius IV wanted her to send representatives to the Council of Trent, but she refused.

D. The Compromise won over the moderates (though thirteen bishops refused to accept it) and saved England in **1569** (the only rebellion in England under Elizabeth). It caused the failure of the mission of Campion and Parsons in **1580**, and of the Armada, **1588** (the Roman Catholics did not want England to become a province of Spain). But the Puritans were not satisfied, and this led later to the Civil War, **1642**, when "to their hatred of the Church was added hatred of the Crown."

II. **Divisions among the Protestants.**

A. The Puritans.

A party within the Church, not opposed to the form of the established Government, but to details, e.g. the surplice, the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, and the kneeling posture at the Communion. Many courtiers, including Leicester, supported the Puritans, who were very powerful in Parliament.

(1) Archbishop Parker, appointed in **1559**, issued the *Book of Advertisements* to ensure uniformity in the order of service, and tried to enforce the general use of the surplice. Many London clergy consequently resigned. Growth of division in the Church, but no question of doctrine arose at first.

(2) Growth of "Prophesyings"—meetings of clergy for prayer not in accordance with the service book. Archbishop Grindal was suspended, **1577–1582**, for not opposing them.

(3) On the death of Grindal, **1583**, Whitgift was appointed Archbishop to check Puritanism and to ensure conformity.

α. The power of the Court of High Commission,[1] established in **1559** and reorganised in **1583**, made him independent of Parliament.

β. Clergymen and schoolmasters were compelled to accept the Articles and Prayer Book and to take the Oath of Supremacy.

γ. The "ex-officio" oath compelled clergymen to answer all questions put to them and thus, contrary to the principles of English law, made men incriminate themselves.

δ. Restriction of printing to London and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, owing to the large issue of controversial pamphlets, **1585. 1585.**

B. The Presbyterians.

Attacked the system of Church government, not merely details of service.

1572. Thomas Cartwright, Lady Margaret Professor of Theology at Cambridge, published the *Admonition to Parliament*, attacking the system of Episcopacy and supporting Church government by presbyters and elders.

[1] The Court of High Commission consisted of forty-four members, three (one being a bishop) constituting a quorum. The Court dealt with breaches of the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy and with offences against morality, and punished clergymen who held doctrines contrary to the Thirty-nine Articles.

C. The Brownists or Independents.

Held that each congregation was separate, deciding its own affairs and doctrine. The anger of the Queen aroused by "Martin Marprelate's" attacks on Episcopacy, which began in **1586**. Imprisonment of Udal, and execution, **1593**, of Penry, the supposed authors.

1593. Statutes passed against Brownists. All over sixteen absenting themselves from church to be imprisoned. The first statutes against Protestants.

[The term "Puritans" is often used to include Presbyterians and Brownists.]

III. **The Roman Catholics.**

The difficulty of religion was increased by political difficulties, e.g. the relations to Mary Queen of Scots and Spain. The Compromise won over the moderates, not the extremists.

A. Roman Catholic plots.

(1) **1570**. Pius V, after the rebellion of the northern earls, **1569**, issued a Bull of excommunication and deposition against Elizabeth. Thus "Romanism became identical with disloyalty," and toleration was no longer possible. Therefore, **1571**, strong penal statutes were passed against the Roman Catholics.

(2) **1571**. The Ridolfi Plot to assassinate Elizabeth and marry Mary to the Duke of Norfolk. Execution of Norfolk.

(3) **1583**. Throgmorton's plot to murder Elizabeth and make Mary Queen with the help of Spain; therefore strong statutes were passed against the Jesuits, who were ordered to leave England within forty days.

(4) **1586**. Babington's plot, followed by the execution of Mary, **1587**.

No Roman Catholic plots occurred after this, and this fact shows that Roman Catholic opposition to Elizabeth was largely political. The general loyalty of Roman Catholics was shown at the Armada **1588**.

B. Papal attack of Gregory XIII.

(1) The Jesuit Mission to England.

Increase in the number of Jesuits in England owing to the arrival of the Seminary Priests, trained at the Seminary of Douay, founded by William Allen, an Englishman, in 1568. They came to England about 1574.

a. In 1580, at the request of the Seminary Priests, the Jesuits Campion and Parsons came.

1. They prevented the extinction of Catholicism in England.

2. They endangered Elizabeth's religious settlement.

β. 1581. Statutes were passed imposing the penalty of high treason for converting to or accepting Roman Catholicism. The Mass was absolutely forbidden; attendance at church was made compulsory. These statutes were rigidly enforced. Campion was executed, "although, apart from his religious belief, no disloyalty was proved against him"; 204 Roman Catholics were executed, mainly for religion, though in some cases they were obviously disloyal.

The attempt of Campion and Parsons failed owing to the readiness of the majority of Englishmen to accept Elizabeth's settlement.

(2) In Scotland.

1579. Esmé Stuart, a connection of James VI, was sent to win him over to Catholicism. In 1581 he ensured the execution of Morton the Regent, a friend of Elizabeth, but failed to win over James, who knew that friendship with Elizabeth was essential for his succession to the English crown, and who hated Presbyterianism and Popery. 1582. James was carried off by the Protestant nobles in the "Raid of Ruthven," and Esmé Stuart fled.

(3) Ireland.

1580. Rebellion in the south-west was crushed at Smerwick. Slaughter of Spanish supporters (page 320).

There was little trouble with the Roman Catholics after the Armada.

References:

A. Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, chaps. III. and IV.

C. *The Black Familiars*, by Walford, Clarke and Co.

ELIZABETH'S FOREIGN POLICY

There were two great European Houses:—

The Hapsburgs, who ruled Austria, much of Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, and the Indies. At their head was Philip, who wished to add England to his possessions and to marry Elizabeth.

The Valois, who ruled France and were powerful in Scotland through Mary of Guise, the widow of James V and mother of Mary Queen of Scots.

Note the importance of the marriages of sovereigns in those days. Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, said of Elizabeth, "I see clearly that all will turn upon the husband whom this woman will choose."

I. **The Scotch Period (1558-1568).**

A. Protestantism was strong in Scotland. Many Protestant refugees had come from England in Mary's reign. The nobles the "Lords of the Congregation" feared annexation to France, and appealed to England for help.

Cecil supported their cause because it would check the aggression of the Guises, and would form a protection against a Scotch attack on England. Others opposed them through fear that France and Spain would unite to prevent the union of England and Scotland, while Elizabeth, a strong supporter of royalty, objected to helping rebels, and disapproved of Knox's extreme Calvinism. She refused to marry Arran, the former Regent.

1560. The English fleet helped to capture Leith. By the Treaty of Edinburgh the French withdrew from Scotland. The Lords of the Congregation formally adopted the Genevan faith.

B. The death of Francis II, **1560**, diminished the danger of the union of France and Scotland, but gained more support for Mary in Scotland owing to the weakening of her connection with France. In **1561** Mary returned and promised religious toleration in Scotland.

C. Mary in Scotland.

(1) Owing to the weakening of the power of the Guises in France, Mary tried to win over the English Roman Catholics by marrying her cousin Darnley, a Catholic, the grandson of Margaret Tudor, and thus gave up her previous policy of nominal friendship with Elizabeth. The Earl of Moray (Mary's half-brother), the Protestant leader, opposed Mary. He was defeated, and fled to England **1565**. Complete change in Mary's policy.

a. She demanded recognition as Elizabeth's successor.

β. She determined to establish Roman Catholicism in Scotland.

(2) **1566.** The murder of Rizzio by agreement of Moray and Darnley. Pretended reconciliation of Darnley and Mary. Birth of James.

(3) The Bond of Craigmillar between the nobles (Bothwell, Huntly, and Argyll) to kill Darnley for deserting them and becoming reconciled with Mary.

(4) **1567.** Murder of Darnley at the Kirk o' Field, a lonely house outside Edinburgh, whither he had gone by Mary's suggestion. The house blown up, but Darnley's body showed no marks of burning.

(5) Mary married Bothwell. This marriage ruined her cause, for Bothwell was generally regarded as Darnley's murderer, although a packed jury had declared him innocent.

(6) **1567**. Mary was defeated at Carberry Hill and (**1568**) Langside. Elizabeth forbade her execution by the Scotch, who had obtained the "Casket Letters," which were supposed to prove that Mary was an accomplice in the murder of Darnley.

(7) Escape of Mary to England after Langside. Her presence in England caused Elizabeth great difficulty. Elizabeth might

α. Let Mary go to France; there would then be danger of French intervention in Scotland, but it is doubtful whether the religious wars in France would have rendered active intervention possible.

β. Give Mary up to Moray, who was bound to keep her in subjection to ensure his own safety.

γ. Restore her to the Scottish throne under English control, but this was impossible until she was proved innocent of crime.

A Commission was established at York to try Mary, possibly in hope of inducing her, by threat of revealing her crimes, to give up the Scottish crown. The Commission was suddenly hushed up.

δ. Keep Mary in England. This plan was adopted, although it added to the danger of foreign intervention and of plots in England.

II. England and France.

A. Until **1567** France was closely connected with Scotland.

(1) The original object of France, led by the Guises, was to ensure the union of England, Scotland, and France under Mary Queen of Scots and Francis II. The French had "one foot in Calais and the other in Scotland," and also commanded the Channel.

(2) But the Treaty of Edinburgh, **1560**, the rise of the Reformers in Scotland under Knox, and the death of Francis II, led to the dissolution of the connection between France and Scotland.

(3) The power of France was weakened by the division of interests between the Guises and Catharine de
1562 Medici, the rise of the Huguenots, and the alliance with Elizabeth, to whom Havre was given as a pledge.
1563 The Duke of Guise was assassinated, Catharine de Medici made peace with the Huguenots by the pacification of Amboise, and all united to recapture Havre from the English.

B. **1567–1585.** Alliance between France and England.

(1) The danger of a union between France and Scotland had passed owing to the murder of Darnley, which discredited Mary, and to the recognition that the real danger to France and England came from Spain. This danger was aggravated by the success of Alva in the Netherlands, and by the Bull of Excommunication and Deposition issued by Pius V against Elizabeth **1570.**

(2) **1570.** Closer alliance with France owing to the success of the Huguenots under Coligny. Therefore proposals were made for the marriage of Elizabeth with Anjou (afterwards Henry III), supported by Burleigh, who wished for a direct heir to the English throne, and realised the danger from Spain.

(3) **1572.** Further alliance with France arranged by Catharine de Medici, partly owing to the defeat of the Turks at Lepanto **1571**, which strengthened Philip's power. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew, August 24th, **1572** (due to the jealousy of Catharine of the growing influence of Coligny) did not break the alliance.

(4) Proposed marriage of Elizabeth with Anjou (formerly Alençon) because Elizabeth wished to keep her influence over the Netherlands, the Protectorate of which had been offered to Anjou.

(5) **1584.** Anjou died. Henry of Navarre became heir to the throne, and the active opposition between him and the Catholic League (headed by the Guises) made impossible the intervention of France in England, while Henry, who became Henry IV in **1589**, continued his opposition to Spain until **1598**, by which time the danger of foreign interference in England had passed away.

III. **England and Spain.**

(1) **Up to 1585.**

Apparent danger from Spain. Philip wanted to marry Elizabeth. Norfolk favoured the Spaniards, who helped the conspirators in the Ridolfi Plot **1571**, and sent unsuccessful help to the Irish at Smerwick **1580**.

But Spain was not as dangerous as people thought. Her strength was engaged against the Turks, the Portuguese, and the Netherlands. Philip was afraid to overthrow Elizabeth because the only alternative was Mary, whose accession meant the influence of France.

IV. **Events leading up to the Armada.**

A. The Netherlands.

Elizabeth at first refused to accept the Protectorate over Holland, but many English volunteers and much money were sent to William of Orange, owing to the anger felt in England at the persecution of the Protestants in the Netherlands.

1568. Elizabeth seized ships carrying pay to Alva's soldiers, but sent little help to William of Orange, because of the nominal peace between England and Spain, and because she objected to helping rebels.

1585. She sent Leicester in command of an English force and made open war on Spain in the Netherlands because of the assassination of William of Orange **1584**, the loss of the French alliance owing to the League, and the capture of Antwerp by Parma **1585**.

B. Attacks on the Spanish Main.

(1) Failure of Hawkins' attempt to open up trade with the "Spanish Main" [i.e. Spanish Mainland].

(2) The Spaniards claimed the West Indies and Spanish Main owing to a Bull granted by Pope Alexander VI **1493**, dividing the New World between Spain and Portugal, and strongly resented the attempts of Raleigh and Gilbert to found colonies in America.

(3) There was much piracy in the West Indies by English sailors, who were cruelly tortured as heretics when caught.

(4) Drake's voyage round the world, **1577–1580** (page 327).

α. Much plunder taken from the Spaniards owing to the sack of Valparaiso, and the capture of a great Spanish treasure-ship. Drake's vessel, the *Golden Hind*, was ballasted with silver.

β. On Drake's return, Elizabeth knighted her "little pirate," thus showing approval of his actions.

γ. This voyage was of great importance owing to the development of naval tactics subsequently used against the Armada, and to the valuable experience gained by the sailors.

C. Execution of Mary Queen of Scots, **1587**.

(1) It is doubtful whether she was a party to the plots of assassination, and her detention in England was unjust. But she undoubtedly encouraged rebellion and was a source of danger to Elizabeth and England. Elizabeth was justified in authorising the execution by the interests of her people and by the ideas of the time. Elizabeth signed the warrant, the Council sent it and delivery was as necessary as signature. The responsibility was thus shared between Elizabeth and the Council, but she showed the greatest meanness in endeavouring to avoid all responsibility and in punishing her faithful servants, Burleigh and Davison, for carrying out her own orders.

(2) Philip, as a descendant of John of Gaunt, was the next Roman Catholic heir, and Mary left him the throne by will. Some Roman Catholics refused to acknowledge the right of the Protestant James VI to succeed Elizabeth.

(3) The Pope urged Philip to undertake a crusade against England.

D. The religious difference.

(1) Philip, who was annoyed because Elizabeth refused to marry him, was the Catholic champion, while England was officially Protestant.

(2) The feeling against Spain was aggravated by the cruelties of Alva in the Low Countries, by cruelties to English sailors in the West Indies, by the share of Spain in the plots against England, and by the Jesuit intrigues (pp. 305, 306).

E. The victory of Don John (Philip's half-brother) over the Turks at Lepanto **1571** secured the eastern part of Philip's dominions. The capture of Portugal **1580** gave him a strong fleet and a colonial empire which made up for the loss of Holland.

1587. The Armada was delayed by the victory of Henry IV over the League at Courtras and by the "singeing of the King of Spain's beard" by Drake at Cadiz, which compelled Philip to delay the departure of the Armada until the next year, and greatly increased the cost of the expedition.

. The Armada.

The object was to conquer England by bringing over from Flanders the Spanish army of the Duke of Parma, one of the greatest soldiers of the time.

A. In England.

(1) Outburst of enthusiastic patriotism against Spain. Lord Howard of Effingham, often wrongly described as a Roman Catholic, commanded the English fleet. There was no Roman Catholic rising in England in favour of Spain, but Protestants and Catholics united to prevent England from becoming a Spanish province.

(2) Organisation of the army and navy. Enormous contributions of money, arms, and men; a camp was formed at Tilbury to protect London. If Parma had landed he would have had to face an army larger, though less efficient, than his own.

B. The Armada, which had been forced by stress of weather to put into Corunna to refit, was seen off the Lizard and sailed full speed up the Channel to join Parma. The English cut off many stragglers. General engagement off Portland. Capture of a great galleon off the Isle of Wight. The Armada reached Calais. Fireships were sent by the English into Calais harbour. Great damage was caused by the collision of Spanish ships in their frantic efforts to escape the fireships. Victory of Hawkins off Gravelines. A southerly gale drove the Spaniards northwards, and only 53 out of 132 ships got back to Spain past the west coast of Scotland and Ireland. The inscription on the commemorative medal is "Deus afflavit et dissipati sunt."

C. Comparison of the two fleets.

(1) The English ships were lighter than the great Spanish galleons, much easier to handle, sailed faster, fewer in number (80 to 132). The Spanish ships were badly provisioned.

(2) The English had more sailors than the Spaniards, and they were very skilful owing to the training of the "sea dogs" in the Channel and the West Indies. They used the new naval tactics developed by Drake, according to which the vessel itself, and not the soldiers it carried, formed the fighting unit; manœuvring and shooting were as important as boarding; and thus a naval battle became a different operation from a battle on land. The firing of the English was quicker and much more accurate than that of the Spaniards.

(3) The Spaniards carried many soldiers who were useless except for boarding, which the English easily avoided. The decks of the Spanish ships were overcrowded. The Spanish sailors were less skilful than the English.

(4) The English leaders (Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher) were men of great skill and experience in naval war. The original Spanish admiral, Santa Cruz, died, and Medina Sidonia, his successor, was quite inexperienced, owed his appointment solely to his high rank, and was a martyr to sea-sickness, on which account he had vainly begged to be excused from serving.

VI. **The Results of the Armada.**

A. It showed the strength England had gained through Elizabeth's peace policy, and proved that England was a first-class power. "Philip's inability to conquer England was demonstrated rather than caused by the destruction of the Armada."

B. It ensured the safety of England, which had not to defend herself again from foreign foes. With the disappearance of danger from without the Parliament began to gain strength, and the strength of Parliament led ultimately to the overthrow of the Stuarts.

C. It checked the Roman Catholic reaction caused by the definition of doctrine and the reform of some evils by the Council of Trent and the missionary efforts of the Jesuits (founded by Ignatius Loyola, **1534**). Cecil said: "The Emperor is aiming at the sovereignty of Europe, which he cannot attain without the suppression of the reformed religion, and unless he crushes England he cannot crush the Reformation."

D. It confirmed the Anglican settlement in England.

E. It ensured the independence of the seven United Provinces (so called from the Union of Utrecht, made by William of Orange **1579**).

F. It helped to ensure the safety of Henry of Navarre (Henry IV, **1589**), owing to the defeat of Philip, the ally of the Guises.

G. It marks the beginning of the decay of the Spanish power.

References:

A. *Twelve English Statesmen,* "Elizabeth," chaps. III and VI. The Armada. *English Men of Action:* "Drake," chaps. IX, X, and XI.

B. *The Armada,* by Macaulay.

C. Mary Queen of Scots. *The Abbot,* by Scott, and *The Master of Gray,* by Bailey, Longmans.
Armada. *Westward Ho!* by Kingsley, and *Sir Ludar,* by Reed, Sampson Low.
France. *The House of the Wolf, Count Hannibal,* by Weyman, Longmans.
Spain. *In the Palace of the King,* by Crawford, Macmillan.
Holland. *By Pike and Dyke,* by Henty, Blackie.

VII. Foreign Policy after 1588.

A. Spain.

(1) England, saved from invasion by the defeat of the Armada, now adopted an aggressive policy. The Queen, yielding to the popular desire to follow up the success of 1588, sanctioned (1589) Drake's expedition to Portugal to set up Don Antonio as an independent king. Vigo was captured, but the attempt failed, and Drake was discredited.

(2) Therefore the Queen, apparently anxious to bring Spain to terms rather than to crush her, for a time left the task of attacking Spain to private individuals, as in earlier years.

a. 1591. Lord Thomas Howard, waiting "At Flores in the Azores" to intercept the Spanish "Plate fleet" carrying treasure from the Spanish Main, escaped from a superior Spanish fleet. The *Revenge,* commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, for fifteen hours fought single-handed against fifty-three Spanish vessels, finally sinking with many of her opponents in a great storm that followed the battle.

β. Reorganisation of the Spanish navy. General use of frigates (heavily-armed fast-sailing cruisers) and strengthening of colonial garrisons and fortifications.

γ. **1595–1596.** Expedition of Drake and Hawkins to the Spanish Main. Failure of attack on Porto Rico, now well fortified. Death of Hawkins **1595**, and Drake **1596**. Drake had taught English seamen two lessons.

1. That naval tactics were different from military, and that a naval battle was not merely a battle of soldiers on board ship.
2. That offensive operations were safer and more profitable than defensive.

(3) Through fear of the growing strength of Spain, Elizabeth in **1596** despatched an expedition under Essex and Lord Howard of Effingham, which sacked Cadiz and did enormous damage to the docks and shipping. This was the severest blow inflicted on Spain in Elizabeth's reign.

1597. Failure of an attack on the Azores by Essex.

1597. Destruction by storms of a second Armada sent by Philip II.

(4) **1598.** Death of Philip.

B. France.

(1) Assistance given by Elizabeth to Henry of Navarre, who became Henry IV, **1589**, on the assassination of Henry III (the last of the Valois) by Jacques Clement, a Dominican friar. Henry IV was strongly opposed by the Catholic League formed by the Guises, who were supported by Philip II.

1590. Henry IV defeated the League at Ivry.

1590. Henry IV besieged Paris, which was relieved by a Spanish force under Parma.

1594. Henry, believing that Paris was "worth a Mass," became a Roman Catholic and was recognised as king and secured Paris.

1598. The Edict of Nantes gave toleration to the Huguenots.

(2) **1598.** The Peace of Vervins was made between France and Spain.

C. Holland.

1596. Elizabeth made an offensive and defensive alliance with Maurice of Orange, son of William the Silent, who successfully maintained the cause of Dutch independence against Spain.

1598. Triple Alliance of England, France, and Holland.

References:

B. *The Revenge*, by Tennyson.
Ivry, by Macaulay.

C. *A Gentleman of France*, by Stanley Weyman, Longmans.

IRELAND IN TUDOR AND EARLY STUART TIMES

I. **Under Henry VIII.** (See also p. 290.)

A. Ready recognition of Henry VIII as Supreme Head of the Church under Christ, and little resistance to the dissolution of the monasteries. But, owing to the lack of parish priests, the dissolution proved fatal to religion and learning in Ireland.

B. But the Irish had no sympathy with the Reformation doctrines; the attempt of Cromwell to enforce Protestantism failed, and all united in defence of the Roman Catholic religion.

C. Henry's policy was on the whole conciliatory, many leading men being won over, but slow.

II. **Under Edward VI and Mary.**

A more vigorous policy was adopted; the attempt to extend the Reformation to Ireland in Edward VI's reign met with strong opposition. Although Mary restored Roman Catholicism, much discontent was caused by the plantation of English settlers in King's and Queen's County.

III. **Elizabeth**

Wished to return to the prudent policy of Henry VIII, but the natives had been alarmed by recent aggression, and

A. A rebellion under Shan O'Neill broke out in Ulster, as yet untouched by English influence. The causes were

(1) Previous attempts to enforce the Reformed religion and dispossess the Roman Catholic clergy,

(2) The confiscation of property,

(3) The ill-treatment of the people by the soldiers, who made up for inadequate pay by robbery and plunder,

(4) Changes in the land system. The land, according to Irish laws and custom, belonged to the clan. The English regarded the chief of the clan as the actual proprietor, and in case of his treason confiscated all the land, thus depriving the clan of its property.

(5) English law recognised hereditary succession, but on the death of the Earl of Tyrone the clan elected not his son but his younger brother, Shan O'Neill, to succeed him as chief of the O'Neills.

Shan rebelled and defeated the Deputy Lord Sussex, but Sir Henry Sydney succeeded in uniting the Irish clans who opposed the O'Neills and Shan was killed in a small fight **1567**.

B. **1579–1583.** Rebellion of the Earl of Desmond in Munster.

(1) This rebellion was stirred up by Stuckley, the agent of the Pope, and was a part of the "Papal attack," page 306.

(2) The Spaniards sent 800 troops to help the rebels.

Lord Grey was at first defeated, but in **1580** captured Smerwick and slew all the Spaniards. Desmond was slain in **1583.**

The English took cruel vengeance on the rebels. Munster was laid waste with fire and sword and Grey left "little but ashes and carcases," but the Irish were thoroughly cowed and gave no help to the Armada.

C. **1598.** Rebellion of Hugh O'Neill (nephew of Shan), Earl of Tyrone.

He wanted to be loyal, but was driven into revolt by the tyranny of Fitzwilliam the Deputy. The rebellion was supported by the Jesuits, and Spanish help was again given.

1598. Sir Henry Bagenal was defeated at Blackwater and this reverse was followed by a general rising.

1599. The Earl of Essex with 20,000 men failed to crush Tyrone, and practically gave him independence by a foolish treaty, for which he was recalled. Subsequently, **1601**, he was executed for treason with the approval of Elizabeth.

1601–3. Mountjoy defeated Tyrone, captured the Spaniards at Kinsale, built forts to keep down the conquered districts.

D. **1604-1614.** Sir Arthur Chichester Lord Deputy.

(1) He attempted to make an *English* settlement.

a. Introduced the English land system. Set aside the common ownership of land and introduced fixed rents.

β. Broke the tribal power of the chiefs. Took away their hereditary jurisdiction, introduced trial by jury and English law.

γ. Used the "Castle Chamber" Court to compel all to attend Episcopalian services and to expel priests.

Subsequently he allowed a large measure of toleration to Roman Catholics.

(2) **1607.** The Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell fled from Ireland, and two-thirds of Northern Ireland, about 2,000,000 acres, were declared forfeited by their flight.

(3) The Plantation of Ulster **1610.**

Chichester wished to give liberal grants to the natives before introducing colonists from Great Britain.

The Council gave 150,000 acres to English and Scotch settlers and expelled all the Irish from this district. Civil servants received 45,500 acres and 70,000 were kept for the Irish. The Plantation

α. Led to great commercial and industrial prosperity and the development of agriculture. Towns grew, especially Londonderry (founded by the City of London) and Belfast.

β. Ulster, previously irreconcilable, became Protestant and friendly towards England. Hence the rise of the Orangemen in the eighteenth century.

γ. But very bitter feeling was aroused among the Irish owing to the great injustice of taking their land from many who had not been guilty of rebellion. This resentment was one of the causes of the Irish Rebellion, **1641.**

References :

A. J. R. Green's *Short History*, chap. VII, sect. 8.
The Plantation of Ulster. Gardiner's *History of England*, Vol. I, chap. X.

C. *With Maelcho and Essex in Ireland*, by Lawless, Methuen.
Ulrick the Ready, by O'Grady, Downey.

ELIZABETH AND PARLIAMENT

I. The Constitutional Position of Elizabeth.

She was a Tudor and a strong believer in monarchy. The necessity for a strong government made her despotic in the early part of her reign. Elizabeth by her proclamations and by the great power exerted by the Royal Council limited the power of Parliament, while illegal commitments and unjust trials (a trial for treason was usually a judicial murder) caused great dissatisfaction. A section of the courtiers supported the Queen owing to their belief that the Queen was above the law. But the Queen, though despotic, shaped her policy generally in accordance with the wishes of the people, and by the exercise of her great tact retreated without loss of dignity when resistance proved too strong, e.g. **1601** she withdrew injurious monopolies in accordance with the wishes of Parliament.

II. Great Increase in the Power of Parliament.

A. The power of Parliament had been shown under Henry VIII. In **1513** the House of Commons compelled the Sheriff of London to release an arrested member named Ferrers, and Henry VIII supported this assertion of Parliamentary privilege.

B. Parliament had refused to vote the restoration of the abbey lands under Mary.

C. Its increased power under Elizabeth was due

- α. To the growing importance of the country members enriched by the spoils of the monasteries and often trained in the New Learning;
- β. To the great increase of wealth among borough members owing to the development of trade.
- γ. The Puritans were strong in Parliament, and the Puritan spirit was naturally opposed to despotism.

δ. The defeat of the Armada removed all danger from abroad, gave ample time for the consideration of domestic grievances, and rendered Elizabeth's despotic power no longer necessary for the safety of England.

ε. The power of Parliament was shown by the efforts of the Crown to control elections through the sheriffs and by the creation of thirty[1] new boroughs in Elizabeth's reign, which, it was hoped, would elect Crown nominees.

III. **The Exercise of Power by Parliament under Elizabeth.**

Parliament asserted the privileges of the House of Commons.

(1) **1575.** Ordered the release of the servant of a member who had been arrested; i.e. claimed freedom from arrest of members and their servants.

(2) Asserted the right to expel members;

e.g. **1585.** Expelled Dr. Parry for calling a Bill against the Jesuits "cruel and bloody."

(3) Asserted the right to punish bribery at elections. Punished the borough of Westbury for such bribery.

(4) Not so successful in asserting the right to freedom of speech. The Queen tried to restrict discussion by—

a. Messages to the Speaker or the House.

1566. She forbade further discussion of her marriage.

1571. She ordered the Commons to discuss only such matters as "should be propounded to them."

1576. Peter Wentworth, M.P. for Tregony (Cornwall), protested against the Queen's interference with the rights of the House.

[1] Taswell-Langmead is apparently wrong in giving sixty-two.

1588. The Queen (for the second time) interfered in the case of a member who proposed alterations in the Prayer Book, and Wentworth therefore asked the Speaker whether members could not speak freely on all subjects, whether anybody but Parliament could alter the laws, and whether the Queen was independent of Parliament.

1593. Elizabeth defined privilege of speech as "not to speak every one what he listeth or what cometh into his brain to utter. Your privilege is Aye or No."

β. Arbitrary commitment or suspension of offending M.P.'s by the Queen.

1. Wentworth was imprisoned three times.
2. Strickland (who had proposed a reform of the Prayer Book) was told not to take his seat.
3. But in several cases the Queen yielded to protests of Parliament.

γ. The Commons, however, asserted their right to discuss matters of religion, trade, and foreign policy, which previously had been regarded as coming within the sovereign's prerogative.

(5) **1601.** The dispute about monopolies illustrates the success of the Commons.

α. Monopolies though illegal were regarded as concerning the Queen and Council only as being trade questions.

β. They had been granted on common necessaries of life, and it was said "if no remedy is found for these, bread will be there (i.e. included with other monopolies) before the next Parliament."

γ. Strong opposition of the Queen to Parliament. She begged them not to take away "her prerogative, which is the choicest flower in her garden," but seeing the temper of the Commons, she submitted with her usual tact, and most of the monopolies (not *all*, in spite of the Queen's promise) were withdrawn.

References:

A. *Twelve English Statesmen*, "Elizabeth," chap. xi.
Taswell-Langmead's *Constitutional History*, pp. 390–404.

THE POOR LAW OF 1601

I. **Early History of the Poor Law.**

A. In early times the relief of the poor was regarded as the duty of the Church and part of the tithes was used for this purpose.

Later the monasteries afforded relief by giving alms, provisions[1] and lodging, but much harm was done through indiscriminate generosity.

B. The growth of poverty and the resulting danger of riots and disturbance led to legislation.

(1) Edward III. Statute of Labourers forbade the giving of help to the able-bodied, and ordered them to secure work under pain of imprisonment.

(2) Henry VIII. A law was passed authorising collections on Sunday for the poor, distinguishing between able-bodied and impotent poor, to whom alone a licence to beg could be given.

II. **During the Later Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries there was a Great Increase in Pauperism.**

A. The dissolution of the households of the great nobles, due to the Wars of the Roses and the policy of Henry VII, led to a great increase of unemployment.

[1] At Holy Cross near Winchester a "dole" of bread and beer is still given to applicants.

B. The growth of enclosures deprived the poor of valuable rights of grazing and of cutting fodder and bedding.

C. The extension of sheep-farming, which required fewer labourers than agriculture, threw many out of employment.

D. The decay of the town guilds which had relieved their poorer members increased distress among artisans.

E. The suppression of the monasteries caused great hardships in country districts by the sudden withdrawal of long-established relief.

III. **Elizabeth's Measures.**

A. **1572.** Mayors and justices were to assess inhabitants for the Poor Rate, and overseers were appointed to look after paupers.

B. The Act of **1601.**

α. Each parish to be liable for its own poor,

β. Overseers (who included churchwardens) to levy a poor rate on the land,

γ. The rate to be used to find work for the able-bodied, and to relieve infirm paupers who had no relatives to help them.

Thus State intervention took the place of voluntary effort, and the duty of relief was thrown "on the Parish."

Difficulty arose later owing to the migration of paupers to the better regulated parishes, and the consequent increase of the poor rate in these places. To meet this difficulty in **1662** a law was passed providing for the removal from the parish within 40 days of any newcomer likely to become a charge on the poor rate. Any one who had lived for 40 days in a parish was considered to have acquired "settlement," and thus had a claim to relief in time of need.

The arrangements thus made continued in force until the Poor Law Amendment Act, **1834.**

Reference:

A. Taswell-Langmead's *Constitutional History*, note on pp. 396–400.

"THE SPACIOUS TIMES OF GREAT ELIZABETH"

The Elizabethan age was a period of great progress in many directions, of new and varied interests and stirring events. This activity due to

α. The settlement of the religious question in England and the defeat of the Armada. These relieved men's minds of much anxiety and enabled them to turn their attention to other objects.

β. The Renaissance made its influence felt. "Men opened their eyes and saw." Extension of learning.

γ. The discovery of America and the extension of the known world.

The varied interests of the times included

A. Religion. The Elizabethan compromise, rise of the Puritans, dangers (real and apparent) from Roman Catholicism (pp. 305 and 306).

B. Intimate relations with France, Scotland, Spain and the Netherlands (p. 307).

C. The age of geographical discovery, due largely to rivalry with Spain, and to attempts to discover the north-west passage to the East Indies.

(1) Famous voyages.

α. 1577–1580. Drake's voyage round the world. He sailed round Cape Horn and up the west coast of South America, hoping to find a passage into Hudson's Bay. Off Vancouver he found some Chinese pilots, who piloted him across the Pacific. Visited Java. Returned home round the Cape of Good Hope. The Treaty of Ternate, which Drake made with the Sultan of the Spice Islands, led to the beginning of English trade in the East Indies.

β. Frobisher and Davis (seeking the north-west passage). The former sighted Greenland, the latter sailed through Davis' Straits into Baffin's Bay.

γ. **1595.** Raleigh's voyage to Guiana. Exploration of the Orinoco.

(2) The expansion of trade and foundation of private trading companies, not under Government direction, although founded by royal charter.

α. **1553.** Richard Chancellor, attempting to find the north-east passage, reached Archangel, and was well received by Ivan the Terrible. Subsequent foundation of the Muscovy Company.

β. Unsuccessful attempts of Hawkins, who had heard "that negro slaves were good merchandise in Hispaniola," to open up peaceful trade with the Spanish Indies. Treacherous attack of the Spaniards on Hawkins and Drake in St. Juan d'Ulloa, **1568.**

γ. **1600.** Foundation of the East India Company with the right of trading east of the Cape of Good Hope. The original aim was the Spice Islands, *not* India. The colonisation of India was "an afterthought."

δ. A period of great merchants, e.g. Sir Thomas Gresham, who founded the Royal Exchange.

(3) The beginning of colonisation.

α. **1579.** Drake, during his voyage round the world, took nominal possession on behalf of the Queen of territory in British Columbia.

β. **1583.** Gilbert took possession of Newfoundland, but did not form a regular colony.

γ. **1584.** Raleigh's unsuccessful attempt to found a settlement on the Roanoke in Virginia.

(4) The beginning of England's naval supremacy.

The skill of the Devonshire "sea dogs" was increased by Drake's voyages. Vast improvement in seamanship and gunnery. Development of naval tactics,

a naval battle henceforth different in kind from a land battle. More reliance placed on manœuvring and shooting, less on boarding (p. 314).

The Armada and the "Revenge" showed the effects of this training.

D. The Golden Age of English Literature.

(1) This due partly to the influence of the Renaissance, which had led to the deeper study of classics at the universities, to the foundation of grammar schools (devoted to classical learning), to new universities and colleges. The effect of this seen in the dramas of the "University Wits," and the classical style of Jonson's plays.

The influence of Italy, due partly to the Renaissance, was shown in

Shakespeare, e.g. *Romeo and Juliet.*

Spenser, influenced by Ariosto.

The *Sonnet*, introduced from Italy by Surrey and Wyatt, about 1540.

(2) Due also to the enthusiastic spirit of the age, which found expression in literature. "England became a nest of singing birds."

a. Drama.

Grew out of mediæval mystery and miracle plays. The first comedy, *Ralf Roister Doister*, was written about **1540** by Udal for performance by the boys of Eton. The first tragedy, *Ferrex and Porrex*, by Sackville, was published **1562**. The English drama was greatly improved by Peele, Marlowe, and Greene, the "University Wits," especially by "Kit" Marlowe, who used blank verse, "Marlowe's mighty line"; and by "rare Ben Jonson," whose methods show the influence of the classics. The English drama culminated in Shakespeare, the jubilant patriotism of whose historical plays gave fit expression to the feeling of the nation.

β. Poetry (non-dramatic).

The Faërie Queen, **1590** (in which Elizabeth was represented as Gloriana), *Sonnets*, *Prothalamium and Epithalamium* of "our sage and serious Spenser" show the effects of the Renaissance and justify their author's reputation as the poet and prophet of Beauty. The *Sonnets* of Shakespeare are marked by "a steady, soaring music," and the lyrics of Ben Jonson were successfully imitated by later poets who were "sealed of the tribe of Ben."

γ. Prose writers.

John Lyly, in *Euphues*, gave an example of the fantastic style, which was followed later by the "metaphysical" poets. Roger Ascham's *Schoolmaster* (published **1570**), and the *Ecclesiastical Polity* (**1593**) of the "judicious" Hooker show the strong influence of Latin on English prose. Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* (published **1590**), a prose romance, was the forerunner of modern fiction, and Bacon's *Essays* (first edition **1597**) give great worldly wisdom in a "succession of short sharp barks."

(3) The cause of Science was greatly promoted by the labours of Francis Bacon, who published the *Advancement of Learning* (**1605**).

References:

A. Exploration. *The Expansion of the British Empire*, by Woodward (Cambridge University Press), pp. 19–56.
Literature. *Age of Elizabeth*, Creighton, Book VII, ch. II.

B. Shakespeare, *Henry VIII*, Act V, *Scene* 5:
"This royal infant, Heaven still move about her."

C. *Penshurst Castle*, by Marshall, Seeley.
Master Skylark, by Bennett, Macmillan.
For God and Gold, by Corbett, Macmillan.
Under Drake's Flag, by Henty, Blackie.

IMPORTANCE AND CHARACTER OF ELIZABETH

I. **What Elizabeth did for England.**

A. By skilful and, at times, unscrupulous diplomacy, she gave England twenty-six years of peace, during which time the country became strong enough to resist the inevitable attack of Spain.

B. England became a first-class power, and the origin of her naval supremacy must be ascribed to Elizabeth's reign.

C. Her religious compromise satisfied moderate men, enabled the Government easily to put down the only rebellion of the reign in England (1569), and led to the union of all England against the Armada.

D. Her extraordinary tact and skilful management of Parliament postponed the inevitable struggle between despotism, which had served its purpose, and constitutional government.

II. **Her Character.**

A. She was naturally inclined to the arbitrary exercise of power and a firm believer in absolute monarchy. Hence

(1) She was unwilling to help rebels abroad (Huguenots, Dutch and Calvinists in Scotland);

(2) Her government at home was despotic.

α. Illegal imprisonment of M.P.'s for opposing her wishes.

β. Imposition of taxes by royal authority on cloth and sweet wines.

B. Her remarkable political ability was derived from Henry VIII. She had learned intrigue from the dangers of her early life, and was ever ready to use deceit and falsehood. In council she was keen, and though at times irresolute, could strike a decisive blow when necessary. She was a good judge of men, and selected her advisers well. But favourites, like Leicester, gained undue influence by flattering her exceptional vanity.

C. She had no deep religious feeling. Had been a nominal Protestant in the reign of Edward VI and a nominal Catholic under Mary.

D. She had intense love of her country, and her example was one of the chief reasons for the growth of the new spirit that characterised the age. She inspired the people, who were ignorant of the grave faults of her character.

III. Personal Characteristics.

A. An excellent classical scholar. Spoke French and Italian. Appreciated music, and was a patron of the literary men of the time.

B. Economical (except in dress), and thus Cecil was able to re-establish the financial position of the country. At times she was too economical, and her failure to supply adequate ammunition prevented the English from completing the defeat of the Armada.

C. Fond of display, of dress, of gaiety, of stately progresses through the country, which attracted the attention and aroused the admiration of her people.

D. Like her mother Anne Boleyn, she was vain and sentimental, with a great weakness for handsome men, such as Leicester, "her handsome Robin." Hence arose grave scandal and accusations of "wantonness."

E. Like her father, she was obstinate and hot-tempered. Her language was appalling at times, and she publicly boxed the ears of Essex at Court.

References:

A. J. R. Green's *Short History*, chap. VII, sect. 3.

B. *Twelve English Statesmen*, "Elizabeth," pp. 233, 239.

C. *Kenilworth*, Sir Walter Scott.

THE POSITION OF JAMES I AT HIS ACCESSION

I. James and Monarchy.

A. He was monarch of Great Britain and Ireland. The danger of a Franco-Scottish alliance was removed for ever; Henry IV and the Dutch were his allies. Thus England in **1603** held the balance of power in Western Europe.

B. James was a firm believer in absolute monarchy; he claimed that monarchy existed by Divine Right, that monarchs derived their power from God alone, and were accountable to God alone. "Although a good king will frame all his actions to be according to law, he is not bound thereto but of his own free will." Thus rebellion became a sin as well as a crime, and the people had no legal protection against the King, who declared that the privileges of Parliament were of the King's grace and not of right, and regarded the judges as royal servants.

C. James was different from the Tudors. The Tudors had exercised arbitrary power but usually had strong national support for their policy, and displayed great wisdom in selecting servants of administrative skill. James utterly failed to win the favour of the people; he had not the support of the Tudor tradition of absolute power, and after the death of Cecil (**1612**) chose unworthy servants.

II. James and Episcopacy.

A. James' ecclesiastical position was Erastian, i.e. he regarded the Church as subservient to the State. Therefore he opposed Roman Catholicism, which exalted the Pope at the expense of the King. He opposed Presbyterianism, which taught that the King was God's servant like any other man, while the Presbyterian ministers[1] thought they had a right to admonish the King. James objected also to the strong democratic tendency of Calvinism. "A Scotch presbytery agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the devil."

[1] Melville once called him "God's silly vassal."

B. The Episcopalian party was more favourable to James' theories.

(1) According to the English system James appointed the bishops, and he used them as his agents.

(2) The clergy hoped to get the help of the Crown against the lawyers, who checked the powers of the ecclesiastical courts.

(3) Both Church and King seemed in danger from the Puritans, who objected to the divine origin of Episcopacy as well as to the Divine Right of kings. James supported the bishops on the ground of "No bishop, no king." The episcopal clergy repaid him by asserting (in Cowell's *Interpreter*, 1608) "the King is above the law by his absolute power," and by abject flattery.

III. **James' Character impaired gravely the Dignity of the Crown.**

A. He possessed considerable political ability.

(1) He was anxious for a real union of England and Scotland.

(2) He was sincerely desirous of peace, and his policy of peace with Spain was supported by the fact that England possessed no effective army and had already secured all the advantages which a struggle with Spain could afford.

(3) But he lacked tact; he had little practical statesmanship; he completely failed to understand the English character and remained a foreigner in England until the end of his life. He was a very poor judge of character. Except Cecil, he depended on worthless favourites whose grave faults discredited their patron.

B. He was a man of great learning, particularly in theology. A deep student of political theory, and wrote the *True Law of Free Monarchy* to set forth his views.

But he was pedantic and vain, obstinate, made little allowance for the opinions of others, and failed to make a good use of his learning—"The wisest fool in Christendom."

C. He was lacking in self-respect and utterly undignified in person, appearance, and conduct. He had "a big head, slobbering tongue, quilted clothes, and rickety legs." He was so timid that the sight of a drawn sword made him ill.

D. His policy was affected by his poverty. He could not pay the expenses of his journey from Scotland to London. His poverty compelled him to insist on the payment of fines for recusancy and on the vexatious feudal rights of wardship and marriage. One reason for the proposed Spanish marriage was his wish for a large dowry, and grave scandal was caused by the sale of titles and ecclesiastical preferment.

V. **The diminution in the dignity and popularity of the Monarchy weakened its influence.** The aggressive assertion of the Divine Right of kings and the divine origin of Episcopacy roused the Puritan party, and led to the beginning of their opposition to crown and Church. At James' accession the Puritans, although powerful in Parliament, represented "a tendency rather than a creed." Their growth into a political party was due largely to the necessity of opposing the political and religious views of King James I.

eferences:

A. *Political History of England, 1603–1660*, by Montague pp. 1–4.

B. J. R. Green's *Short History*, p. 477.

C. *The Fortunes of Nigel*, by Sir Walter Scott.
The Lancashire Witches, by Ainsworth, Routledge.

RELIGIOUS QUESTIONS, 1603–1625

I. **James and Episcopacy** (p. 334).

A. The Episcopal Church, strengthened by the support of the King, now defined its position, which was threatened by Roman Catholics (strengthened by the Counter Reformation and the Jesuits) and by the Puritans. The High Churchmen, led by Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, supported by Laud, asserted

α. That the breach with Rome was justified,

β. That in spite of the breach the continuity of episcopal succession was maintained in the Anglican Church.

B. Greater uniformity of practice was ensured by the enforcement of ritual and ceremony by Archbishop Bancroft on the clergy, and by the expulsion from the Episcopal Church of many Puritans who refused to conform, **1605.**

II. **James and the Puritans.**

A. At first there appeared some chance of reconciling the Puritans and Episcopalians if a moderate policy was adopted. The Puritans were generally followers of Calvin and taught that the Church was independent of temporal power, that laymen should share in Church government, and that men were predestined by God for salvation or damnation. They hoped that a King used to Presbyterianism in Scotland would support Puritanism in England.

B. But James' hatred of the Scotch Presbyterian ministers and his belief in the absolute identity of interests between Episcopacy and monarchy led him to oppose the Puritans, whose great and growing power in the House of Commons made them formidable antagonists

C. **1603.** The Millenary Petition (presented by about eight hundred Puritan ministers) showed their position.

(1) **Vestments and ceremonies.**

They objected to the sign of the cross in baptism, the use of the ring in marriage, to the profanation of the Sabbath by games, to bowing at the name of Jesus.

(2) Demand for the improvement of the ministry. Demand for better educated ministers, for the discontinuance of pluralities, for the abolition of the "ex-officio" oath (page 304).

Some of these demands appear trifling, but the principle of liberty of conscience was involved.

The Petition was unfavourably received by the King, but in **1604** the Commons passed Bills to improve the ministry and denied the right of the King to alter religion without consent of Parliament. The Bills were thrown out by the Lords.

D. **1604.** The Hampton Court Conference.

Only four Puritan divines attended. The King presided.

(1) The Conference rejected proposals made by the Puritans to ensure discipline among ministers and the addition of Calvinistic doctrines to the Thirty-nine Articles.

(2) The Conference accepted the demand for a revision of the Bible (the "Authorised Version," published **1611**).

(3) The King showed himself a strong partisan, treated the Puritans with great rudeness, and asserted his intention to force them to comply with his views.

(4) A few unimportant changes were made later in the Prayer Book.

E. **1604.** The canons.

(1) Archbishop Bancroft who, like his predecessor Whitgift, aimed at uniformity, persuaded Convocation to pass canons maintaining the Articles, Prayer Book, rites and ceremonies of the Episcopal Church, and the scriptural support for government by bishops.

(2) These were not passed by Parliament and therefore were not binding on the laity, but three hundred clergymen left the Church in consequence, while greater uniformity resulted within the Church itself.

F. **1618.** Issue of the Declaration of Sports.

This authorised sports (dancing, archery) on Sunday afternoon. Strong opposition from the Puritans, who held that the Sabbath was not a day for either work or pleasure.

The Book of Sports was not rigidly enforced.

III. **Scotland.**

A. Presbyterianism established by Act of Parliament in Scotland in **1567.** "The Kirk" was strongly supported by the middle class, largely owing to John Knox, but some of the nobles tended to support the King who, after his accession, aimed at establishing Episcopacy in Scotland.

B. **1610.** James I established Courts of High Commission in the dioceses of Glasgow and Edinburgh.

C. **1618.** The Five Articles of Perth were accepted by a majority at an assembly. These ordered Private Communion and Baptism for the sick, the Confirmation of Children by Bishops, the Kneeling Position at Holy Communion, and the Observance of Holy Days and Church Festivals.

D. Orders were issued later for the compilation of a new Scotch Prayer Book.

E. These measures, which were contrary to Presbyterian ideas, roused fierce opposition.

Thus in Scotland, as well as in England, the alliance of crown and bishops was arousing fierce Puritan opposition, which was destined to prove fatal to the Stuarts.

IV. **James and the Roman Catholics.**

A. Apparent chance of toleration.

(1) The Roman Catholics hoped for toleration from the son of Mary Queen of Scots, especially as it was supposed he had had some share in the plots against Elizabeth. James was at first inclined to tolerate the Roman Catholics, and this led to further differences with the House of Commons, which was bent on persecuting the Papists.

(2) Owing to James' desire for toleration, the Roman Catholics worshipped more openly, and the revelation of their strength alarmed the people and led to repression.

B. **1603.** The Bye Plot, formed to kidnap James and compel him to grant toleration, failed, and in consequence all Roman Catholic priests were ordered to quit the country, and fines for recusancy (including in some cases thirteen months' arrears) were extorted. Failure of the Main Plot formed by Sir Walter Raleigh, with the approval of Spain, to put on the throne Arabella Stuart, great-great-granddaughter of Margaret Tudor, and to overthrow Cecil.

C. **1605.** Gunpowder Plot.

(1) Caused by the repressive policy of Parliament. It led to a great outburst of popular frenzy, added the word "Guy" to our language, and is commemorated by the examination of the vaults of Parliament before the beginning of each session.

(2) The popular version (supported by Professor Gardiner) is probably correct, although it has been asserted that the story was concocted by Cecil to bring the Roman Catholics into disrepute. It is, however, quite possible that the actual arrest was cleverly stage-managed.

(3) The plot was started by Robert Catesby, a Roman Catholic country gentleman of Warwickshire, after

his attempt to secure toleration for Roman Catholics by the help of the Spanish ambassador had failed. Guy Fawkes, an Englishman who had served in the Spanish army, Thomas Percy, a cousin of the Earl of Northumberland, Francis Tresham, a brother-in-law of Lord Monteagle, and Sir Everard Digby joined in the plot. The object of the conspirators was to blow up the Houses of Parliament, to kill James I and Prince Henry, to seize Prince Charles and Princess Elizabeth, and by means of a general Catholic rising to secure religious toleration. A letter was sent to Lord Monteagle, probably by Tresham, warning him not to attend Parliament, for "this Parliament shall receive a terrible blow, and yet they shall not see who hurts them." Guy Fawkes was seized while preparing to set fire to the gunpowder which had been stored in a cellar underneath the Houses of Parliament, and in consequence a rising, arranged by Digby under the pretence of a hunting party at Dunchurch in Warwickshire, failed. The conspirators fled, but were slain or captured by the sheriff of Worcestershire at Holbeach, near Stourbridge. The prisoners, together with a Jesuit Garnet whose complicity in the plot was doubtful, were executed.

(4) In consequence more stringent penal laws were passed by Parliament.

α. The Roman Catholics were fined £20 a month for recusancy.

β. Roman Catholics were forbidden to adopt any learned profession, to become naval or military officers, to hold any public offices.

γ. Roman Catholic children were to be baptised by Protestant ministers.

δ. No Roman Catholics were to attend court or to come within ten miles of London unless engaged in business there.

These laws were very harsh, but it is doubtful if they were rigidly enforced, especially when James was trying to ensure the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta of Spain.

D. **1616.** Influence of Spain and France on behalf of the Roman Catholics.

(1) James agreed with the King of Spain to suspend the penal laws against Roman Catholics and to allow any children of the marriage of Prince Charles and the Infanta to be brought up as Roman Catholics.

He later issued, under the great seal, a promise of pardon to all recusants.

(2) **1621.** Parliament, strongly opposed to the Spanish marriage and to toleration for Roman Catholics, demanded the strict enforcement of the penal statutes.

(3) **1624.** In spite of a promise to Parliament that the penal statutes should not be repealed, James accepted freedom of worship for Roman Catholics as a condition of the marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria of France.

Thus strong opposition arose between James (inclined for personal and political reasons to tolerate Roman Catholics) and the Puritan commons, who wished rigidly to enforce the penal laws.

eferences :

A. *Political History of England, 1603–1660*, by Montague, pp. 24–32. Gunpowder Plot.

"Epochs of English History." Creighton's *Puritan Revolution*, pp. 27–9, Longmans.

C. *Lost Treasure of Trevlyn*, by Everett Green, Nelson.

Guy Fawkes, by Ainsworth, Routledge.

JAMES' ATTEMPT TO SECURE PERSONAL GOVERNMENT

He tried to put into force his theories as to monarchy (p. 333). Utterly failed to appreciate the importance of Parliament, and from **1611–1621** Parliament met only once, in **1614**, when the session was very short and no laws were passed. "The Addled Parliament."

I. James' Financial Measures.

A. James was very poor. Elizabeth had left a debt of £400,000, and James, like all the Stuarts, was a very poor financier. His income was derived mainly from feudal dues, tonnage and poundage, and the crown lands. Much money was squandered in court revels and on favourites, e.g. Buckingham received grants worth £60,000 per annum. James' difficulties were increased by the reluctance of Parliament to vote supplies until grievances were redressed.

B. James tried to raise money.

(1) **1606.** He imposed a tax on currants. Bate, who refused payment, was imprisoned by the Court of Exchequer, which declared the imposition legal. James then issued a Book of Rates, imposing many new duties.

(2) Benevolences and forced loans were exacted.

(3) Sales of offices, lay and ecclesiastical, sale of peerages and creation of a new order of baronets, of which the price was £1000.

(4) Money was raised by grants of monopolies and by purveyance.

II. James I and the Judges.

A. James regarded them, as Bacon said, as "lions under the throne," i.e. as the King's servants.

(1) The judges declared that Scotchmen "post nati" (born after James' accession to the throne of England) were naturalised English subjects.

(2) The Exchequer judges declared the legality of impositions on merchandise because

α. The King owned the ports,

β. The King, by prerogative, had the right of doing what he thought best for the public weal.

This decision was most important owing to the great growth of trade.

(3) Bacon asserted that the King's prerogative was a part of the "law of the land" mentioned in Magna Charta.

B. Opposition of Lord Chief Justice Coke.

Coke strongly opposed the idea of the subservience of judges to the King. He held that the King was bound by the law which it was the duty of the judges fearlessly to assert.

(1) Coke strongly objected to Royal Proclamations and denied the power of the King to alter any law or create any new offence by Proclamation.

(2) **1615.** Denied in "Peacham's Case" the right of royal officers to take "auricular and particular opinions," i.e. to consult judges individually and privately in order to secure a verdict. (Peacham accused of treason because of slighting references to the King in an unpublished MS. found in his house.)

(3) **1616.** He refused to suspend judgment at the King's request against the Bishop of Lichfield accused of holding a living "in commendam," i.e. in addition to his bishopric.

(4) **1616.** Coke, therefore, was dismissed from office. Bacon became Lord Keeper **1617**, and the judges henceforth proved subservient to James.

I. **Use of Royal Proclamations,**

e.g. one forbiding further building in London

IV. **Illegal Punishments.**

1603. James hanged a thief without trial on his journey to London.

1614. Imprisoned Thomas Wentworth[1] and other members for protesting against "Impositions" in the Addled Parliament. St. John convicted by the Star Chamber for refusing benevolences.

V. **The Court Unpopular.**

Great offence was caused by the gross immorality of the court and the conduct of the favourites. Carr created Earl of Somerset, procured the poisoning of his friend Sir Thomas Overbury for opposing his marriage with Lady Essex. Unpopularity of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who became the medium of all communication with the King.

JAMES I AND PARLIAMENT

Parliament steadily grew stronger after the Armada, and though the personal popularity and tact of Elizabeth prevented serious collision in her reign, strife was sure to arise with James owing to his political theories and lack of tact and personal dignity.

Bacon saw the real importance of Parliament, and advised James to use it for taxation and legislation. James refused, but tried unsuccessfully to ensure his influence over Parliament by manipulating elections.

1603. He issued a proclamation forbidding the election of outlaws or bankrupts and ordering the return of royal nominees.

1614. "Undertakers" tried unsuccessfully to ensure the return of a majority of the King's supporters.

[1] Son of Peter Wentworth (page 323) and M.P. for Oxford City.

. **Assertion of Parliamentary Privileges by the House of Commons.**

A. **1604.** Declared that their privileges were "of right," and that the petition for privileges at the opening of Parliament was merely an "act of manners."

B. **1604.** They asserted their right to judge election returns (Goodwin's case), and at this time the House of Commons was the best court for this purpose, although this right was abused by party majorities in the eighteenth century and the power of deciding disputed elections was ultimately given to the judges.

C. **1604.** Asserted that the House of Commons was a Court of Record.

D. Freedom of speech.

(1) **1610.** Asserted their right to debate all questions, especially impositions.

(2) **1621.** α. The famous Protest of the House of Commons in reply to the King's order not to discuss the Spanish marriage, the position of Roman Catholics at home and of Protestants abroad.

"That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdiction of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England."

β. Claim of freedom of speech and right to debate all matters of State.

γ. Claim of freedom from arrest (already asserted in Shirley's Case **1604**).

In **1621** for the first time the Lords joined the Commons in their assertion of privilege against the King.

E. Commons and Lords acted most tyrannically in the case of a barrister named Floyd who, for disparaging the Elector and Electress Palatine, was illegally condemned at the Bar of Commons and saved from the cruel sentence of the Lords by the King himself. His case showed the possible danger from a powerful Parliament.

II. **Strong Protests against Unconstitutional Acts of James,** e.g. (1610) Against Cowell's *Interpreter*, which was withdrawn in consequence.

1614. Against impositions, the Addled Parliament refused to vote supplies till grievances were redressed.

III. **Parliament and Scotland.**

1607. Failure of attempt at union, which neither kingdom strongly desired. Failure to establish Free Trade (except in wool and cattle) between England and Scotland. The only result of this attempt was the abolition of harsh border laws.

Parliament refused to accept the contention that the accession of James naturalised all Scotchmen, and James objected to naturalisation by vote of Parliament.

IV. **Parliament took an active part in Foreign Policy.**

Repeated representations were made in favour of war with Spain and active assistance to the Palatinate.

V. **Strong action against Roman Catholics.**

Repeated demands were made for the rigid enforcement of penal statutes against Roman Catholics.

VI. **The Revival of Impeachment.**

A. Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans [he never held the title of "Lord Bacon"], was condemned by the Lords for taking bribes. The Commons were not the actual prosecutors, so this was not strictly an impeachment.

α. He did accept money from suitors in his court, but this was a usual custom and did not affect Bacon's verdicts.

β. His condemnation was desirable in the interests of the purity of the law courts, but was actually due to political and personal motives, especially the hatred of Buckingham.

γ. Bacon readily confessed his guilt, and his sentence of fine and imprisonment was remitted by the King, who was "merciful to a broken reed."

B. **1624.** Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, was condemned by the Lords, on the accusation of the Commons, for bribery and malversation.

α. This was the first case of the regular impeachment of a high officer of the crown since **1450.**

β. The revival of impeachment gave Parliament a most powerful weapon, which was used with effect in the next reign.

II. **Monopolies.**

1624. Declared illegal. Some were not objectionable and corresponded to our patents, but they were generally vexatious. They were often imposed on necessaries and granted to court favourites; e.g. Mompesson, a relative of Buckingham [the original of Sir Giles Overreach in Philip Massinger's *New Way to Pay Old Debts*], had made a most extortionate use of a monopoly of alehouse licences.

III. **Summary.**

Thus during James I's reign Parliament had been obliged to adopt a policy of opposition to the King, and the impossibility of combining the theory of the Divine Right of Kings with that of constitutional government had been made clear. Parliament had passed no great statute, except the one against monopolies, but had greatly strengthened its power by the assertion of its privileges, by its protests against illegal measures and by the revival of impeachment. It had maintained its right to control finances and to discuss questions of foreign policy in addition to those of taxation, religion, and home policy.

eference:

Hallam's *Constitutional History*, chap. VI.

COLONIAL EXPANSION UNDER JAMES I

Our Colonial Empire really began in this reign, because the first permanent settlements were then made, although the discoveries and exploration of Elizabethan sailors had made this possible.

I. **Virginia.**

The term was vaguely applied to a large area on the east coast of North America, and the early settlers were attracted by the hope of finding gold.

1606. James granted a charter defining the limits of the colony and authorising two companies to form colonies.

A. The Plymouth Company attempted to colonise the northern part corresponding to the modern Maine, but grew discouraged and soon gave up the attempt.

B. The London Company.

(1) The London Company landed in Chesapeake Bay; built Jamestown, the first permanent foundation in North America. The colonists endured great hardships, and were disappointed because there was no gold. They were saved from starvation by corn obtained from the Indians.

(2) Captain John Smith (who had been saved from death by Pocahontas, daughter of an Indian chief) reorganised the colony. The original settlers were gentlemen adventurers. Smith supplemented these by agricultural labourers and workmen, insisted that "nothing is to be expected thence but by labour," and, giving up the search for gold, he made the colonists plant corn and build houses.

(3) **1609.** A new charter was granted, and a governor with absolute power nominated by the King. The first governor was Lord Delawarr, who by inducing the colonists to remain when they were on the point of departure, and by bringing additional men and stores, ensured the permanence of Virginia.

II. **Barbados.**

Annexed **1605** by settlers on their way to Guiana who preferred an island to a mainland settlement. This annexation was the beginning of settlements on the West Indian Islands, which soon surpassed Guiana in importance. Finally colonised **1625**.

III. **New England.**

A. The Pilgrim Fathers.

A body of Independents who had gone from Scrooby, in Notts, to Amsterdam; thence some had gone to Leyden. Having obtained permission from the Plymouth Company, **1620**, they sailed from Plymouth in the *Mayflower*, and landed on the "stern and rockbound coast" of New England at Plymouth on Cape Cod Bay, near the modern Boston. Half died during the first winter, and they were enabled to resist the Indians only because the latter were weakened by pestilence. The colony of New Plymouth owed its continuance to the energy of Governor Bradford.

Foundation of other New England colonies, Maine and New Hampshire, **1615–1630.**

B. **1629.** A Charter was granted to Massachusetts, but this colony proved so intolerant that some of its people left and founded Rhode Island in the hope of gaining religious liberty, **1636.**

C. **1632.** Maryland founded by a Roman Catholic, Lord Baltimore, on the basis of religious toleration.

D. **1633.** Defeat of the Dutch on the River Connecticut and foundation of that colony.

E. Characteristics of New England.

(1) The New Englanders were men of lower social position than the Virginian colonists.

(2) The New Englanders were Puritans, while the Virginians were Episcopalians.

(3) These colonies were drawn together owing to community of interests and danger from France on the north (separating them from Newfoundland), Holland on the south (separating them from Virginia) and the Indians, and in **1643** they formed a Federation for mutual defence. The first example of colonial federation.

(4) They showed a desire of independence early. Refused to support Charles I or the Long Parliament, but Charles II and James II cancelled their charters and thus established the principle of royal control.

IV. Owing to Cabot's discovery England claimed the south bank of the St. Lawrence and founded Nova Scotia **1621** ("New Scotland," because it was occupied by Scotch settlers). In the quarrels between the British and the French for the possession of Nova Scotia (Acadia) we get the beginning of the rivalry of English and French in colonial matters.

V. **The East Indies.**

A. The East India Company defeated their rivals the Portuguese in a naval battle in the Swally Roads off Surat **1612**, a victory of supreme importance; they then opened up trade with the mainland of India and, with the permission of the Great Mogul, established a factory at Surat **1613**.

B. Great rivalry arose between the Dutch, the most important European element, and the English in the East Indies culminating, in **1623**, in the massacre of English merchants at Amboyna by the Dutch, who thus gained command of the islands and compelled the English to confine their trade to India.

[C. **1639**. Foundation of Madras.

D. **1668**. Bombay given to the East India Company by Charles II, who had received it as part of the dowry of Katharine of Braganza.

E. **1696**. Foundation of Fort William (Calcutta).]

References:

A. *Expansion of the British Empire*, by Woodward (Camb. Univ. Press), chap. III.
History of England, by Gardiner, chap. XXXVI.

B. *The Pilgrim Fathers*, by Mrs. Hemans.

C. *Standish of Standish*, by Austin, Ward Lock.
By Order of the Company, by Johnston, Constable.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF JAMES I

Elizabeth left England very strong, able to act as an arbitrator in Europe. This was very important because the Austrian Hapsburgs proposed to crush Protestantism in Germany, relying upon the effect of the Counter Reformation and on the support of the Spanish Hapsburgs.

I. **First Period. To the Death of Cecil 1612.**

A. Maintenance of Elizabeth's policy.

(1) Alliance with Henry IV of France (who perceived the danger to France from the Hapsburg policy). A treaty concluded with his widow Mary de Medici maintained the alliance after the assassination of Henry IV by Ravaillac **1610.**

(2) Friendship with Holland, which gained its independence in **1609** by a treaty with Spain.

(3) Successful intervention on behalf of the Protestant claimant to Juliers and Cleves in alliance with France and the Evangelical Union of German Protestants.

(4) Arrangement for the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to Frederick Elector Palatine of the Rhine, a strong Protestant, carried out **1613.**

B. James and Spain.

(1) James prided himself upon his diplomacy, hoped to form an alliance with Spain and so to mediate between Protestants and Catholics, and to ensure peace. There was strong opposition in England to Spain, the champion of Roman Catholicism, and James' policy was probably wrong, although—

α. England had no army able to withstand Spain.

β. The Portuguese would not rise against Spain.

γ. There was less chance now of conquest and plunder in America.

δ. The King's finances were bad and the expense of war would be very great.

ε. There was little danger now to the Dutch from Spain.

(2) **1604.** A treaty was made between England and Spain. Protection was promised to English Protestants visiting Spain or the Colonies, but no final settlement was made as to Spanish America. The Spaniards tried to strengthen their influence in England by forming a Spanish party in the English Court, and even Cecil accepted a pension.

(3) James desired to strengthen the alliance by a marriage between Prince Henry and a Spanish princess. He hoped that the dowry would relieve his financial needs, was attracted by the absolute power of the Spanish King, did not realise that Spain was growing weaker. But there were grave difficulties; plots against James were encouraged in Spain, and Prince Henry (a most promising youth, who hated Court dissipation, opposed the King's favourites, and was a strong Protestant) refused to marry a Roman Catholic. The plan failed.

II. **Second Period, 1612–1618.**

A. James was now his own minister. Cecil and Prince Henry were dead. Great influence was exercised by Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, over James. Gondomar was a clever, crafty diplomatist, but he failed to appreciate the importance of national feeling in England against Spain, and he thought that he could persuade James to remove the penal disabilities of the Roman Catholics by royal authority.

B. James continued to hope for a Spanish marriage, and his failure to conclude a French marriage, and some difficulties with the Dutch, owing to quarrels about whale fishing and the East India trade, strengthened his leaning towards Spain.

C. Raleigh's expedition to Guiana, 1616.

(1) The King hoped that the gold mine, which Raleigh undertook to find, would restore his finances.

(2) Although the King attached supreme importance to friendship with Spain he knew that Raleigh hated Spain and that attacks on the Spanish colony were inevitable owing to the Spanish hatred of foreign settlers in America, but he gave Raleigh the necessary permission.

(3) James also told Gondomar, who strongly protested against the expedition. James then promised to execute Raleigh if he attacked the Spaniards. Gondomar sent a warning to his brother, the Governor of San Thomé.

(4) Raleigh burned St. Thomé, lost his son who was killed in the fight, failed to find the mine, and returned to England.

(5) The execution of Raleigh.

α. Executed nominally, not for the recent expedition, but for treason in 1603, when he had joined the Main Plot to put Arabella Stuart (James' first cousin) on the throne.

β. Raleigh was unscrupulous, and his expedition was an attack on a friendly power, but he was basely treated by James who ought never to have issued the commission.

γ. His execution was really due to James' anxiety to ensure a Spanish marriage for Prince Charles.

III. **Third Period, 1618–1625.**

A. The Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648.

The Bohemians (Protestants) rose against their Catholic King. James wished to intervene and thus prevent war between Catholics and Protestants and also to check Spanish interference in Germany.

The Elector Palatine (James' son-in-law), who had been appointed to mediate in the dispute, accepted the offer of the crown of Bohemia, as he was anxious to secure the title of king, and by the union of Bohemia and the Palatinate to become one of the leading Pro-

testant Princes of Germany. He was supported by his wife, who said, "A crown with a crust was better than a petty electorate with abundance."

James, who saw Frederick was wrong, was unwilling to help him, although a force of volunteers under Sir Horace Vere went to defend the Palatinate against Spanish troops.

1620. Frederick was routed at White Mountain, near Prague, his power broken, the Bohemians crushed. Grave danger of the rapid extension of Roman Catholicism in Germany.

1621. Conquest of the Eastern Palatinate by the Spaniards.

B. Spanish negotiations.

(1) The defeat of Frederick made James even more anxious for a Spanish marriage, because he foolishly hoped that thereby the King of Spain, a strong Roman Catholic and a cousin of the Emperor, might ensure the return of the Palatinate to the Elector and
1620 save the German Protestants. Therefore he carried on active negotiations through Gondomar, who persuaded him to promise toleration to the Roman Catholics in England.

(2) But Parliament, now taking a very active interest in foreign policy, advocated war with Spain to prevent Spanish help from reaching the Austrians, and thus to ensure the return of the Palatinate to Frederick and the safety of the German Protestants.

1621. The Commons strongly protested against the Spanish marriage, insisted on war with Spain, the marriage of Charles to a Protestant, and attacked Gondomar.

Parliament was dissolved after its famous protest in favour of privilege. James made a great mistake, because he thus cut off the chance of getting money at a time when active intervention was necessary against Tilly, who had overrun the Lower Palatinate and captured Heidelberg and Mannheim.

(3) **1623.** James, in urgent need of money, allowed Charles and Buckingham to carry out the "comic opera device" of a journey, under the names of John and Thomas Smith, to Madrid. At Madrid Charles agreed that freedom of worship should be granted to English Catholics before his marriage with the Infanta took place, that the Infanta should have her own chapel, and that children of the marriage should be brought up as Roman Catholics. But he found that in spite of all his concessions Philip IV refused to help to restore the Palatinate to the Elector because "it is a maxim of state that the King of Spain must never fight against the Emperor." Much offence was caused by Buckingham's insolence, although this was not the chief cause of the failure of the mission. Charles and Buckingham were furious at the way they had been tricked. On their return James formally demanded that Philip should attack the Emperor, and on his refusal the negotiations were finally broken off.

C. The French marriage.

(1) James wished for the marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria in order to get French help for the Palatinate. Richelieu (the minister of Louis XIII), fearing danger from Austria, approved of the plan but, being a strong Roman Catholic, insisted that the Roman Catholics should have full toleration in England, and that the Queen should have freedom of worship in her own private chapel. The opposition of the Pope, who distrusted Charles, was overcome, and the marriage took place in June, **1625**, after the death of James.

(2) **1625.** Count Mansfield led an English force to Germany to recover the Palatinate.

Louis XIII had promised to give help, but sent very little, and refused Mansfield a passage through France.

James, still anxious to avoid open war with Spain, hampered Mansfield by refusing to allow him to recapture Breda, which the Spaniards had taken from the Dutch. The expedition was badly organised and provisioned. Many died of fever, and the result was complete disaster.

D. Negotiations with Gustavus Adolphus and Christian IV of Denmark, brother of Queen Anne, which led later to their interference on behalf of the Protestants.

James was wise in wishing to tolerate Roman Catholics, but foolish in allowing foreigners to dictate to him. He unwisely abandoned the independent position of England, the champion of Protestantism, for alliance with Spain, whose interests did not coincide with those of England. His folly was aggravated by his conceit, which made him think that his allies would gladly follow his advice, and the result of his policy was the extension of the Thirty Years' War, the weakening of the Protestant cause in Germany, and the growth of opposition between King and Parliament in England.

References:

A. "Epochs of English History." *The Puritan Revolution*, by Creighton, chap. II.

B. *Elizabeth of Bohemia*, by Sir Henry Wootton, Golden Treasury, LXXXIV.

C. The Thirty Years' War:—

The Lion of the North, by Henty, Blackie.
My Lady Rotha, by Weyman, Ward Lock.

CHARLES I AND HIS FIRST THREE PARLIAMENTS

I. **His Position at his Accession.**

A. Character of Charles.

(1) He was brave, industrious, chaste, devotedly attached to Episcopacy, and he had refined taste in art and music.

(2) He was a firm believer in absolute power, which, if secured, would have rendered Parliament unnecessary.

(3) He lacked imagination, utterly failed to appreciate the position of his opponents and the temper of the people.

(4) He was a poor judge of character. Unfortunate in his advisers, Laud, Buckingham and Henrietta Maria "the evil genius of the Stuarts."

(5) Unreliable.

e.g. He promised Louis XIII to tolerate Roman Catholics, and promised Parliament to enforce penal statutes against them.

(6) He was a very poor financier, in continual difficulties owing to the cost of wars and opposition of Parliament.

B. Religious questions.

(1) Growth of Arminianism,[1] involving the doctrine of the Real Presence, the idea of the Church as the medium of God's influence on the individual, attention to rites and ceremonies, the use of pictures, stained-glass windows and music, the observance of Church festivals, the expediency of sports on Sunday afternoons. On all these points strong opposition was shown by the Puritans, who condemned the somewhat sympathetic attitude of the Arminians towards the Roman Catholic Church. The Arminians looked to the crown for support, and in return maintained the cause of Absolutism, e.g. Montague in *Appello Cæsarem*, 1625. Hence arose the close union of crown and Church and the close connection of religious and constitutional questions in the struggle between King and Parliament.

(2) The Puritans.

They were steadily growing in numbers and influence, especially among the smaller gentry. They were strongly opposed to the toleration of Roman Catholics, to Arminianism and absolute monarchy. They were more closely united than in the beginning of James I's reign, and now formed a political and religious party.

[1] James Hermanzoon, "Arminius," opposed Calvinism, denied the doctrine of predestination, was condemned as a heretic at the Synod of Dort 1619.

(3) The Roman Catholics.

Charles married Henrietta Maria two months after his accession, and promised toleration to the Catholics.

C. Foreign policy.

(1) Charles was committed to the Protestant cause. He undertook to pay heavy subsidies to Mansfield and Christian IV of Denmark (his uncle) and to supply six thousand troops to the Dutch. He declared war on Spain.

(2) Charles failed to see the wisdom of alliance with France. Richelieu was most anxious to check the Hapsburgs, and willing to grant toleration to the Huguenots if they would obey Louis XIII. He would have helped to restore the Palatinate to Frederick and to support the German Protestants.

(3) Charles ought to have followed Elizabeth's policy, to subsidise Protestants abroad, avoid Continental war and use his fleet against Spain and her colonies; but owing to his anxiety to help his sister Elizabeth, the wife of the Elector Frederick, he adopted an active policy on the Continent.

(4) Parliament.

Parliament was not anxious for a Continental war, not very sympathetic now towards the Electress Elizabeth, wanted a naval war against Spain.

(5) Buckingham.

Wanted war for his own advantage, and to gratify personal feeling against Olivarez (Spain) and Richelieu (France).

D. The position of Parliament.

Steady growth of opposition to the royal power, both religious and constitutional. James had sown the wind Charles now reaped the whirlwind. Parliament saw the danger of absolutism, and determined to vindicate its own powers and privileges by making supplies depend on redress of grievances. Hence granted tonnage and poundage for one year only in **1625**.

The following constitutional questions arose soon.

α. The right of the King, now in great financial difficulties, to take any money without Parliamentary grant, i.e. the dependence of the King on Parliament for his ordinary revenue.

β. The control of Parliament over ministers (this was an old Plantagenet and Lancastrian, not Yorkist question).

γ. The royal power of imprisonment.

II. First Parliament, 1625.

A. A strong opposition, led by most able leaders (Eliot, Pym, Wentworth), determined to make supply depend on redress of grievances, resented the King's loan of English ships to Richelieu to act against the Huguenots, objected to the growth of Arminianism, and distrusted Buckingham.

(1) Montague (p. 357, B. 1) was given into the custody of the Sergeant at Arms.

(2) Only £140,000 voted and tonnage and poundage for one year instead of for the King's life as in previous reigns.

(3) Buckingham attacked.

B. Interval between the first and second Parliaments.

(1) Buckingham went to Holland to get the support of the Dutch against Austria and Spain.

(2) Complete failure of Wimbledon's expedition to Cadiz. The crews were undisciplined, got drunk at Cadiz; the ships were defective; operations at Cadiz failed, and Spanish treasure ships escaped capture.

(3) King was compelled to call his second Parliament owing to his urgent need of money.

III. Second Parliament.

A. Sir John Eliot became leader of the opposition owing to the absence of Wentworth and others, who had been nominated as sheriffs and were thus unable to become members of Parliament. No writ was issued to the Earl of Bristol (Buckingham's enemy), but the Lords ensured his appearance.

B. Impeachment of Buckingham by Digges and Eliot (who compared him with Sejanus) for embezzlement, selling offices, and failure as Lord High Admiral. "By him came all our evils."

α. If these charges were true Buckingham could plead that the deeds were done by order of Charles.

β. The impeachment involved the revival of the theory of ministerial responsibility.

C. Imprisonment of Digges and Eliot by the King. Released owing to a protest of Parliament, which was dissolved to save Buckingham without having made any grant of money.

D. Interval between the second and third Parliaments.

(1) The King's attempt to raise money. He levied tonnage and poundage although it had not been granted by Parliament. Fines were exacted for recusancy.[1] A voluntary loan failed and forced loans were taken. Chief Justice Crewe was dismissed for denying the legality of these. Gentlemen refusing payment were imprisoned, and the judges (in Darnell's Case) refused a writ of Habeas Corpus because the prisoner had been committed by the King's orders, but they would not assert the absolute right of the crown to commit to prison without stating cause.

(2) Charles was too poor to send the help he had promised to his allies on the Continent; therefore Christian IV was routed by Tilly at Lutter **1626.**

[1] Recusancy was refusal to attend the services of the Episcopal Church.

(3) France.

1627. War broke out with France owing to the seizure of ships by both nations, to dissatisfaction in France owing to the failure of Charles to grant toleration to English Roman Catholics, to the dismissal of French servants of the Queen, and to a personal quarrel between Buckingham and Richelieu.

Unsuccessful expedition of Buckingham to the Isle of Rhé to relieve Rochelle, the chief town of the Huguenots, which was besieged by Richelieu. Growing unpopularity of Buckingham.

IV. **Third Parliament. First Session 1628.**

Failure of the King's attempt to exclude the Earls of Bristol and Arundel and Archbishop Abbot and Bishop Williams from the Lords.

A. The Petition of Right (due largely to Eliot), **1628.**

(1) Quoted statutes against illegal exactions (especially De Tallagio non Concedendo,[1] **1297**) and imprisonment (especially Magna Charta).

(2) Petitioned against

a. The exaction "of any gift, loan, benevolence or tax without common consent by Act of Parliament."

This did not legally stop the collection of tonnage and poundage by the King, as "tax" meant, probably, direct tax only, and the judgment in Bate's Case (**1606**, p. 342) could not be nullified by a resolution in the Commons. But Parliament maintained that tonnage and poundage could not be taken without a special grant. Hence the vote in **1625** for one year only.

[1] The supporters of the Petition relied upon the Latin version of the Confirmation of the Charters (p. 154), and wrongly assumed that this was an Act of Parliament.

β. Imprisonment without cause shown.

γ. The billeting of soldiers in private houses.

A great grievance owing to the low character of the soldiers and consequent grave outrages to the persons and property of householders. Due to the excesses of the survivors of the expedition to La Rochelle.

δ. Proceedings by martial law contrary to the law of the land.

(3) Criticism.

α. Precedents were found in support of the King's position, but the Stuarts wished "to make the medicine of the country its daily food," and tried to make a regular practice of the exercise of their prerogative.

β. It was essential that the monarchical power should be defined in the interests of the constitution.

γ. But a petition of the Commons was not an Act of Parliament, and the Royal assent was necessary before the Petition became a statute.

(4) The Royal Assent.

α. At first Charles gave a vague assent "That right should be done according to the laws and customs of the realm."

β. Owing to pressure by the Commons, who proposed to present a strong remonstrance to the King, assent was given in the regular form, "Soit droit fait comme est desiré!"

The Commons then granted five subsidies, but presented a remonstrance against the favour shown to Roman Catholics, the growth of Arminianism (Laud was now Bishop of London, and Montague of Chichester), and made a fierce attack on Buckingham.

B. Interval between the first and second sessions.

(1) **1628.** August 23. Assassination of Buckingham at Portsmouth, when about to lead another expedition to relieve La Rochelle.

(2) Wentworth joined the King's party, was created a Viscount and President of the Council of the North.

α. He had never been in thorough accord with Pym and Eliot.

1. He was not a Puritan.
2. He did not approve of the undue limitation of the royal power, which he considered essential for good government.

β. His change of policy was influenced by Buckingham's murder, but was not entirely due to this.

γ. The radical change in his attitude suggests that self-interest was the main motive.

(3) La Rochelle surrendered. Richelieu gave toleration to the Huguenots **1629.**

(4) The Petition of Right was issued with the first vague form of assent.

C. Second session of third Parliament **1629.**

(1) Strong protests against the promotion of Laud and Montague, the levying of tonnage and poundage (not formally granted in **1628**).

(2) Summons to the Bar of officers who had seized the goods of Rolle (a member) for non-payment of dues. They pleaded the King's orders.

(3) Speaker Finch, by order of Charles, tried to stop discussion. Holles and Valentine held the Speaker in his chair, and the former put three resolutions, which were carried, declaring that any one bringing in "innovations in religion," or advising the levy of

tonnage and poundage without Parliamentary grant, or paying tonnage and poundage except after Parliamentary grant, should be regarded as an enemy of England.

(4) The Parliament was dissolved. The King asserted that "the calling, continuing, and dissolving of Parliament was always in his own power."

(5) Imprisonment of Eliot and others.

α. They were accused of contempt of the King and stirring up sedition. Eliot refused to plead before the judges of the King's Bench because he said that Parliament alone could try offences committed in Parliament.

β. The King's friends maintained that the Commons were not a court of justice, that offences committed in the House might be questioned after dissolution, and that this was a case of breach of the peace and therefore not covered by privilege.

γ. The others submitted to the King's Bench. Eliot refused and died in prison 1632, a martyr to the cause of Parliamentary Privilege.

δ. This case shows the great importance of the judges as instruments of the King, who dismissed Chief Baron Walter for lack of activity in his cause.

References:

A. Gardiner's *History of England*, chap. XXXII.

B. J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 498 and 504.

C. *The Duke's Servants*, by Burchell, Gay and Bird.
The Three Musketeers, Dumas.

THE PERSONAL GOVERNMENT OF CHARLES I

Charles I, who said he "hated the very name of Parliament," ruled without a Parliament for eleven years, the longest period in English history during which Parliament has not met. He therefore had no means of ascertaining the wishes of the people. He depended upon the support of the law courts; issued many proclamations; used extraordinary courts (the Star Chamber, High Commission, and Council of the North); interfered with the rights of private persons; and checked freedom of discussion in politics and religion, but he gave peace. New openings of commerce arose and trade grew in spite of the revival of monopolies. Justice was done between man and man, and the opposition of the Puritans, an unpopular minority, did not seem dangerous for some years.

I. **Finances.**

It was necessary to raise money without calling Parliament. The splendid court, the recent wars, the current expenses of government, and the poverty of the King made the question of finances very important. Money was raised

A. By the revival of old statutes. This method was legal but vexatious.

(1) Forest laws.

Fines were levied for encroachments upon the forests as limited by a survey in the reign of Edward I, e.g. Rockingham Forest had been extended to ten times its former area, and great extensions had been made in Epping and Hainault forests.

(2) Distraint of knighthood.

Fines were levied on persons holding land worth £20 per annum for not taking up knighthood in accordance with a statute of Edward I passed in 1278.

(3) Fines were levied for building cottages on less than four acres of land contrary to a statute of 1570.

B. Acts of doubtful legality.

(1) A great increase of proclamations, due partly to the impossibility of regular legislation without Parliament.

(2) Levy of tonnage and poundage without Parliamentary grant.

(3) The gentry were ordered to live on their estates and not in London, and were fined for disobedience.

(4) **1630.** London was fined £100,000 for extending beyond the boundaries fixed by a proclamation of James I, and £70,000 for a breach of the terms of the grant of Londonderry by James I.

(5) Trial in the Star Chamber, without a jury, of common law offences. The Court of Star Chamber had done good service in the past by checking the dangerous power of great nobles. But this danger no longer existed, and the close connection of this court with the crown (which badly needed money) led to the infliction of excessive fines and to the frequent condemnation of accused persons without adequate proof.

α. **1628.** Richard Chambers was fined £2000 by the Star Chamber for saying that "merchants were in no part of the world so screwed and wrung as in England."

β. **1630.** Alexander Leighton, for publishing *Sion's Plea against Prelacy*, was fined £10,000, ordered to stand in the pillory, to lose his ears, and to be imprisoned for life.

γ. **1634.** William Prynne, a London barrister, was ordered to be imprisoned for life, to lose his ears, and to pay a fine of £5000 for publishing *Histriomastix* (The Scourge of Actors), in which he made reflections on the Queen, although the book had been licensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

δ. **1637.** Sentences involving fines of £5000, the pillory, loss of ears, and imprisonment for life passed on Prynne (who had published from prison further attacks on the bishops), on Henry Burton, a clergyman, and on John Bastwick, a doctor, who had attacked the ceremonies of the Church and the bishops.

ε. Consequent increase in the severity of restrictions of the Press and the number of licensed printers was strictly limited to twenty by the Star Chamber.

C. Illegal acts.

(1) The sale of monopolies on the common necessaries of life (e.g. starch and soap).

(2) The levy of forced loans and benevolences.

D. Ship-money.

(1) A fleet was required to check the power of the Dutch, to put down the pirates of Algiers, and to assert England's supremacy in the narrow seas.

(2) **1634.** First levy of ship-money from seaport towns.

α. Precedents were found for such a levy in time of war.

β. Lord Keeper Coventry declared it legal in time of peace.

An English fleet compelled foreign ships in the Channel to acknowledge England's supremacy.

(3) **1635.** Second levy on the whole country and in time of peace.

The judges asserted the right of the King to levy it on the whole country in time of danger, and to be the judge of danger.

(4) **1636.** Third levy; i.e. ship-money, previously an occasional tax, had now become a permanent source of income.

Resistance of John Hampden, who objected to pay 20s. demanded of him. Judgment given for the King by seven judges against five, two of whom objected to the writ on technical grounds.

Arguments for the King:—

α. Assertion of the prerogative as a justification for levying a tax without the consent of Parliament.

β. Denial of the right of Parliament to prevent the King from carrying out his duty of defending the country.

γ. The King declared to be the sole judge of danger.

Argument for Hampden:—

The King was acknowledged to be the judge of danger, but Parliamentary sanction was necessary for legal taxation, except in cases of imminent danger. No such danger existed in 1637.

The question was very difficult. The King was regarded as responsible for the defence of the kingdom, and his claims were supported by precedents. But the safety of constitutional government was inconsistent with the King's claims, and the real importance of the case lies in the fact that Hampden's opposition showed to England the danger of losing her liberty and aroused resistance.

Thus Charles' financial policy alienated the nobles and great landowners by the enforcement of forest laws; the gentry by distraint of knighthood; London by fines for the extension of the city, for breaches of the charter of Londonderry, and by the imprisonment of merchants for refusing payment of tonnage and poundage; the middle classes generally by the sale of monopolies and the imposition of ship-money.

II. **Foreign Policy.**

The poverty of the King made peace essential. He withdrew from active interference in European politics, and England lost all her influence abroad.

1629. The Treaty of Susa gave peace with France. Christian IV withdrew from Germany, owing partly to Charles' failure to give promised help.

1631. Charles refused to make an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus and, continuing James I's policy, made a treaty with Spain in the hope of recovering the Palatinate.

1632. Gustavus Adolphus defeated Wallenstein at Lützen, but was killed in the battle.

1634. Unsuccessful negotiations with Spain to check the growing naval power of the Dutch and the danger from a proposed alliance between Holland and France.

The supremacy of the narrow seas, claimed for England in Selden's *Mare Clausum*, was asserted by the English fleet.

Charles' foreign policy was ineffective, but gave England peace.

III. **Religion.** William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.

The attempt of Laud to reform and strengthen Episcopacy.

William Laud was learned, pious, honest, narrow-minded, a patient administrator but no statesman. He utterly failed to appreciate popular feeling, and was overbearing and devoid of imagination and tact.

He was a strong Arminian. He wished to assert the divine origin of Episcopacy, to ensure uniformity of ritual and to reform abuses. The support of the crown was essential for this, and Laud therefore strongly support[illegible] thus ensuring the [illegible] n the Church

A. A reformer.

Enforced discipline and morality among the clergy.

B. Tried to enforce conformity with the Anglo-Catholic ritual and ceremonies.

(1) He insisted on the use of the surplice, on bowing at the Name of Jesus, on the kneeling posture at the Communion.

(2) He ordered the communion table to be placed at the east end and to be railed in—this involved the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Communion.

(3) He enforced his views by episcopal visitations in the diocese of London and archiepiscopal visitations in the province of Canterbury.

C. His policy was strongly anti-Puritan. His most dangerous opponents were the Puritans, with whom theology was a most popular study and the Bible the chief book read.

(1) Suppression of Puritan preachers and publications. Owing to the cessation of Parliamentary government popular opinion could be expressed only through preaching and books.

(2) He suppressed "feoffees for impropriations," a Puritan society formed to purchase tithes to augment poor livings.

(3) He suppressed "lecturers"—Puritan clergy without livings.

(4) He prevented the country gentry from keeping Puritan chaplains.

(5) Many Puritan clergy were punished for nonconformity by the Court of [illegible]sion.

(6) The [illegible]used to punish

(8) The Puritans as yet wished to escape from tyranny, but not to overthrow the Government. Owing to Laud's policy many Puritans emigrated, 3000 leaving in one year; but the story that Oliver Cromwell was prevented from emigrating is not correct. Consequent growth of the American Colonies.

1629. A Royal Charter was issued to Massachusetts.

1633. Connecticut was colonised.

1636. Rhode Island was occupied.

These New England States were strongly Puritan, and no toleration was given to Episcopacy.

1632. Maryland founded by a Roman Catholic, Lord Baltimore, who established religious toleration.

D. Opposition to Laud was strengthened by the fear of the growth of Roman Catholicism.

(1) Laud was suspected of leanings towards Rome owing to his use of Anglo-Catholic ceremonies, his preference for single over married priests, and his use of pictures in churches. He was offered a cardinal's hat by the Pope, but refused, having no thought of becoming a Roman Catholic, in spite of his veneration for that Church. The offer shows clearly the impression produced by his ecclesiastical policy.

(2) A papal envoy (Panzani) was received at court.

(3) There were many conversions to Roman Catholicism.

(4) The statutes against Roman Catholics were not rigidly enforced.

(5) There was large attendance at the Queen's Chapel.

IV. Ireland.

A. **1622–1629.** Henry Cary, Lord Falkland, Lord Deputy.

He was kindly disposed towards Roman Catholics, and in return for money to increase the Irish army promised "Graces" by which an oath of allegiance was to be substituted for the oath of supremacy, fines for recusancy were to be remitted, sixty years' occupancy was to confer a title to land, and the landowners of Connaught were

to keep estates granted or recognised by Elizabeth or James I even if the titles were not registered. These Graces were not formally confirmed by Parliament.

B. **1632.** Wentworth appointed Lord Deputy.

(1) His policy "Thorough"—to make the King absolute and independent. Ireland was to be brought into submission and used as a means of ensuring absolutism in England. Wentworth was an excellent administrator, but ruthless and cruel.

(2) **1634.** Parliament made a grant of £240,000, mainly for the army, on the understanding that the Graces were to be confirmed in the second session. The Graces were not confirmed.

(3) Connaught.

There were very few English settlers in Connaught. Wentworth refused to recognise titles for which no royal grant could be shown, and refused to regard sixty years' possession as conferring a valid title. The Galway jury were brought before the Court of Castle Chamber for opposition. About a quarter of Connaught was confiscated and sold to English settlers.

(4) The Church.

Wentworth compelled the Irish Church to adopt the English Articles. He restored tithes and tried to repress disorder in the service. He set up the Court of High Commission, and strongly opposed Puritans and Presbyterians.

(5) He did much good to Ireland.

α. He checked corruption among the officials.

β. Although individuals were badly treated (e.g. Lord Mountmorris condemned to death, although not executed, for a foolish remark at dinner), yet, between man and man, justice was fairly administered, and the general administration was most efficient.

γ. The army was well organised and better paid, and, owing to the strict enforcement of discipline, civilians were protected from outrage.

δ. He encouraged trade, particularly the linen trade, and brought skilled Dutch weavers into Ireland.

Thus the King's authority was firmly established in Ireland, and Ireland in consequence became a danger to English liberty.

V. **Scotland.**

In Scotland religious questions attracted great attention, and the Calvinists were very powerful in the Lowlands. They were alarmed at the marriage of Charles, at the apparent spread of Catholicism in England, and at the efforts to maintain Episcopacy.

A. Charles and Laud determined to enforce Episcopacy in Scotland.

(1) Bishops were summoned to Parliament, and thus some jealousy was excited among the nobles.

(2) The Court of High Commission was introduced into Scotland.

(3) **1636.** The King sanctioned new canons (without the approval of Parliament or Assembly), requiring the recognition of the King as head of the Church and the acceptance of Episcopacy.

(4) **1637.** Issue of a new Prayer Book.

Strong resentment at the form of the book, and at the fact that the Scotch were not consulted before its issue. Riot in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh. Jenny Geddes threw a stool at the clergyman. "Will you say the Mass in my lug?"

B. Scotch opposition.

(1) Establishment of Four "Tables," or committees of nobles, gentry, citizens, and ministers.

(2) **1638.** The National Covenant drawn up by the Rev. Alexander Henderson and a lawyer, Johnston of Warriston. It rejected the recent religious changes not approved by the Scotch Assembly and Parliament, but accepted monarchy as the form of government.

The Marquis of Hamilton persuaded Charles to withdraw the canons, but dissolved the Assembly at Glasgow (at which he represented the King) owing to its claim to authority over the bishops. The Assembly defied the dissolution, abolished Episcopacy, condemned the Articles of Perth (page 338), the Prayer Book, the new Canons, and formally adopted Presbyterianism as the national religion.

C. The Bishops' Wars.

(1) **1639.** The first war.

Charles was greatly hampered by lack of money, and failed to get Spanish help. The Scotch army was well-disciplined, owing to the presence of veterans from the Thirty Years' War, well supplied with arms and ammunition and led by Alexander Leslie, a most capable general. Advance of Leslie to Dunse Law.

Treaty of Berwick.

Both sides to disband their armies.

The Scotch to restore the royal castles they had seized.

The Parliament to decide civil and the Assembly ecclesiastical questions.

Charles determined to maintain Episcopacy, and summoned the bishops to the Assembly. The Scotch, therefore, asserted the Presbyterian religion, and claimed a veto on the appointment of governors of the castles.

(2) **1640.** The second war.

a. Liberal grants were made to the King by the Irish Parliament, and Wentworth (created Earl of Strafford in **1640**) raised 6000 Irish troops,

and advised Charles to call an English Parliament, hoping that the publication of an appeal from the Scotch for French help (which had been refused by Richelieu) would rouse the English against the Scotch.

β. The Short Parliament, 1640.

1. The King asked for twelve subsidies in return for the renunciation of ship-money, but the Commons insisted on the redress of grievances before granting supplies, and denied the King's right to ship-money.

2. The Puritan leaders opened negotiations with the Scotch.

3. Parliament was dissolved, and many of the King's opponents were imprisoned.

4. This dissolution caused intense indignation, and made a contest between King and Parliament inevitable.

γ. Strafford urged war with the Scotch, advised the use of Irish troops, tried to get Spanish help. Spain, France, the Pope, and London refused to lend the King money, and he levied ship-money again. Strong opposition was shown to the war (except by the Anglo-Catholic clergy who supported absolutism), and much sympathy, especially in the south, was felt for the Scotch.

δ. Easy Scotch victory over Charles' discontented and disorderly army at Newburn-on-Tyne and seizure of Newcastle.

The presence of the Scotch in England made a settlement essential.

ε. Meeting at York of a great Council of Peers (the Magnum Concilium, which had not met since the reign of Edward III), which appointed sixteen peers. These made the Treaty of Ripon with the Scotch, promised them £850 a day for expenses, granted Durham and Northumberland as security for payment, and settled that an English Parliament was to be summoned to settle disputes. The Long Parliament was summoned November 3rd, **1640.**

(3) Importance of the Bishops' Wars.

α. The Scotch resistance broke the personal government of Charles and compelled him to summon Parliament, as all other financial expedients had failed and he had no means of raising money to pay the expenses of the Scotch except by grant from Parliament. Prompt payment was essential to ensure their withdrawal from Northumberland and Durham, where their presence was a great burden, and to prevent their march south.

β. Strong sympathy was felt in England for the Scotch. "Every member of the Commons knew that Scotland was fighting the battle of English liberty."

γ. There was great dread in England of the possible employment of Strafford's Irish army to fight the Scotch, but Charles wisely declined to bring it over to England.

References:

A. *Heroes of the Nations*, "Oliver Cromwell," by Firth, chap. II.

J. R. Green's *Short History of the English People*, chap. VIII, s. 5.

B. The Riot in St. Giles' Church. Gardiner's *History of England*, Vol. VIII, p. 314.

THE LONG PARLIAMENT
FIRST SESSION

"The Long Parliament, after having effected more for our liberties than any predecessor, ended by subverting the Constitution."

I. The Position of Parties.

A. The King was in great need of money, and therefore at the mercy of Parliament, from which alone he could get money. But his belief in his right to absolute power was quite unshaken.

B. The opposition had learned from the Short Parliament that strong measures were necessary.

C. Ecclesiastical divisions.

(1) The Episcopalians were numerically strong, but many adherents approved of Episcopacy and the Anglo-Catholic ritual while objecting to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of bishops.

(2) The Presbyterians wished to abolish Episcopacy and to set up the Presbyterian system of Church government by presbyteries or associations of ministers and ruling elders equal in power, office, and in order. The Presbyterians were strong among the middle classes, especially in Parliament and in London (15,000 Londoners presented a petition for the suppression of Episcopacy), but weak in the country and unpopular.

Both Episcopalians and Presbyterians were intolerant of other religions.

(3) The Independents, or Brownists, opposed all systems of Church government. They were weak as yet. The only party which favoured toleration.

D. John Pym. The leader of the Puritans in Parliament.

A Somersetshire gentleman. He had been imprisoned for opposition to James I in **1614**, and had shown opposition to James in **1620**. Opposed Buckingham. Took part in the Petition of Right. **1640**. He made an agreement with the Scotch, and the knowledge of their support strengthened him. He rode round England to secure support for Puritan candidates **1640**. Was elected member for Tavistock. His experience, skill as a Parliamentary tactician, ability as a speaker and debater, and clear perception of the real questions at issue made him the leader of his party and gained for him the nickname of "King Pym." He saw

(1) The supreme importance of Parliament as the chief factor in the Constitution.

(2) The importance of the Commons as the chief element in Parliament.

(3) He strongly opposed the secular power of the bishops. (See also page 392.)

II. **Action of Parliament.**

A. **1640.** The attack on the King's ministers.

1. Strafford impeached for high treason by Pym.

(1) He was accused of subverting the fundamental laws of the country and the authority of Parliament. Also of advising the King in Privy Council after the Short Parliament that "he had an army in Ireland which he might employ to reduce this Kingdom."

α. Pym said that "this kingdom" meant England. Strafford said Scotland, apparently correctly, as the Second Bishops' War was then going on.

β. Two witnesses were necessary for treason. The only witness was Secretary Sir Harry Vane (Strafford's enemy). Vane's original notes had been destroyed by Charles' orders, but copies made by his son were admitted as evidence instead of a second witness.

γ. Treason was only possible against the King, and although Strafford had assumed undue authority in Ireland, this was not technically treason; but the judges regarded him as a traitor, and he was guilty of treason against the nation. The feeling against Strafford was aggravated by an attempt of the Queen to get control of the army. Essex's famous declaration "Stone dead hath no fellow."

(2) Impeachment proved difficult and slow, and in spite of the opposition of Pym and Hampden, a Bill of Attainder[1] was brought in. This was a legislative not a judicial measure, because no absolute proof was required, but it was perfectly legal.

Strafford, in a masterly defence, maintained that none of his actions were treason, and protested against punishing a man for what the law did not regard as a crime.

Riots took place in London, and Charles, fearing an attack on the Queen's person and urged by Strafford, gave his assent to the Bill.

(3) Strafford executed May 12th, 1641.

α. The attack on Strafford was violent, unfair, and a breach of the liberty of the subject.

β. But Strafford was clearly guilty of an attack on the liberties of the people, and his execution seemed necessary as a warning to others.

γ. Really it was the King's absolute power that was condemned in the person of Strafford.

δ. The King's action was despicable. He had solemnly assured Strafford of safety, but broke his word and ruined his own power.

Charles. "My lord of Strafford's condition is better than mine."

Strafford. "Put not your trust in princes."

Pym. "Hath he given us Strafford? Then he can refuse us nothing."

[1] A Bill of Attainder is a legislative proceeding conducted in the same way as any other Act of Parliament, which after passing the Lords and Commons receives the assent of the Sovereign.

2. Flight of Secretary Windebank and Lord Keeper Finch to the Continent.
3. Laud imprisoned in the Tower.

B. Parliament strengthened its position.
   (1) Resolved that Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent. An unconstitutional act due to their deep distrust and fear of the King.
   (2) The Triennial Act. Ensured the meeting of Parliament once at least in three years, and provided that the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper and Peers might issue writs if the King failed to do so, and that Parliament should not be dissolved without its own consent in less than 50 days from its assembly.

C. The Redress of Grievances.
   (1) The victims of the Court of Star Chamber—Prynne, Bastwick, Burton, and Leighton—released from prison (page 366).
   (2) Monopolies were condemned.
   (3) Ship-money was declared illegal, and the judgment of the Court of Exchequer against Hampden annulled.
   (4) Tonnage and poundage were not to be taken without Parliamentary consent.
   (5) The distraint of knighthood was declared illegal.
   (6) The limitations on forests were annulled.
   (7) Abolition of extraordinary Courts, Star Chamber, Council of Wales, Council of The North, Court of High Commission. This involved
      α. The limitation of the judicial powers of the Privy Council and
      β. The assertion of the supremacy of Common Law over the whole of England, one-third of which had been withdrawn from the protection of the Common Law by these courts.

D. Ecclesiastical policy.
   (1) The Lords threw out a bill to displace bishops from their seats in the House of Lords, which had been passed by the Commons.

(2) A Bill for the abolition of Episcopacy, the "Root and Branch Bill," was supported by the younger Vane and Cromwell in the Commons, but dropped.

(3) Reversal of Laud's policy.

α. The Communion table ordered to be placed in the middle of the church.

β. Images to be removed.

γ. Offending clergy to be punished.

Thus Parliament asserted its supremacy over the Church.

III. **Reaction in favour of the King.**

A. Limited monarchy had apparently been set up. But this involves the harmonious working of King and Parliament, which was impossible owing to the King's devotion to Episcopacy and absolute power, and to the profound distrust felt by the Parliament of the King, and shown very clearly in the unprecedented appointment of a "Commission" to accompany the King on his journey to Scotland.

Many considered that the royal power had been sufficiently weakened, objected to the continuance of the aggressive policy of Pym, and thought that the great concessions made by the King ensured the safety of the Constitution.

B. The ecclesiastical policy of Pym roused the opposition of Moderate men like Falkland and Hyde, who were attached to Episcopacy. The Puritans were generally unpopular.

C. Much discontent was caused by the heavy taxes levied by Parliament to buy off the Scotch.

References:

A. *The Political History of England, 1602–1660*, by Montague, Longmans, chap. xi.

B. "King Pym." J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 535–7.

EVENTS LEADING UP TO GREAT CIVIL WAR

I. **The Differences between Charles and the Parliament.**

The differences between Charles (claiming absolute power, and a staunch supporter of Episcopacy) and Parliament (supporting the constitution and well disposed to Puritanism) were impossible to reconcile. The Puritans made keener owing to their belief in a Roman Catholic plot to subvert religion, and to their absolute distrust of Charles.

II. **The Distrust felt for Charles.**

The distrust felt for Charles was aggravated by his supposed connection with the "Incident," an attempt to kidnap Hamilton and Argyle, now the chief supporters of the Presbyterian cause in Scotland.

III. **The Irish Rebellion.**

A. Due to the resentment of the Irish at the plantation of Ulster and Connaught, to the fear of Puritan supremacy and the desire to re-establish Roman Catholicism. The rebels called themselves "The Catholic Confederates."

B. The rebellion was made possible by the weakness of the government after Strafford's fall.

C. The danger was greatly increased by the union of the Roman Catholic nobility of the Pale with the Irish of Ulster, led by Roger More and Phelim O'Neill.

D. Great excesses were committed by the brutal peasantry, but apparently there was not an indiscriminate massacre, although the lowest contemporary account states that 37,000 perished. Gardiner says that about 5000 were slain and about 10,000 more died as the result of privation and hardships.

E. The feeling in England.

(1) The Puritans in England regarded this rebellion as due to Roman Catholicism alone, and ecclesiastical differences were aggravated in consequence.

(2) Parliament refused to give Charles an army to crush the Irish, partly through fear of making him too powerful, partly because he was suspected of favouring the rebels. Pym claimed for Parliament the control of the army, and thus many went over to the King's side owing to the aggression of Parliament in military matters. The rebellion was put down with great cruelty by English and Scotch troops.

IV. **The Grand Remonstrance.**

A. A statement of the illegal acts done by the King, and of the reforms accomplished and proposed by Parliament. Carried by a majority of eleven after a stormy debate in which Hampden's coolness alone prevented bloodshed. The Remonstrance was printed and widely circulated.

B. The Remonstrance.

(1) It was an appeal by Pym to the nation against Charles.

(2) It was unfair to Charles, who had seemed willing to make concessions and had made friendly overtures to Lords Saye and Sele and Essex. No mention was made of the many reforms in which the King had acquiesced.

(3) It made a rupture inevitable, but war was practically certain, and the Commons felt that no satisfactory arrangement could be made with Charles, whom they utterly distrusted.

(4) The Remonstrance drove many Moderates to the King's side, but also gained much popular support among the Puritans for the Parliamentary party.

V. The Bishops' Exclusion Bill brought in again. Assaults made on bishops by the London mob ("Rabbling of the bishops"). Consequent refusal of most to attend the House of Lords, and strong protest of Archbishop Williams and twelve bishops. They were therefore committed to the Tower.

VI. Encounters frequently took place between the citizens (now called Roundheads from the close-cropped heads of the apprentices) and the Cavaliers (French chevalier = a swaggering soldier). Charles refused the request of the Commons, afraid of the violence of the Cavaliers, for a guard, and placed Lunsford, a violent supporter of his cause, in command of the Tower. Charles promised the Commons "on the word of a King" that Parliament should suffer no violence.

VII. **The King's attempt to arrest the Five Members.**

A. A counterstroke to the impeachment of the Queen supposed to be impending.

B. Pym, Hampden, Hazelrig, Holles, Strode, and Lord Kimbolton impeached by the Attorney-General at the King's command, for subverting the fundamental laws of England and treacherously calling in the Scotch.

C. Charles (who on the previous day had promised to protect Parliament from violence) came to the Commons with an armed force, but on entering the House found that "the birds are flown." Refusal of Speaker Lenthall to give information about them without permission of Parliament.

D. The importance of the King's attempt.

(1) It hastened war which was already inevitable.

(2) The Articles of Impeachment were illegal because Charles had no power of impeachment, and the members being Commoners ought, after being arrested on a warrant, to have been tried at common law by a petty jury on presentment of a grand jury.

(3) It afforded a clear proof of the King's belief that his opponents were traitors, and of his determination to crush them by force.

(4) The King had no right to arrest people himself, and his attempt to do so in Parliament was a great breach of privilege.

(5) Great indignation was aroused in London, which refused to give up the five members who had taken refuge in the City.

VIII. **Breaches of the Law.**

Both sides broke the law in their attempt to secure armed forces.

A. Parliament passed the Militia Bill and appointed the Lords Lieutenant who nominated militia officers. Parliament not being executive had no right to control the militia.

B. The King issued Commissions of Array, a method of enlistment repeatedly denounced as illegal by Parliament.

IX. **The Seizure of Hull.**

The Commons seized Hull, which was very important owing to its connection with the Continent (whither the Queen had gone to get arms and supplies).

Sir John Hotham, the Parliamentary commander, refused to admit the King, and Parliament confirmed his refusal. The first act of war.

X. **The Nineteen Propositions.**

The final demand of Parliament in "Nineteen Propositions" of control of the appointment of Privy Councillors, ministers, commanders of fortresses, of supervision over the education and marriage of the King's children, of the reform of religion and the enforcement of laws against recusancy. This demand was refused by Charles, who said that acceptance would have made him "the mere phantom of a king."

August 22nd. King Charles raised his standard at Nottingham.

References:

A. *The Political History of England, 1603–1660,* by Montague, chap. XII.

B. "The Grand Remonstrance." J. R. Green's *Short History,* p. 542.

"The Attempted Arrest of the Five Members." J. R. Green's *Short History,* p. 545.
Gardiner's *History of England,* Vol. X, p. 139.

THE POSITION OF PARTIES AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE GREAT CIVIL WAR

The conflict was religious and political, not social and economic. There was therefore no clear division of classes or localities.

I. **The King's Party**

A. Included the Roman Catholics and strong supporters of Episcopacy. Parliament was hostile to Roman Catholics and enforced fines for recusancy. Its strong opposition to Episcopacy was shown by the imprisonment of some grand jurors of Kent, who had presented a petition against innovations in religion.

B. The King's party was strengthened by the adhesion of many who feared the growing power of Parliament.

1. Parliament had been forced to override the law in order to secure forces in a struggle against the King.

   e.g. The measures it had taken for raising an army to put down the Irish Rebellion.

   The Militia Bill.

   The ordinance disarming recusants.

2. It had shown itself very tenacious of Parliamentary privilege, and had (e.g. Rolles' Case, page 363) asserted it unduly. The majority had intimidated the minority.

3. Many who desired reform felt that the liberty of England was probably exposed to greater danger by war, which Parliament had actually commenced, than by peace, and doubted whether the risk of Charles remaining on the throne was greater than the risk of civil war.

   Thus there was grave doubt as to the wisdom of the war, and fear of the undue development of Parliamentary power, and constitutionalists like Falkland and Hyde [afterwards Lord Clarendon] joined the side of the King, who gained considerable support by posing as the maintainer of law and order against an aggressive faction.

C. The King had made substantial concessions, and many protested against the entire omission of any mention of these in the Grand Remonstrance. His concessions and the character of some of his supporters, like Falkland, won over many to his side.

D. The social position of his supporters.

(1) At least three fifths of the peers joined Charles, partly through fear of the excessive power of the Commons, partly through loyalty to Episcopacy, partly through a feeling that honour required them to support Charles.

Sir Edmund Verney represented the opinion of many of the nobility and gentry.

"I have eaten the King's bread and served him now thirty years, and I will not do so base a thing as to desert him."

(2) A majority of the gentry and about one hundred members of Parliament supported the King, but a large minority supported Parliament.

(3) The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge supported the King.

(4) A minority of the yeomen and very few of the merchants and tradesmen sided with Charles.

II. **The Geographical Division of Parties.**

A. The districts which had supported the Yorkists and the Reformation were generally Parliamentarians, those that had supported Roman Catholicism and the Lancastrians were now generally Royalist. A line from Hull to Portsmouth represents the geographical division at the beginning of the war.

B. The King was generally supported by

The North of England, Wales, Cornwall, Devon, and Lancashire, except Manchester;

a. i.e. the poorest parts of the country. The North did not become predominant until the Industrial Revolution.

β. The King lost most of the customs and tonnage and poundage, and, though his Parliament at Oxford made him liberal grants, he could not raise them easily from his poor supporters. Hence arose the lack of money to pay the royal troops, and Rupert, nicknamed "Prince Robber," alienated many by allowing his troops to live on the country and to plunder.

C. The Parliament was generally supported by London (strongly Presbyterian), the eastern counties south of the Humber, and the southern as far as Portsmouth, Manchester, and the cloth towns of the West Riding, Somerset.

α. This was the wealthiest part of the country.

β. The control of London was of supreme importance.

γ. All the seaports from Hull to Portsmouth. Thus Parliament controlled the customs and could prevent the landing of foreign reinforcements for Charles near London.

δ. The Parliamentary district was more compact and less scattered than that of the King.

III. **Military Power.**

A. Both armies were badly organised. They were composed largely of local levies liable to serve only in their own counties and unwilling to cross their borders. Hence the difficulty at first of conducting connected operations on a large scale.

B. Owing to the support of the nobility and their servants, the King was strong in cavalry. This was very important, owing to the difficulty of resisting cavalry with the heavy muskets and pikes of the infantry. Hence the early successes of Rupert.

C. Parliament was much stronger in infantry, but, although the trained bands of London made a valuable nucleus, their quality was inferior. They were called "a poor set of hucksters and tapsters" by Cromwell.

D. The importance of organisation and discipline was shown on the appearance of the New Model Army, which ended the war.

E. Both sides suffered from a lack of efficient artillery. Hence early sieges were long.

F. The generals at first poor. The Parliamentarian Essex, "the elephantine general," was brave but slow. The Royalist Rupert was dashing but reckless.

Later appeared great generals, Cromwell, Fairfax, Montrose.

G. The Navy.

Parliament secured the navy, under the command of the Earl of Warwick, and this proved a great accession of strength. Owing to its control of the Navy Parliament

α. Could hold the seaports.

β. Could prevent foreign reinforcements for the King from landing in England.

THE LONG PARLIAMENT AND THE CIVIL WAR

1642.

A. Essex made a grave mistake in not immediately attacking Charles, whose army at Nottingham was weak and badly equipped. A prompt attack would probably have succeeded and ended the war.

B. Charles reached Shrewsbury, gaining many recruits from the friendly district.

C. Charles wisely marched on London. There was a race for London between him and Essex.[1] He marched from Shrewsbury via Bridgenorth to Birmingham, and turned north at Banbury.

(1) The Battle of Edgehill. Rupert's troops lost the advantage of a successful charge by plundering. The King's infantry was routed, but Essex failed in his attempt to stop his advance on London.

[1] Compare the race for London between Edward and Margaret in 1461 (p. 222).

1642.

(2) Essex reached London first owing to Charles' unwise delay.

(3) Rupert captured Brentford, but the Parliamentary army under Essex (including the London trained bands under Skippon) advanced to Turnham Green to protect London, and Charles' army fell back to Oxford, his capital.

D. Success of Newcastle, the commander of the Royalist troops in the north. He saved York and defeated Fairfax at Tadcaster.

E. Sir Ralph Hopton, aided by Sir Bevil Grenville, conquered Cornwall and Devon for Charles.

In the first year the Royalists were successful, and there was a strong desire for peace, especially in London. Negotiations between the King and Parliament broke down on the questions of the control of the militia and the maintenance of Episcopacy.

1643.

I. **Further Royalist Successes.**

A. Oxfordshire. Hampden was defeated by Rupert and mortally wounded at Chalgrove Field.

B. The North. Newcastle defeated Fairfax at Adwalton Moor (near Leeds), conquered the West Riding towns, and made the Royalists supreme north of the Humber except in Hull, which Parliament retained in spite of Hotham's intended treachery.

C. Success of Hopton at Stratton, at Lansdown near Bath (where he defeated Sir William Waller, Grenville slain) at Roundway Down near Devizes (where he again defeated Waller). He helped Rupert to capture Bristol, and thus secured the west.

Charles' armies ought to have marched against London, but his local levies were unwilling to leave their counties and his men feared to leave Hull, Gloucester, and Plymouth uncaptured.

1643.

D. Charles therefore besieged Gloucester. Essex raised the siege and thus averted an immediate attack on London which would have followed the capture. Essex retreated towards London.

E. Charles tried to cut off his retreat at First Newbury (death of Falkland, "weary of the times" and "ingeminating Peace, Peace"). The King failed to cut off Essex, but captured Reading.

About three-quarters of the kingdom were now subject to Charles. The height of his fortunes.

II. **Attempt of both Sides to get Help.**

A. Charles from Ireland. He made a truce for twelve months with the Catholic Confederates, and made a promise (which he knew he could not fulfil) to secure toleration to Irish Roman Catholics. He thus obtained the help of the English army which had been fighting against the Confederates in Ireland.

B. Parliament from the Scotch.

The King's recent successes compelled Parliament to get help, and the Scotch understood that the continuation of Presbyterianism in Scotland depended on the success of the Parliament in England. A request was made for Scotch help after Roundway Down, and half promised on condition

(1) That the English Parliament should accept the Solemn League and Covenant;

(2) That the King's authority should be maintained.

α. These conditions were incompatible.

β. The agreement with the Scotch marks the beginning of the Presbyterian tyranny, which was opposed by the Independents as well as by the Episcopalians.

γ. The Scotch army ensured the success of Parliament.

1643.

III. **Continuation of the War.**

A. The Associations. The union of several counties to form a unit of military administration, and thus to remove jealousy and lack of co-ordination between levies of different counties.

α. The Eastern Association. Included Cromwell's Ironsides, "a lovely company," formed of "men of religion" to oppose "gentlemen of honour."

β. The South Eastern Association under Waller.

B. Successes of Parliament in Lincolnshire (Cromwell at Gainsborough and Winceby) and South-east Yorkshire, where Newcastle was compelled to give up the siege of Hull.

IV. **December 6th. Death of Pym.**

A great blow to the Parliamentary Cause.

α. The champion of English liberty and Protestantism. Favoured limited monarchy.

β. Was not opposed to Episcopacy, but strongly opposed the political power of the bishops.

γ. Desired uniformity in religion, with freedom for Puritans, but was not in favour of toleration for Roman Catholics.

δ. He was responsible for calling in the Scotch.

ε. By his death he escaped the inevitable struggle between the Presbyterians and Independents, and there now remained no civilian great enough to challenge successfully the supremacy of the military leaders.

1644.

I. **Nantwich.**

The King's Irish forces were routed at Nantwich in January.

II. **The King sent Lord Glamorgan to Ireland in March.**

He promised that the laws against the Catholics should be repealed, and that Roman Catholicism should be established in Ireland if the Irish would send help to Montrose.

1644.

III. Marston Moor.

A. A Scotch army under the Earl of Leven (Alex. Leslie) attacked the Earl of Newcastle, already hard pressed by the associated counties on the south, and drove him into York.

B. Siege of York by Leven, the troops of the Eastern Association and the Fairfaxes (Sir Thomas had defeated the King's Irish auxiliaries at Nantwich in January, and his father, Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, had conquered the East Riding).

C. Rupert marched north into Lancashire, where he received reinforcements, raised the siege of Lathom House (bravely defended by the Countess of Derby) and captured Liverpool. He joined Newcastle in York.

D. The battle, July 2nd.

(1) Newcastle advised delay, as the besieging army was in some distress, but Rupert unwisely decided to fight.

(2) The Parliamentarians gained advantage from an unexpected charge about 6 p.m., when Rupert was having supper and Newcastle quietly smoking in his coach.

(3) Cromwell's Ironsides routed the Royalist right.

(4) Goring, commanding the Royalist left, defeated Sir T. Fairfax's cavalry.

(5) The Parliamentary infantry in the centre were routed and the line cut in two. Fairfax and Leven fled.

(6) The army of the Eastern Association, under Manchester and Cromwell, routed the victorious Royalists in spite of the gallant resistance of Newcastle's "Whitecoats."

E. Results of Marston Moor.

(1) The King lost the north of England. This was very important because the west was becoming discontented with Parliament.

(2) York submitted July 16th, and Newcastle fled to the Continent.

1644.

IV. **Royalist Successes.**

A. Lack of vigorous administration of the war on the Parliamentary side because it was directed by a committee (the "Committee of Both Kingdoms," appointed February, **1644**) in which the rivalry of Presbyterians and Independents caused friction. Failure of united action in the south owing to a personal quarrel between Essex and Waller.

B. Midlands. Waller was defeated at Cropredy Bridge on June 29th, and the safety of Oxford was thus ensured.

C. Cornish rising for Charles. Surrender of Essex's infantry at Lostwithiel. Charles' greatest success, but he foolishly allowed his prisoners to go after disarming them.

V. **Second Newbury. October 27th.**

Charles' march on London was checked, but Parliament failed to gain a complete victory, in spite of Cromwell's success, owing to the hesitation of Manchester. A violent quarrel broke out in consequence between Cromwell and Manchester. Thus by the end of **1644** Charles had lost the north, maintained his position in the Midlands, regained Cornwall, and profited by the growing differences between Presbyterians and Independents.

VI. **Dissensions between the Presbyterians and Independents.**

A. The Independents were strong in the army, and anxious to crush the King (Cromwell said, "If I met the King in battle I would fire my pistol at the King as at another") and to establish a republic.

The Presbyterian generals (Essex, Waller, and Manchester) had proved unsuccessful, supported limited monarchy, and were anxious "not to beat the King too much." "If we beat the King ninety and nine times yet he is King still. If he beats us he will hang us all for traitors."

1644.

B. The Presbyterians were of good position, many of high rank, and to this the early generals owed their appointment. The Independents were of much lower social status, were opposed to the nobility, wished to abolish the House of Lords, and to make merit the only condition of appointment to all posts.

C. The Presbyterians wished to secure conformity to the Presbyterian system of Church government and to compel all to take the Covenant. They strongly supported the alliance with Scotland. The Independents objected to any system of Church government which would in any way limit the absolute independence of individual congregations and wished to terminate the Scotch alliance.

D. The personal quarrel between Manchester and Cromwell brought matters to a head.

1645.

I. **January 10th. Execution of Archbishop Laud.**

α. Impeached for treason, for attempting to change religion and the fundamental laws of England.

β. Condemned on a Bill of Attainder, although he produced a royal pardon under the Great Seal.

γ. Very few Lords were present at the trial, and these were coerced by the Commons, who represented only a section of the nation.

δ. The execution was a shameful judicial murder, due largely to the pressure of the Scotch, and showed clearly the practical impossibility of ensuring a reconciliation between the King and the Commons.

II. **Failure of Negotiations at Uxbridge owing to the demands of Parliament for the Establishment of Presbyterianism and the Control of the Militia.**

III. **The New Model Army.**

A. A force of 14,000 foot and 7000 horse to be raised in addition to the local levies, and to be paid by taxes on those districts which had suffered least in the war.

1645.

B. The Lords were unfavourable to the plan because they saw that the new army would be anti-Presbyterian, but subsequently agreed to it.

C. The army proved strongly Independent, opposed to Episcopacy and to Presbyterianism, and in time it "proceeded from democracy in religion to democracy in politics."

IV. **The Self-denying Ordinance.**

No member of either House to hold command in the army.

A. Hitherto the Peers had always held the chief posts. Now Essex, Manchester, Waller, and Warwick (the Admiral) were superseded by Fairfax as Commander-in-Chief and Skippon as Major-General.

The post of Lieutenant-General was left vacant, to be filled later by Cromwell, by special exemption.

B. The new officers were efficient, enthusiastic, of all social ranks, and not favourable to the Presbyterian supremacy.

C. The Lords objected but were over-ruled, and there seemed grave danger of a rupture between the two Houses.

D. The Self-denying Ordinance was the first great victory of the Independents over the Presbyterians.

V. **Naseby. June 14th.**

A. The King determined to attack the Scotch army in the north, which was preventing Montrose (see VII) from joining Charles. Captured Leicester, but turned south to avert an expected attack on Oxford.

B. The battle.

(1) Rupert on the Royalist right routed Ireton's Horse but pursued them too far.

(2) The Royalist infantry (under Astley) routed the opposing centre under Skippon.

(3) Cromwell routed Langdale's Horse and then defeated the rest of the Royalists before Rupert returned.

1645.

(4) A victory for Cromwell and the New Model.

(5) Results :—

α. The Royalists lost the Midlands.

β. Charles' private papers were captured and showed that he was determined to maintain absolute power, and that he was negotiating with Irish Catholics and foreigners for help. Much harm was done to Charles' cause by the publication of these papers.

γ. The King's chances were ruined because Wales and the West, his only remaining support, were too poor to give efficient help, and particularly to replace his captured artillery.

δ. The Independents gained really a double victory over the King and the Presbyterian Parliament.

ε. The King ought to have gone abroad, but hoped for help from Montrose. By continuing the war he inflicted unnecessary evils on the people and did himself no good.

VI. **Other Parliamentary Victories.**

A. July. Fairfax defeated Goring at Langport and conquered the south-west.

B. Bristol was surrendered to the Parliamentarians by Rupert, who was expelled from England by Charles for his action.

C. Charles, attempting to join Montrose, was defeated at Rowton Moor near Chester.

D. Sir J. Astley was defeated in the last battle at Stow-in-the-Wold, in Gloucestershire. He said to his conquerors, "Ye may now go and play if ye do not fall out among yourselves."

but shall on the road'

VIII. **Montrose, "the Great Marquis."**

James Graham, Earl of Montrose, had at first supported the Covenanters, but afterwards, largely owing to his jealousy of Argyle, joined the Royalists. He was created a marquis and appointed Lieutenant-General of Scotland by Charles in 1644, and skilfully used the hatred felt by many Highlanders (especially the MacDonalds) against Argyle.

1644. He routed Elcho at Tippermuir and captured Perth and Aberdeen.

1645. He annihilated the Campbells at Inverlochy, routed Baillie at Kilsyth, captured Glasgow and was master of Scotland. But he failed to keep his army together and was routed at Philiphaugh by David Leslie. The ruin of the Royalist cause in Scotland.

1646.

I. **Charles surrendered to the Scotch at Newark.**

A. He should have abdicated or gone abroad, but he thought that there would be an opportunity of playing off the Scotch against the Parliament.

B. But his position was very weak.

(1) There were serious dissensions in his own party, and quarrels between his military leaders and his civilian supporters had greatly hampered him for some time.

(2) The Queen was most unpopular.

(3) The publication of his letters after Naseby had done him much harm.

C. He refused to take the Covenant, and the Scotch, therefore, would not give him their support.

D. His flight to the Scotch and the end of the war raised the questions of the establishment of Presbyterianism, of the disbanding of the army, and of the return of the Scotch. These were Parliamentary questions, and Parliament, in which the Presbyterians were the majority, became very important.

II. **The terms offered to the King by Parliament.**

The King, in spite of the advice of the Scotch, refused the terms offered by Parliament involving the control of the militia for twenty years, the establishment of Presbyterianism, and the abolition of Episcopacy. He offered to recognise Presbyterianism for three years and to give up the control of the militia for ten.

III. **The Establishment of the Presbyterian Religion.**

The Presbyterian religion was established by Parliament and the Westminster Assembly.

A. The Covenant was imposed on all and Episcopacy was abolished.

B. The Common Prayer Book was superseded by the Presbyterian Directory.

C. A regular system of classes and synods was established.

1647.

January 30th, 1647. The surrender of the King by the Scotch to the Parliament.

A. The King was given up by the Scotch to Parliament in return for a payment of £200,000 down and £200,000 later in return for military services. The King kept at Holmby House by Parliament.

B. Criticism.

α. The Scotch could not be expected to defend Charles against the Parliament, and it was not safe to set him free.

β. They had not pledged their faith to him and he had surrendered unconditionally to them.

γ. The money had been promised before and the odium incurred ("Traitor Scot, sold his King for a groat") was not fully deserved.

δ. The surrender of Charles led to the breach between the army and the Parliament.

References:

A. *Heroes of the Nations*, "Oliver Cromwell," by Firth, chaps. IV–VII; also J. R. Green, Gardiner, Montague, and "Oliver Cromwell," in the *Twelve English Statesmen*.

B. Sonnet, "When an Assault was intended to the City," by Milton.

The Battle of Naseby, by Macaulay.

Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*.

Letter XVI. The Ironsides.
Letter XXI. Marston Moor.
Letter XXIX. Naseby.

C. England:—

Henry Masterton, by James, Routledge.
The Splendid Spur, by "Q", Cassell.
When Charles I was King, by Fletcher, Gay and Bird.
Hugh Gwyeth, by Dix, Macmillan.
Battlement and Tower, by Rhoscomyl, Longmans.
Holmby House, by Melville, Longmans.
The Cavaliers, by Keighley, Hutchinson.
In Spite of All and *To Right the Wrong*, by Lyall, Hurst and Blackett.

Scotland:—

The Legend of Montrose, Sir W. Scott.
John Splendid, by Munro, Blackwood.

EVENTS LEADING TO THE EXECUTION OF THE KING

I. **Growing Dissensions between Parliament** (in which a strong majority was bent on establishing Presbyterianism) **and the Army** (largely Independent and supporting Toleration).

A. March, **1647.** The attempt of Parliament to weaken the army.

(1) Decision to send part of the army to Ireland, to disband 6000 troops, and to compel all officers to take the covenant.

(2) Discontent in the army, owing in some cases to arrears of pay, in others to the intolerance of the Presbyterians, in all to the proposals to disband. Appointment by the army, stationed at Saffron Walden, of Agitators [i.e. agents] to obtain the redress of their grievances.

B. Seizure of the King at Holmby House by Cornet Joyce. The dispute was now becoming largely political, and the possession of the King's person was very important.

C. Demand of the army for the dissolution of Parliament, which it regarded as intolerant and usurping. Withdrawal of eleven obnoxious M.P.s at the demand of the army. London (strongly Presbyterian) protested, but was occupied by the army, which was now supreme.

I. The Army and the King.

A. June, **1647.** Offer of the "heads of proposals" by the army to Charles at Hampton Court.

(1) Parliament to control the militia, navy, and officers of State for ten years.

(2) Religious toleration to be given to all except Roman Catholics.

(3) The duration of Parliament to be limited to two years and seats to be fairly redistributed.

(4) Only five of Charles' friends were excluded from the settlement.

(5) These terms were favourable, but Charles refused to accept them because

α. He thought himself indispensable, "You cannot be without me," and held out for better terms.

β. He hoped to play one party off against the other.

γ. He relied upon help from the Scotch, with whom he subsequently concluded "the Engagement" (December 26th) by which the Scotch promised to restore him by force if he would support the establishment of Presbyterianism for three years.

B. Growth of hostility in the army to Charles.

Due to his persistent intrigues, to fear of Scotch intervention on his behalf, to his flight from Hampton Court to the Isle of Wight, and especially to the second Civil War. Cromwell, who hitherto had been not badly disposed to Charles, now turned against him. January, **1648**. Vote of Parliament, which had become more Independent owing to the recent elections, to hold no more communications with the King.

III. **The Second Civil War, 1648.**

A. Rising in South Wales. Capture by Cromwell of Tenby, Chepstow, and Pembroke gallantly defended by Colonel Poyer, the leader of the rebellion.

B. Risings in Kent and Essex crushed by Fairfax at Maidstone and Colchester.

C. Hamilton's invasion.

Due to the Engagement, to a Royalist reaction in favour of Charles, to the dissatisfaction of the Scotch at the failure of Parliament to establish Presbyterianism in England. Hamilton's army was badly led, badly equipped (there was a great scarcity of draught horses), and badly organised. Cromwell, returning from Wales, cut the army in half at Preston and defeated it again at Warrington. Surrender of Hamilton to Lambert at Uttoxeter. Hamilton executed March, **1649**. Cromwell came to an agreement with Argyle, and this agreement strengthened the influence of the English army in Scotland.

D. Part of the Parliamentary navy joined the Royalist navy under Rupert. This did nothing except blockade the Thames for a few days. It might have carried off Charles from Carisbrooke.

IV. **The Revival of the Presbyterian Party.**

A. May. Heresy and blasphemy were made capital crimes.

B. The return to Parliament of the eleven members excluded by the army.

C. The decision to hold no more communications with the King was repealed, and by the Treaty of Newport (August, 1648) Parliament offered to support Charles on condition that the control of the militia was given to Parliament, Episcopacy was abolished, and Charles accepted Presbyterianism.

Charles refused to surrender the control of the militia or to accept Presbyterianism.

V. **Continuation of the Quarrel between Parliament and the Army.**

A. Presentation to Parliament of a strong "remonstrance" from the army declaring it impossible to treat with Charles and demanding his trial.

B. The army removed Charles to Hurst Castle.

C. Decision of the Parliament to accept the King's offer to recognise Presbyterianism for three years in spite of the remonstrance.

D. Consequent expulsion by the army of ninety-six and arrest of forty-seven M.P.s. Pride's Purge. The remainder "the Rump," which was quite unrepresentative of the nation, declared it treason for the King to levy war against the Parliament and kingdom, and appointed a High Court of Justice to try him.

References:

A. *The Political History of England, 1603-1660,* by Montague, chap. xv.

B. Milton's sonnet on "The Forces of Conscience under the Long Parliament."

THE EXECUTION OF CHARLES I

I. **The High Court of Justice.**

A. An illegal tribunal, appointed by the Rump—an unrepresentative body.

B. The Peers who supported the Parliamentary cause (only five remaining) refused to agree to the appointment of the Court.

C. Charles refused to plead or to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court. He posed, not without some reason, as the champion of law and liberty against the tyranny of the army and the Rump.

D. Only 53 out of 135 members of the court attended (Fairfax had "more wit than to be here") and only 59 signed the sentence.

II. **The Accusation. Treason in levying war against the Parliament.**

A. But the King was supported in the war by the great majority of peers, a large minority of the Commons and many (at one time the majority) of the nation.

B. Parliament was as responsible for the war as the King. The refusal to admit Charles into Hull was the first act of war, and the aggressors thus made force necessary.

III. **The execution was a great mistake.**

A. The King was regarded as a martyr for Episcopacy (of which he was a strong supporter), and the general feeling caused by his execution was horror. His faults were forgotten. His dignified conduct on the scaffold made a profound impression.

> "He nothing common did, or mean,
> Upon that memorable scene."

B. Prince Charles, a boy regarded as free from his father's faults, became the head of the Royalists.

C. It caused the rising of the Scotch, who had made very strong representations on the King's behalf.

V. **But there are strong excuses for the army.**

A. Charles was absolutely untrustworthy.

B. It was considered that "that man of blood, Charles Stuart," was the cause of the second Civil War, and this probably was the final cause of his execution.

C. He persisted in the belief in his own absolute power, and stated on the scaffold that "a subject and a sovereign are clean different." The Independents therefore regarded him as a public enemy, and believed that the interests of the country required his death. By his execution the doctrine of the responsibility of kings to their people was asserted, but that execution was illegal and unwise.

eferences:

A. *Heroes of the Nations*, "Oliver Cromwell," by Firth, chap. XI.

B. *Twelve English Statesmen*, "Oliver Cromwell," pp. 128–9. Marvell's *Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland*, verses 12–16.

C. *Twenty Years After*, by Dumas.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH

In England.

The Rump (from which all who had favoured the last negotiations with Charles were excluded) reorganised the Government.

A. Abolition of Monarchy and the House of Lords (declared "useless and dangerous").

B. A Council of State (three-quarters of its members being members of the House of Commons) was appointed as executive. Bradshaw made president.

C. The establishment of a new High Court of Justice (which condemned Hamilton, executed March 9th, **1649**). The King's Bench, now called the "Upper Bench," completed by the appointment of six judges to replace six who had resigned owing to the execution of Charles.

D. England was declared a "Free Commonwealth"; it was really an oligarchy depending for its existence on the army.

E. Difficulties.

(1) The majority of the nation was hostile to the new Government. There was a strong Royalist reaction, caused by the execution of Charles, and stimulated by the publication of *Eikon Basilike* ["The King's Image," which professed to give the King's utterances during his imprisonment]. The Presbyterians were very strong, especially in London.

Many supporters of the Government, including Fairfax, refused to take an oath approving of the King's death.

(2) Strong opposition of the ultra-democratic "Levellers," led by Lilburne, who demanded the immediate dissolution of Parliament, annual Parliaments controlling the executive and the abolition of the Council of State.

(3) Spread of disaffection in the army. Crushed by Cromwell and Fairfax at Burford.

II. **Abroad.**

A. Little danger. Europe was exhausted by the Thirty Years' War, ended in **1648** by the Treaty of Westphalia.

B. France was unlikely to interfere because the Government was now hampered by the opposition of the nobles to Mazarin, which led to the Fronde. France was also at war with Spain.

C. Spain was at war with France and hampered by the rebellion of Portugal.

D. In Holland the States-General were unwilling to fight, although Charles was the father-in-law of the Stadtholder

III. **Scotland, 1649–1651.**

A. Argyle and the Covenanters were angry at the execution of the King of Scotland, and, being strong supporters of monarchy and the Stuarts, proclaimed Prince Charles as Charles II in Edinburgh. Prince Charles, unwilling to take the Covenant, and relying upon the Royalists under Montrose in Scotland and Ormonde in Ireland, did not accept their terms.

B. Charles made Montrose, "the Great Marquis," captain-general in Scotland. Defeat of Montrose at Corbiesdale; hanged by the Covenanters May 21st, 1650. Basely disowned by Charles.

C. Arrival of Prince Charles in Scotland, June 24th, 1650, and acceptance of the Covenant.

D. Grave danger to England. Fairfax refused to invade Scotland, believing that the Scotch had a right to elect their own king. Cromwell marched toward Edinburgh. He was hemmed in at Dunbar by David Leslie, who foolishly left his strong position at the order of the ministers of the Kirk, and was utterly routed by Cromwell, September 3rd, 1650.

E. The authority of the strict Covenanters, led by Argyle, was broken by this defeat, and they treated Charles more kindly after the unsuccessful "Start," his attempt to escape from them to the Highland Royalists. Increasing power of the new Duke of Hamilton and the "Engagers" (p. 401), who united with the Covenanters to crown Charles at Scone, January 1st, 1651.

F. Cromwell marched north and captured Perth, leaving the road to England open. Charles and Hamilton invaded England, hoping for Royalist help. Unsuccessful rising of the Earl of Derby, who was captured and executed. The utter rout of the Scotch by Cromwell at Worcester, his "crowning mercy," September 3rd, 1651, ensured the continuance of the Commonwealth. Hamilton was slain, but Charles, although forty-five people knew where he was, and a reward of £1000 was offered for his apprehension, escaped to Normandy.

G. Scotland was exhausted. Three armies had been routed in four years. Monk captured Stirling and Dundee, and established the authority of the Parliament in the South.

April, 1652. The Parliamentary Union of England and Scotland was proclaimed in Edinburgh. Freedom of trade between the two countries and religious toleration were established.

Bitter opposition of the nation in general, and Covenanters in particular, to this settlement, which involved the loss of national independence and of the supremacy of the Presbyterian religion.

IV. **Ireland, 1649.**

Grave danger from Ireland, owing to the union of the Confederate Catholics under Hugh O'Neill, with the Royalists under Ormonde. The Ulster Scotch supported the cause of the King and Covenant and opposed Parliament. Danger from the fleet of Rupert, which appeared on the South Coast.

A. Prince Charles refused the invitation of Ormonde to put himself at the head of the Irish Royalists. Defeat of Ormonde by the Parliamentarians under Jones at Rathmines (August 2nd, **1649**).

B. Cromwell appointed governor and commander-in-chief (August 15th).

(1) His intentions.

α. To crush the Royalists.

β. To avenge the massacre of **1641**. His persecution of Roman Catholics in Ireland was due largely to his belief that the priests had instigated the massacre.

γ. To subdue the native Irish.

δ. To assert the Protestant religion and the English supremacy.

(2) The conquest of the North East.

α. Drogheda carried by storm at the third assault (September 11th). Massacre of garrison and priests. Some (number doubtful) townspeople slain. Total probably three thousand.

1. The slaughter of a garrison which had resisted assault was warranted by Continental practice, but had not been done in the English Civil War.
2. Cromwell hoped the example would check resistance elsewhere. "It will tend to prevent the effusion of blood."

β. Dundalk captured by Cromwell's lieutenants.

(3) The conquest of the south.

Wexford captured (October 11th), two thousand Irish slain. Cork and Youghal submitted. Rupert's fleet was defeated by Blake's at Kinsale.

(4) Ormonde was hampered by dissensions between the Irish Catholics and English Protestants. The Roman Catholic bishops gained the supremacy, and the Scotch in Ulster submitted to the English Parliament. Ormonde, finding himself overruled by the bishops, fled to France. Break-up of united opposition to the Parliament in Ireland.

(5) **1650.** Cromwell captured Clonmel, gallantly defended by Hugh O'Neill, and returned to England, having conquered the stronger half of Ireland.

(6) The conquest was completed by Ireton and Ludlow.

Waterford **1650** and Limerick **1651** submitted to Ireton, and Galway to Ludlow.

May, 1652. The subjection of Ireland was ensured by the Articles of Kilkenny.

α. The Irish Parliament to be abolished, and Ireland to return thirty members to the English Parliament.

β. Papists to hold no office, opponents of Parliament to be severely punished.

γ. Many Roman Catholics were transported to Connaught because the new colonists feared the native population. This transportation a very barren country meant death from starv tion, and many who refused to go took to robbery and were called "Torees."

The plantation was not thoroughly carried out.

δ. Confiscated lands given to English settlers, including many of Cromwell's soldiers. Consequent increase of English influence and improvement in agriculture.

But many Irish emigrated rather than face the new conditions, and the population was reduced to about one half by war, by the transportation of prisoners to Barbados, and by emigration.

V. **Great Naval Successes, 1650–1651.**

A. Vane reorganised the navy.

(1) Many new ships were built (twenty-two launched in **1654**), and properly equipped.

(2) Fleets were maintained in the Channel, the Mediterranean, and the West Indies.

(3) Naval officers were promoted by merit, and there was a marked improvement in the type of sailors.

(4) But the cost was very heavy. In **1653** the Admiralty received £1,500,000 out of a total revenue of £2,600,000, and the heavy taxation imposed to meet naval expenditure was one of the causes of the unpopularity of Cromwell's government.

B. Colonel Blake, who had successfully defended Taunton and Lyme in the Civil War, proved himself our greatest naval hero after Nelson and Drake.

1650. (1) Blake blockaded Rupert, after his flight from Kinsale, in the Tagus, where he had taken refuge by permission of King John of Portugal.

(2) The Spaniards allowed him to revictual at Cadiz, and he captured part of the Portuguese fleet returning from Brazil.

(3) He captured some of the ships of Rupert (who had escaped from the Tagus) at Malaga, drove him to the West Indies, and ensured the recognition of the Commonwealth there.

1651. (4) Captured the Scilly Isles, the Isle of Man, and Jersey.

THE COMMONWEALTH FROM THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER TO THE INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT

I. Domestic Policy.

A. The victory at Worcester made a Stuart Restoration impossible for some years, and ensured the continuance of Puritan supremacy. The urgent need of the time was the establishment of an effective Government, and a "settlement" of the country.

B. The Rump.

(1) The Rump had remained in power hitherto because of the danger of change, and because of the support of the army. But the victory of Worcester, Sept. 3rd, 1651, removed the danger of a Royalist restoration; the Rump lost the support of the army and became most unpopular.

α. It was quite unrepresentative. It had been elected in 1640, "purged" 1648, and was a mere fragment of the original Long Parliament.

β. It was compelled to levy very heavy taxes to pay the army, keep up the navy, and carry on the Dutch war (p. 415). These taxes were raised by excise, monthly assessments, and the confiscation of the estates of "Malignants."

γ. **1643.** It restricted the liberty of the press.

1644. Milton therefore published the *Areopagitica*, "a speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing."

1649. Printing was confined to London, York, Oxford, and Cambridge.

δ. Much indignation was caused by interference with private life, e.g. closing the theatres. Acts were passed to punish as crimes swearing, non-observance of Sunday, adultery, and other sins.

ε. There was a lack of constructive policy, e.g. Episcopacy was disestablished, but no other form of religion was recognised; there was the greatest diversity of doctrine and ceremony and, in some cases, utter lack of decorum in the service. The religious disorders were aggravated by extreme sects, such as the "Fifth Monarchy Men."[1]

ζ. Growing indignation of the army at the incompetence, corruption, and in some cases immorality, of the Rump, which Cromwell called "lazy and unclean," and which utterly failed to effect a settlement of the disorders of the time. The Rump, determined to secure its own position, passed, in **1652**, a Bill postponing its dissolution to November **1654**. Later, a Bill was introduced providing for a dissolution, but directing that present members should keep their seats and have the power of rejecting new members. Vane, on April 19, **1653**, promised Cromwell that this Bill would be deferred, but next day Cromwell heard that it was being

[1] The Fifth Monarchy Men believed in the speedy coming of the Kingdom of Christ in succession to the four monarchies mentioned in the Book of Daniel, which were taken to be the Assyrian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman Empires.

hurried on. He therefore expelled the Rump by force. "You are no Parliament. Give way to honester men." April 20th, 1653.

Thus the remnant of the Long Parliament which had saved England from absolute monarchy was expelled by force to ensure representative government.

η. The Council of State dissolved by Cromwell.

B. Barebone's (or the Little) Parliament.[1] The highest point of the Puritan Revolution. July 4th to December 12th, 1653.

A general election seemed dangerous because the majority of the nation were opposed to the Independents. The Congregational Churches nominated 140 "faithful and God-fearing members," including five to represent Scotland, and six to represent Ireland. There was no election, and this Parliament was quite unrepresentative.

(1) It does not deserve all the ridicule it has received, to which its nickname has contributed. It contained many excellent members (although Lambert and Vane refused nomination), Monk, Blake, Ashley Cooper (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury).

It did some good work, e.g. the institution of civil marriages, the registration of births and deaths, the payment of judges by salaries and not by fees.

(2) But it was unpractical and tried to do too much, e.g. it abolished the Court of Chancery without establishing a substitute, abolished Church patronage and tithes, and, partly through jealousy, seemed unwilling to vote the expenses of the army.

(3) A few members carried a vote to dissolve, and the Parliament resigned its power to Cromwell.

[1] It received the name of "Barebone's Parliament" from Praise God Barbon or Barebone, a leather merchant of London.

C. The Instrument of Government, December 16, 1653.

Other means having failed, the army tried to ensure a settlement. Lambert and the officers drew up the Instrument of Government, which provided

(1) That there should be an elective Chief Magistrate. The Lord Protector to act as head of the Executive, to control the army and navy and, in conjunction with the Council, to direct foreign policy and decide on peace and war.

The Protector could issue ordinances during the Parliamentary recesses subject to subsequent revision by Parliament. He could not annul laws passed by Parliament and could delay them only for twenty days.

(2) The sovereign power, particularly in the case of legislation and taxation, was to rest with Parliament, which consisted of 400 English, 30 Irish, and 30 Scotch members, meeting at least once in three years. Parliament was not to be dissolved within five months of assembly.

(3) A Council of twenty-two was appointed to check the power of the Protector.

(4) Seats were to be redistributed, and a qualification of £200 was necessary for a county vote.

(5) The Christian religion as set forth in the Bible was to be recognised as the religion of England, with toleration for all except Papists and Prelatists.

The Instrument was an honest attempt to effect a settlement. It was in advance of the times as far as Religious Toleration was concerned. Its weakness lay in the absence of any provision for reconciling differences between the Protector and the Parliament.

II. **Foreign Relations.**

A. England now began again to take an active part in foreign affairs. The rivalry between France and Spain (still at war in spite of the Treaty of Westphalia) made the friendship of England, possessing a strong army and navy, very important for both.

B. The Dutch War.

(1) Causes.

α. The rivalry of British and Dutch traders in the East Indies.

1623. The massacre of English traders by the Dutch at Amboyna, and the consequent loss of the Spice Islands by the English, who turned their attention to India.

β. 1651. The Navigation Act, passed partly owing to the disappointment of Parliament at the Dutch refusal to effect a union of England and Holland on the death of the Stadtholder in 1650.

1. All goods imported into England to be carried in English ships or in ships of the producing country.
2. All goods exported from England to be carried only in English ships.

γ. The Dutch were irritated by the English claim of supremacy in the narrow seas and of the right of searching neutral ships for material of war. The cessation of their long war with Spain had enabled the Dutch to extend their carrying trade and commerce, and the command of the seas had thus become a very important question.

(2) The course of the War.

An alliance was made between Holland and Denmark and the Baltic trade of England suffered in consequence. England, owing to the efforts of Vane and Blake, had an efficient fleet. The Dutch, though possessing a strong fleet, were dependent on foreign countries for their food supply, while in England all food required could be produced at home. The Dutch merchantmen were liable to attack from English ports, and grave distress in Holland followed any interruption of the food supply.

1652. Blake captured the Dutch herring fleet in the Straits of Dover and secured the mastery of the Channel by a victory in the Downs, but in November Van Tromp gained the supremacy by defeating Blake off Dungeness.

1653. Van Tromp was defeated by Blake and Monk off Portland.

Van Tromp defeated and killed by Monk off the Texel.

1653. Barebone's Parliament demanded the exclusion of the Prince of Orange from office and the limitation of the Dutch shipping in the narrow seas.

1654. Peace was made by Cromwell.

The Dutch agreed to accept the Navigation Act, to salute the English flag in the Channel, to compensate English merchants for outrages in the East, and not to help the Royalists.

References:

A. *The Political History of England, 1603–1660*, chap. XVI.
Ireland. *Twelve English Statesmen*, "Oliver Cromwell," chap. VIII.
Heroes of the Nations, "Oliver Cromwell," chap. XIII.

C. *Castle Omeragh*, by Moore, Constable.
Harry Ogilvie, by Grant, Routledge.
The King's Pistols, by Plant, Sonnenschein.

OLIVER CROMWELL

I. **Life.**

April 25, **1599.** Born of good family, "I was by birth a gentleman," descended from a nephew of Thomas Cromwell. Educated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Married Elizabeth Bourchier, a merchant's daughter. Removed from Huntingdon to St. Ives, where he became a gentleman farmer.

1628. M.P. for Huntingdon.

Did not book his passage to America owing to religious persecution—as is sometimes stated.

1640. M.P. for Cambridge in the Short and Long Parliaments, and opposed the bishops in the latter.

1642. Fought at Edgehill as a cornet of horse, but had had no military training previous to the war.

1643. Became leader of the army of the Eastern Counties. Conquered Lincolnshire by victories at Gainsborough and Winceby.

1644. The troops of the Eastern Association under his command ensured the victory of Marston Moor. After the second battle of Newbury Cromwell quarrelled with Manchester.

1645. Kept his seat in spite of the self-denying Ordinance, and became leader of the Independents. At Naseby he turned prospective defeat into a brilliant victory.

1648. The second Civil War. Captured Pembroke and defeated Hamilton at Preston.

1649. Supported the execution of King. Subdued Ireland. Captured Drogheda and Wexford.

1650. September 3rd, Routed the Scotch at Dunbar.

1651. September 3rd, Routed Prince Charles at Worcester.

During the war he had shown himself a great organiser, a born leader of men, a brilliant cavalry captain. After the war he strove earnestly to "heal and settle." He turned out the Rump **1653**, and on the failure of Barebone's Parliament was

1654. Made Protector by the Instrument.

1655. Capture of Jamaica.

1656. War with Spain.

1657. He was offered the Crown by his Second Parliament. The Humble Petition and Advice. Refused to accept. "I cannot undertake this government with the title of King."

1657. Alliance with France.

1658. September 3rd, Died.

II. **Cromwell's Ecclesiastical Policy.**

A. **1654.** He did much to purify the Church by appointing "Triers" to try the fitness of candidates for the ministry, and "Ejectors" to eject unsatisfactory ministers.

B. He gave toleration to all Christians except Papists and Prelatists, but considerable toleration was actually allowed to Roman Catholics, and Anglicans, worshipping in private, were not often molested.

Quakers were protected, and Fifth Monarchy men leniently treated in spite of the excesses of both. Some measure of toleration was given to Jews worshipping in strict privacy, and many returned to London for business.

Thus Cromwell was in advance of his time as far as Religious Toleration was concerned.

C. His policy was marked by vexatious interference with private life. He put down dancing, theatre-going, and even Christmas festivities, and by undue severity paved the way for the reaction at the Restoration.

III. **Cromwell's Foreign Policy.**

A. His aim was

(1) To maintain the Protestant cause in Europe, and to form a Protestant league in which England should hold the balance. His policy was "militantly Protestant."

(2) To prevent the Stuarts from getting help in Europe.

(3) He showed an interest in the navy and colonial development.

B. He attempted to form a Protestant League.

(1) **1654.** He made peace with the Dutch; concluded treaties with Sweden and Denmark, and (in order to weaken Spain) with Portugal, in spite of the execution for murder in London of Dom Pantaleone Sa, brother of the Portuguese Ambassador, **1654.**

(2) This policy was unnecessary because after the Treaty of Westphalia, **1648**, religious questions became much less important, and there was no union among the Roman Catholics sufficiently dangerous to necessitate the formation of such a Protestant league.

(3) Cromwell's attempt failed, but the failure did no harm to Protestantism.

C. His relations with France and Spain.

(1) Spain.

a. At first he made overtures to Spain, demanded freedom of worship for Englishmen in Spain and the colonies, and the right of trading to the West Indies. This was regarded by Philip IV as a demand for his "two eyes," and was refused.

1655. *β.* Following Elizabethan precedents, an expedition was sent to the West Indies under Penn and Venables, who failed to take Hispaniola, but captured Jamaica. Spain therefore declared war. The English carried on successful naval operations. Stayner, Blake's lieutenant, captured Spanish treasure-ships off Santa Cruz, and, **1657**, Blake blockaded Cadiz.

(2) France.

Mazarin was anxious to secure Cromwell's assistance against Spain, and, at Cromwell's request, saved the Vaudois from the persecution of the Duke of Savoy. In consequence of this, and of the war with Spain, a

1657. Treaty was made, by which it was agreed that

a. England should help France in an attack on Flanders. This was a reversal of the Elizabethan policy of non-intervention in continental affairs.

β. England should receive Dunkirk and Mardyke. This was contrary to French interests, because it gave England a foothold on the Continent.

1657. Defeat of the Spaniards, with whom were some English Royalists, by the Ironsides at the battle of the Dunes.

(3) Criticism.

α. War with Spain was inevitable. The interests of England and Spain were opposed especially in the West Indies and in religious questions, Spain being still strongly Roman Catholic. There was some danger of Spanish support for Prince Charles; but the Spanish navy was weak, the army was good but inferior to England's, the King weak, and Condé the only great Spanish general.

β. France, although Roman Catholic, strongly opposed the Hapsburgs for political reasons and tolerated the Huguenots.

γ. In attacking Spain Cromwell followed the Elizabethan traditions, but to some extent he helped a powerful neighbour against a decaying power. Cromwell's support enabled Louis XIV to lay the foundation of his power, afterwards so dangerous to Europe. But

1. The decay of Spain was not yet apparent.
2. If Cromwell had lived, Louis XIV's power would have been checked.
3. The subserviency of Charles II, which Cromwell could never have foreseen, was an important element in the later growth of the French power.

D. Great importance of the fleet.

(1) The capture of Jamaica, though not at first duly appreciated, was an important element in our colonial development.

(2) Blake helped commerce by the destruction of the pirate squadron of the Dey of Tunis, and by an agreement with the Dey of Algiers.

(3) The Dutch power was broken by the war with Holland, and England profited greatly in consequence.

V. **Cromwell's Domestic Policy.**

He earnestly desired a "settlement" to be made by Parliament. He had no desire for personal power, and soon called a Parliament.

A. Cromwell's First Parliament. September 4th, **1654**.

(1) The Presbyterians were powerful, and at once began to discuss "The Instrument" (p. 414), objecting to the position of the Protector.

(2) Withdrawal of the extreme Presbyterians on Cromwell's demand of a promise to maintain "fundamentals," i.e. the new form of government.

(3) Parliament was anxious to assert its own sovereignty and to control the executive, but failed to settle the pressing questions of the time.

(4) Cromwell dissolved Parliament after five lunar months. The action of Parliament was most foolish; the supporters of the Commonwealth were a minority of the nation, and Parliament, instead of discussing the legality of the new Constitution, should have vindicated its position by giving good government.

B. **The Major-Generals. 1655.**

After Penruddock's rising (an attempt to seize the judges and proclaim Charles II, at Salisbury), Cromwell divided the country into twelve districts, with a Major-General in command of the militia, at the head of each district. The expenses were met by a tax, "decimation," of ten per cent on the Royalists. The military despotism thus established was effective but most unpopular, and devoid of legal support. The great powers of the Major-Generals were not confined to military matters. They had to keep the peace, to keep down the Royalists, to check beggars and to supervise morals. Their interference with the private life of the people caused great dissatisfaction.

C. Cromwell's Second Parliament. 1656.

(1) Due to the necessity of raising taxes for the war with Spain, to the desire to give the government a legal foundation, to the wish to ensure a permanent settlement which was endangered by the plots against Cromwell's life (e.g. Sindercombe's).

(2) About a third of the elected members were excluded owing to republican sentiments or irreligion, and the members for Ireland and Scotland were nominated by the Government and not elected.

(3) First Session.

α. Unwarranted claim of judicial authority by the Commons in the case of Naylor, who was cruelly punished on the sentence of the House for declaring himself to be Christ.

β. The Major-Generals were withdrawn on the demand of Parliament.

γ. The Humble Petition and Advice.

1. Cromwell to take the title of King.
2. Members duly elected not to be excluded from Parliament, and those already excluded to be readmitted.
3. A second House with 40–70 members to be nominated by the Protector.
4. Cromwell and Parliament to settle a confession of faith. Papists and Prelatists not to be tolerated.

This arrangement would give a constitutional basis for Cromwell's authority, and would protect his person.

It placed a second House between the executive and legislature, and supporters of Cromwell would now be protected by the Statute of Henry VII, which legalised obedience to a *king de facto*. But Cromwell refused the title of King because it

was not essential for good government, and because of the strong opposition of the army. He was created Lord Protector, with the power of nominating his successor.

(4) Second Session.

The Second Chamber was nominated by Cromwell. Only two peers accepted nomination, and even democrats like Manchester refused. Cromwell nominated several of his supporters in Parliament, and the removal of these, together with the return of those originally excluded, weakened his influence in the Commons and strengthened the Republican party.

The Commons, instead of voting the supplies which were urgently needed for the war, discussed the powers
Feb. 4. of the new House of Lords and were dissolved by
1658. Cromwell. "God judge between you and me."

(5) The Protector was henceforth, as in the interval between his two Parliaments, absolute.

He had tried to govern by Parliaments, but failed to keep his Parliaments in check and to persuade them to effect a settlement. His rule now became a despotism depending upon the army.

V. **Scotland** (p. 407).

Good order had been established by General Monk, but keen national feeling had been roused by foreign despotism, and no permanent submission to England was ensured by Cromwell.

VI. **Ireland** (p. 408).

The results of Cromwell's policy were the ruin of the Roman Catholic nobles, the degradation of the peasantry remaining in their homes, who became the servants of the new colonists, and the desolation of a great part of the country. But Cromwell failed to establish the English supremacy and to make Ireland English, because the Irish population, in spite of emigration, soon greatly outnumbered the English.

VII. **The death of Cromwell.** September 3rd, **1658.**

His last days were very sad. He was estranged from his daughter Bridget, who had married Ireton. He never recovered the shock of the death of his favourite daughter Elizabeth, Lady Claypole, in **1657**, and was worn out by the incessant attention necessary for effective personal government. The immediate cause of his death was ague.

VIII. **The Character of Cromwell.**

A. His religious position.

(1) Religion was the foundation of his character. He was a Puritan, regarding Laud's conception of the Church as unscriptural, believing that "the saints" should govern, and considering that many innocent amusements were wicked.

(2) He was far in advance of his age in toleration of others, and his opposition to Prelatists and Roman Catholics was due largely to their political views.

(3) His resistance to Presbyterianism was caused, to some extent, by the narrow intolerance of the Presbyterians.

(4) He objected to religious tests. "The state in taking men to serve it taketh no heed of their opinions."

B. In politics he was somewhat of an opportunist.

(1) At first he strove to effect a reconciliation between Charles I and Parliament, hoping to restore the King with limited power.

(2) After the execution of Charles he tried to ensure government by Parliament. The failures of the Rump, of Barebone's, and the two Protectorate Parliaments showed that Parliaments were unequal to the task of government and greedy of power.

(3) He tried to govern by a system involving the division of power between Parliament and an individual ruler, but again failed and was obliged to rule despotically

and by force. He would probably have tried to set up Parliamentary government again if he had lived longer.

C. Although a great opponent of absolute power, he was by force of circumstances compelled to rule absolutely himself.

(1) He levied taxes without consent of Parliament.

(2) He imprisoned people without trial.

(3) He interfered unduly with the amusements of the people.

(4) He set up a military tyranny.

The difference between Cromwell and Charles I was that the former governed absolutely from necessity, the latter from choice.

D. Cromwell was not ambitious.

(1) He worked loyally under Fairfax, the Commander-in-Chief.

(2) He did not take the command against the Scotch until Fairfax resigned.

(3) He wished Parliament to be supreme.

(4) He refused the title of King. "I cannot undertake this government with the title of King."

E. He was not vindictive. Only four men were executed for plotting against him, and Clarendon admitted that he "was not a man of blood."

F. He was a great statesman, realising the importance of the union of Great Britain and Ireland, of the navy and colonies, of religious toleration. He made England a first-class power in Europe. But his work was personal and not permanent. His death was soon followed by the Restoration, but most of the principles he advocated were ensured by the Revolution.

References:

A. *Twelve English Statesmen*, "Oliver Cromwell," chap. XI. Foreign Policy. *Heroes of the Nations*, "Oliver Cromwell," chap. XIII.

Character. *Heroes of the Nations*, "Oliver Cromwell," Epilogue.

B. Milton's sonnets on *The Late Massacre in Piedmont*, *The Lord Protector Cromwell*.

Dryden's *Heroic Stanzas in Memory of Cromwell*, especially stanzas 6, 13, 21, 29–31, 36–7.

C. *Woodstock*, by Scott.
Captain Jacobus, by Cornford, Methuen.
The Lord Protector, by Yeats, Cassell.

THE RESTORATION

I. **Causes.**

A. Oliver Cromwell's rule was personal. The Commonwealth broke down under Richard Cromwell, a man of ordinary ability, lacking vigour and unable to control the army on which his power was based. The fall of Richard Cromwell strengthened Prince Charles' position.

B. The Independents were a small minority of the nation. They had ruled by military force and were very unpopular.

There was a strong feeling in the country in favour of monarchy (among Presbyterians as well as Royalists), and strong loyalty to the Anglican form of worship.

C. Very strong opposition had been roused against the military rule of the major-generals.

D. Great resentment was felt at the unwarranted interference of the Puritans with the private life of the people.

E. There was a strong desire for a settled government.

II. **The Rupture between Parliament and the Army.**

A. Richard refused the demand of the army that Fleetwood should be appointed permanent Commander-in-Chief, and that officers should be amenable only to courts-martial.

B. The Republican party, strongly represented in the new Parliament which had been summoned by Richard, opposed the Protector, who dissolved Parliament.

C. The Restoration by the army of the Rump, which objected to a Protectorate. Resignation of Richard, May, **1659**.

D. Differences between the Rump (which ordered that the Speaker should issue commissions) and the army, which repeated its previous demand for the permanent appointment of Fleetwood as Commander-in-Chief.

E. Parliament cashiered Lambert and other officers, and Lambert therefore expelled the Rump, October 13th.

F. The army now appointed a Committee of Safety to govern the country, but the army was most unpopular; it was disunited, had no ideals, and represented no great cause. It could not possibly make a permanent settlement.

III. **General Monk.**

A. Monk had fought for both King (at Nantwich) and Cromwell, and now came forward as the champion of Parliamentary rights against military aggression. He could thoroughly rely upon his Scotch army, he outmanœuvred Lambert, and came to an agreement with Fairfax. On hearing of the second restoration of the Rump in December, **1659**, he crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, January 2nd, **1660**, and, finding London strongly opposed to the Rump, he restored the Presbyterians, who had been excluded by Pride's Purge, **1648**.

End of supremacy of the Independents. The Long Parliament, after arranging for the Convention Parliament to meet, dissolved itself, March 16th, **1660**.

B. Monk now opened negotiations with Charles, who, by his advice, issued the Declaration of Breda, in which he promised

(1) An amnesty for all not excluded by Parliament.

(2) Religious toleration except for disturbers of the peace.

(3) That Parliament should decide as to the validity of sales of land during the Commonwealth.

(4) That Monk's soldiers should get full pay.

C. Monk ensured the Restoration. He did not at first favour Charles, but advised Richard Cromwell to win the support of the moderate Presbyterians. When this failed he saw the need of a Royalist Restoration, but refrained from declaring his policy until he was sure of adequate military support. He did much to make the Restoration as little injurious to public and private interests as possible.

IV. **The Convention Parliament**

Consisted of two Houses, Lords and Commons, and was Royalist and largely Presbyterian. Decided that the form of government should be "by King, Lords, and Commons."

May 25th, **1660.** Charles landed in England at Dover.

Reference :

A. *Epochs of English History*, "The Puritan Revolution," chap. x.

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NOTES

ON

BRITISH HISTORY

BY

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PART III

FROM THE RESTORATION

TO THE

TREATY OF VERSAILLES, 1660 TO 1783

SECOND EDITION

RIVINGTONS

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PREFACE

It is found impossible in most English schools to devote more than two periods a week to the study of History, and teachers find considerable difficulty in doing thoroughly the work required for public examinations in the time allotted. This difficulty is increased in the case of those who attempt to deal with local records, with the development of civilisation and literature, and with contemporary European history.

The difficulty arises largely because in textbooks the chronological order is usually followed, and events and movements of considerable duration are treated not as wholes, but as portions of the reigns over which they extend. The adequate treatment of such subjects involves oral teaching, and either the dictation of notes in school or the copying of notes by the scholar out of school. The former plan unduly encroaches upon the short time available for actual teaching, the latter trespasses upon leisure time already seriously limited by home work.

These notes have been compiled in order to supplement the information given in the textbook and to lessen the amount of time devoted in school to the mere giving of notes. An attempt has been made to treat each subject fully (this has necessitated a certain amount of repetition), to bring out clearly the leading principles involved and to indicate the exact part played by the actors. The notes are supplemented by references; those under heading A being to the standard histories and biographies which may be found in any well-equipped public library; those under B

to short passages of prose or poetry suitable for reading aloud to the class and not included under A; those under C to historical novels and tales suitable for the scholar's private reading. But it is not intended entirely to obviate the writing of notes by the scholars, and there are some obvious omissions which must be rectified in class, while it is clearly impossible to give in a book like this any information on local history, the study of which adds greatly to the reality and interest of the general subject. No plans, maps, or architectural illustrations have been included, and it is suggested that these should be copied into the scholar's notebook (in the case of the last with the co-operation of the art master), and that they should not be merely consulted in a textbook or atlas as occasion arises.

These notes comply, to a considerable extent, with the suggestions as to the teaching of History contained in the recent circular of the Board of Education. They deal with the leading events of contemporary European History, and with the development of the Constitution, of industry and agriculture. They may be used as headings for essays, and the references "A" will afford further material for the "practice in original composition" upon which the circular lays stress. An attempt has been made to select the most important questions and to indicate their chief features by means of the main headings. At the same time the sub-headings give fuller information for those who wish to study the subject in greater detail.

These notes are intended mainly for the use of scholars preparing for History Scholarships at the Universities, for the Oxford and Cambridge Higher Local, Higher Certificate, and Senior Local Examinations, for the Honours and Senior Certificates of the Central Welsh Board, the Irish Intermediate, the Scottish Leaving Certificates, the First Class of

he College of Preceptors, the Civil Service, the Matricula-ion, Intermediate, and Pupil Teacher Examinations. It s obvious that much of the information given will be eyond the capacity of candidates for Junior Examinations, ut it is hoped that the author's *Junior British History Notes* may prove useful for these.

In a number of schools it is not possible to find room on he staff for a specialist in History, and it is hoped that hese notes, which are the result of considerable experience n teaching, may be found suggestive and helpful to form nasters taking the subject whose main interest lies in other arts of their work.

The author would welcome any suggestions for the correc-ion and improvement of this book. He gladly acknow-edges the kindness of Mr. S. Scruton in revising and orrecting Part III.

W. Edwards.

High School,
Middlesbrough.

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NOTES ON BRITISH HISTORY

PART III

THE CONVENTION PARLIAMENT

. Restoration.

The Convention Parliament met on April 25th, 1660. It was not a legal Parliament, because it had not been summoned by royal writ. It included many Presbyterians, favoured the restoration of the monarchy, and was moderate in tone. It accepted the conditions of the Declaration of Breda (page 427) and offered the Crown to Charles. Charles entered London on his thirtieth birthday, May 29th, 1660. He made Edward Hyde (page 432) Lord Chancellor, James Duke of York Lord High Admiral, and Antony Ashley Cooper (now created Baron Ashley) Chancellor of the Exchequer.

I. The Act of Indemnity and Oblivion for all offences committed in the Civil War and during the Commonwealth.

A. The regicides.

(1) The Commons refused to order the execution of any who had acted as judges of Royalists as the Lords wished, and only the regicides were exempted from the Act. Twenty-eight were tried and thirteen executed. Vane and Lambert, although not regicides, were imprisoned, but Charles promised, in reply to a request from Lords and Commons, that their lives should be spared.

(2) The Convention ordered that the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw should be removed from Westminster Abbey and hanged at Tyburn.

B. The settlement of the land.

(1) Crown lands, Church lands, and estates of Royalists sold by order of the Commonwealth were restored. (The restoration of the Church lands without indemnity to the purchasers was due to Hyde's efforts.)

(2) Their estates were not restored, nor was compensation given to private owners who had sold their estates. These disappointed Royalists declared that the Act was "An Act of Indemnity for the King's enemies and of Oblivion for his friends."

III. **The Army.**

A. The command of the militia and the fortresses were restored to the King.

B. The army was disbanded after receiving arrears of pay, and the soldiers, who proved sober and law-abiding citizens, were very soon absorbed in the civil population.

C. No provision was made for the legal establishment of a standing army, but Monk's Coldstream Guards and the King's Horse Guards, about 5000 men in all, were retained.

IV. **The Settlement of the Royal Revenue.**

A. £1,200,000 per annum, including tonnage and poundage for life, were granted to the King. This grant was the origin of the Civil List.

B. Feudal incidents (page 49), of which wardship and marriage had proved particularly vexatious, purveyance and military feudal tenures were abolished. Instead of these the King received the proceeds of a hereditary excise duty on beer, cider, and wine amounting to about £300,000 per annum.

(1) This arrangement laid a tax on the nation in general and relieved the landowners, who continued to exact from their copyhold tenants all the old dues. It is usually regarded as a piece of unjust class legislation.

(2) But some historians have justified the arrangement, because

α. The abolition of purveyance and feudal courts benefited all classes and not landowners alone.

β. The feudal incidents had been abolished by the Long Parliament, and this abolition had caused the payment of a higher price for estates sold during the Commonwealth. In these cases a land tax would have added a double burden.

γ. The excise was a tax on luxuries, and would fall most heavily upon the landowners.

C. The Crown revenue was thus large enough to meet all ordinary expenditure in time of peace. It was not large enough to pay the cost of a large standing army.

. The Religious Settlement.

A. The Episcopal Church was re-established, but the Presbyterians had loyally co-operated in the Restoration and formed a large proportion of the Convention, while the Presbyterian and Independent ministers appointed to livings by Cromwell's Committees of "Triers" (page 418) were generally competent, of good character, and popular.

B. It was therefore decided that while about 1000 Episcopalians ejected during the Commonwealth should be restored to their livings without intermediate profits, those ministers who had been legally presented to vacant benefices should retain their livings even if they were not Episcopalians.

C. Both Presbyterians and moderate Episcopalians were generally opposed to Toleration, especially of Roman Catholics (for whom Charles was anxious to secure Toleration), but desired some measure of Comprehension. Parliament therefore advocated the adoption of "Bishop Usher's Model," according to which

(1) Suffragan bishops were appointed to preside over local synods in each rural deanery;

(2) The bishops were to preside over annual diocesan synods of suffragan bishops and representatives.

α. This was a compromise combining Episcopacy with the Presbyterian system of synods.

β. It would not include Independents or Quakers.

D. Offers of bishopries and deaneries were made to some of the leading Puritan ministers, and though most refused, one, Reynolds, accepted the bishopric of Norwich.

E. Twelve bishops and twelve Presbyterians were appointed to attend a conference at the Savoy, the Bishop of London's palace, to revise the Liturgy and consider the possibility of removing certain "superstitious practices" (e.g. the use of the surplice) to which the Presbyterians objected.

F. But the final settlement of religion was postponed and later the Cavalier Parliament restored to the Anglican Church all its old rights.

VI. **The Convention and the Long Parliament.**

Confirmation of the Acts of the Long Parliament up to the summer of **1641** and of the Navigation Acts.

References:

A. Hallam's *Constitutional History*, chap. XI.

B. J. R. Green's *Short History of the English People*, pp. 616–19.

C. *My Lord Winchenden*, by Hope. (Smith Elder.)

EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON, 1609–1674

I. **His Life.**

(1) In the Long Parliament he at first supported the opponents of the King and agreed in May, **1641**, to the Bill which provided that that Parliament should not be dissolved but by its own consent.

(2) But he soon became dissatisfied with the extreme opponents of Charles I and, with Lord Falkland, became a leader of the Moderate Party, which finally supported the King owing to

α. The attack of the Long Parliament on the Anglican Church;

β. Resentment at the unfairness of the Grand Remonstrance (November, **1641**), which contained no reference to the concessions Charles had made;

γ. A growing fear that the Long Parliament aimed at a revolution.

(3) He shared the exile of Charles II and returned with him in **1660**.

(4) After the Restoration.

He was appointed Lord Chancellor and created Earl of Clarendon. His position was strengthened by the marriage of his daughter Anne to James Duke of York. He took an active part in the work of the Convention and Cavalier Parliaments, but made many enemies, was impeached for high treason and banished **1667**. He fled to France and spent his last years in writing the *History of the Great Rebellion*, which, although its style is marred by awkward syntax and the remarkable length of its sentences, and although it is written with a strong Royalist bias, is justly regarded as a great English classic owing to the skilful development of the main subject, to the vivid description of particular events, and especially to the brilliant delineation of character. Clarendon died at Rouen **1674**.

I. **His Policy**

A. Towards the King.

(1) He desired to establish a monarchy as strong as that of Elizabeth, regarded the attempts of Parliament to appropriate supplies, **1665**, and to appoint auditors, **1666**, as undue encroachments upon the royal au-

thority, and assured Charles that the authority of Parliament "was more, or less, or nothing, as he pleased to make it."

(2) But he recognised the importance of Parliament and considered that the King ought to work harmoniously with it.

(3) He saw the need of some constitutional limitations on the power of the Crown and aroused the anger of Charles

α. By failing to support, if he did not actually oppose, proposals to give the King so large a revenue as to make him independent of Parliament;

β. By opposing the King's wish to secure a standing army.

B. Towards the Church.

(1) He was a strong supporter of the Anglican Church.

α. The restoration of Church property and the return of bishops to the House of Lords were due largely to his efforts.

β. He considered that the establishment of the Church was necessary for public order, opposed all schemes of comprehension and toleration, and tried to enforce uniformity of belief and worship.

(2) He persecuted the Nonconformists.

He was largely responsible for the Clarendon Code (page 448), although he tried to induce the Commons to insert clauses in the Act of Uniformity recognising the right of the King to dispense with some of its conditions.

(3) He persecuted the Roman Catholics.

α. These suffered from the Clarendon Code.

β. He steadily opposed the plans of Charles to secure some measure of toleration for the Roman Catholics.

C. His foreign policy.

Like Elizabeth and Cromwell he opposed Spain, and desired to obtain the friendship of France. He failed to see that Spain, which had rapidly declined since the Peace of Westphalia **1648**, was no longer a menace to England, and did not appreciate the great danger arising from the aggression of Louis XIV. The interests of England would have been better served by an alliance with Holland.

(1) **1662.** He favoured the marriage of Charles II to Katharine of Braganza, sister of King Alfonso VI of Portugal. Her marriage portion included Tangier and Bombay (given in **1668** by Charles to the East India Company). Portugal had recently made herself independent of Spain, largely through the influence of Louis, who had supported Portugal through a desire to weaken Spain.

(2) **1662.** He sold Dunkirk to Louis XIV.

α. The harbour of Dunkirk was poor, the cost of keeping the town heavy, and it was of little real use to England.

β. But the sale caused great indignation in England, and strong objection was expressed to the cession of territory to France.

γ. Charles' financial position was greatly improved by this sale and by the consequent saving of the expense of maintaining the garrisons.

δ. Louis gained a valuable base of operations against Holland.

(3) Clarendon was responsible for the beginning of Charles II's policy of subservience to Louis in return for money payments which made Parliamentary grants of less importance, and so tended to weaken the control of Parliament over the King.

(4) He was held responsible for the failures of the Second Dutch War **1664** (page 410), although he had not desired to go to war with Holland.

III. **His Fall.**

A. He had aroused the enmity of all classes.

(1) Charles was enraged by his refusal to give toleration to Roman Catholics, by his action in limiting the grants made by Parliament to the King, by his opposition to the maintenance of a standing army, and by the "long sermons" in which he reproved the King for his immorality and extravagance.

(2) His regard for morality offended the dissolute courtiers, especially Barbara Villiers, Lady Castlemaine (afterwards Duchess of Cleveland), who combined with the Duke of Buckingham and Ashley to ensure his overthrow.

(3) The Commons strongly resented his opposition to the demands for the appropriation of supplies and the audit of public accounts.

(4) The Protestant Nonconformists and Roman Catholics hated him for his share in the Clarendon Code.

(5) The nobles objected to the marriage of his daughter Anne to the Duke of York.

(6) The Cavaliers held him responsible for the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion.

(7) He had roused national opposition by the sale of Dunkirk, and was supposed to be liable for the mismanagement of the finances and of the Dutch War.

In spite of his upright conduct and unswerving loyalty he was sacrificed by Charles to appease the growing discontent which had led people to regard the Fire of London, the Plague, and the presence of the Dutch in the Thames as divine punishments for the dissoluteness and misgovernment of the time.

B. His impeachment.

(1) He was impeached for high treason by the Commons before the Lords for—

a. Arbitrary and illegal imprisonment;

This charge was true. He had caused people to be imprisoned on insufficient grounds and had

deprived men of the right of *habeas corpus* by imprisoning them outside the kingdom.

β. Persuading the King to keep a standing army, and in **1667** to keep his army at free quarters. He had rather opposed the maintenance of a standing army, but the latter part of this charge was true, although the circumstances in **1667** were difficult;

γ. The sale of Dunkirk;

δ. The alliance with France.

(2) The charge of high treason was not warranted by the facts, but the importance of his case lies in the fact that Parliament (even the Cavalier Parliament) showed that it was determined to control the executive, and this principle was reasserted in **1678** by the impeachment of Danby (page 456).

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CHARLES II, LOUIS XIV, AND HOLLAND

I. The Conditions of the Times.

A. Charles II, desiring to escape from the control of Parliament and to restore the Roman Catholic religion, looked to Louis for the money which would help him to gain both these objects.

B. Louis XIV was in a very strong position.

(1) "Le Grand Monarque" had at Versailles a splendid court, which gave the fashion in dress, speech, art, literature, and science to Europe.

(2) The financial position of France was reorganised (1661–1683) by Colbert, who by the revision of the taille,[1] the more equitable redistribution of taxes, the abolition of most of the internal customs, the construction of canals, and the protection of French industries made France the wealthiest country in Europe.

(3) The French army had been reorganised by Louvois, was commanded by Turenne and Condé, two of the greatest generals of the time, and by Vauban, the most skilful engineer of Europe. An efficient French navy was founded by Colbert to assist in the development of his colonial policy.

(4) By the Treaty of Westphalia, which closed the Thirty Years' War in 1648, France gained a position on the Rhine by the acquisition of Alsace, strengthened her hold on the upper waters of the Meuse by the acquisition of the bishopric of Verdun, and on the Moselle by the acquisition of the bishoprics of Metz and Toul.

By the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) France received from Spain (the forces of which had been routed at the battle of the Dunes, page 420) Artois and the towns of Thionville, Landrecies, and Avesnes —affording valuable bases of operations against the Spanish Netherlands —and Roussillon and Cerdagne, which commanded the eastern passes of the Pyrenees.

(5) Louis wished to make the Scheldt, the Rhine, and the Pyrenees the borders of France, and to weaken the power of Protestantism by conquering Holland. But for this purpose it was necessary to ensure the alliance or at least the neutrality of England, and Louis was therefore willing to establish friendly relations with Charles.

C. Holland.

(1) Holland had assumed the lead of the United Provinces owing to the importance of its towns (Amsterdam,

[1] A tax on property.

Rotterdam, Delft, Leyden with its university, and the Hague, the centre of government), and to its wealth and population. The internal wars in England and France had enabled the Dutch to build up a great colonial empire in the East Indies, North America and the Cape of Good Hope, and to extend their commerce. The power had fallen into the hands of the burgher aristocracy, who in **1651** had abolished the hereditary Stadtholderate of the House of Orange, and had elected John de Witt as Grand Pensionary of Holland in **1653.**

(2) The Dutch (whose commerce was weakened by Colbert's protective policy) viewed with alarm Louis' design upon the Spanish Netherlands, knowing that if the French secured the line of the Scheldt and the town of Antwerp Holland would be in grave danger. In subsequent negotiations the Dutch attached great importance to the Barrier Fortresses, on the possession of which the safety of their southern frontier depended.

(3) They were not at first disposed to co-operate with England, owing to commercial jealousy and to the effect of the restoration of Charles II, which abolished the identity of interests between the Dutch and English against the Houses of Stuart and Orange.

II. **English Foreign Policy 1660–1667.**

A. Clarendon, who failed to understand the great increase in the power of France and the decrease in that of Spain owing to the treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees, continued the Elizabethan and Cromwellian policy of friendship with France.

(1) **1662.** Charles, with the approval of Clarendon and Louis, married Katharine of Braganza, Princess of Portugal, which now, by the help of Louis and Charles, secured its independence of Spain. Katharine's dowry consisted of £35,000, Tangier, and Bombay.

(2) **1662.** Dunkirk was sold to Louis. Charles thus saved the cost of maintaining Dunkirk and obtained a large sum of money. Louis gained a convenient point of attack on the Spanish Netherlands lying between France and Holland.

(3) Henrietta, Charles' sister, married the Duke of Orleans, Louis' brother.

B. The Second Dutch War **1664.**

(1) The causes.

α. The continuance of the old commercial jealousy between England and Holland.

β. Colonial disputes in North America (between the Dutch of New Amsterdam and the English of Virginia), in Africa and the East Indies (where the Dutch refused to surrender Pularoon in accordance with an agreement).

γ. The indignation of Charles at the exclusion of his nephew, William of Orange, from the Stadtholderate.

(2) The war (formally declared March, **1665**).

1664. Capture of New Amsterdam by the English, and of part of Guiana by the Dutch.

1665. Great victory of the Duke of York over Opdam, at Lowestoft, marred by failure to follow up the pursuit. Louis XIV, fearing the growth of the English naval power, made an alliance with the Dutch, who made other alliances with Denmark and Brandenburg.

1666. June. Monk was out-manœuvred by De Ruyter in a "Four Days' Battle" off the North Foreland, but saved from complete defeat by the arrival of reinforcements under Rupert.

July. Monk routed the Dutch, destroyed one hundred and fifty ships in Terschelling Roads, and burned the unfortified town of Brandaris.

1667. Charles had squandered on his own pleasures the liberal subsidies granted by Parliament for the war, and, to save expense, had laid up the fleet at Chatham and protected it by a boom across the Medway.

June. The Dutch under De Ruyter broke the boom and burnt the ships in Chatham docks. Their success was due to the misgovernment of Charles, and not to the failure of the English leaders, who had held their own against the Dutch.

But the Dutch, realising that this victory was unsubstantial and frightened by the claim advanced to the Spanish Netherlands by Louis XIV, according to the Law of Devolution,[1]

1667. July. Agreed to the Peace of Breda, by which

α. England obtained New Amsterdam.[2]

β. The Dutch obtained Pularoon.

The acquisition of New Amsterdam was very valuable because it connected Virginia and the New England States.

III. **The Triple Alliance and the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle 1668.**

A. **1667.** The War of Devolution. The armies of Louis (who in **1667** had made a secret treaty with Leopold of Austria for the Partition of the Spanish dominions on the death of Charles II) had invaded the Spanish Netherlands and captured many fortresses. Great alarm of the Dutch, especially of John de Witt, who had concluded an alliance with Louis in **1665**.

B. **1667.** There was a national outburst in England against Louis XIV, whose attack on the Netherlands showed that France and not Spain was most dangerous to England.

[1] The Law of Devolution was a local custom whereby in Brabant female children of a first marriage inherited private property in land in preference to male children of the second. Louis' father-in-law, Philip IV of Spain, had died in 1665, and Louis claimed the Spanish Netherlands for his wife, Maria Theresa, Philip's elder daughter. But it was manifestly absurd to assert that the sovereignty of the country was inherited in the same way as landed property.

[2] Renamed New York after James Duke of York.

C. Opposition to France thus became imperative for England and Holland, and the Triple Alliance was concluded by Sir William Temple and de Witt after only five days' negotiations in January, **1668.** England, Holland, and Sweden (for whom the victories of Gustavus Adolphus and the diplomacy of Oxenstierna had gained a reputation disproportionate to her real power) united in a defensive alliance to help each other if attacked, and to make peace between France and Spain, on condition that Louis should keep his conquests in the Netherlands or Franche Comté. By a secret clause they undertook to attack Louis if he refused to make peace.

The Triple Alliance ("The only good public thing that hath been done since the King came to England"—Pepys) restored the reputation of England abroad, caused great satisfaction at home, anticipated the policy of the Grand Alliance, and compelled Louis, who, in February, **1668,** had conquered Franche Comté, to agree to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

D. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle **1668.**

Louis gave back Franche Comté to Spain, but received a number of fortresses on the borders of France and the Netherlands, including Lille, Charleroi, and Tournai.

α. Thus Louis secured Paris from an attack from the north.

β. But his policy of aggression was checked, and he determined to take vengeance upon "messieurs les marchands" of Holland. He therefore tried to isolate the Dutch.

IV. **The Treaty of Dover, 1670, and the Third Dutch War, 1672–1674.**

A. The Treaty of Dover.

Charles, realising that French help was necessary to save him from the control of Parliament, to keep up a standing army and to establish Roman Catholicism in England, made the Treaty of Dover with Louis XIV through the agency of his sister Henrietta Duchess of

Orleans. Louis was glad to secure the help of England in his projected attack on Holland, and in his design to secure part of the Spanish dominions on the death of Charles II. The treaty consisted of two parts:

(1) The open treaty which was known to all the members of the Cabal (page 450).

α. France and England to attack Holland. England was to conduct the naval war and to receive Zeeland.

β. Charles to assist Louis to maintain his wife's claims to the Spanish dominions and to receive Ostend, Minorca, and any conquests he could make in Spanish South America.

γ. Louis was to pay Charles £300,000 a year.

(2) The secret treaty, known only to Clifford and Arlington.

α. Charles was to declare himself a Roman Catholic and to restore Catholicism in England.

β. Louis to give Charles a further payment of £200,000 a year, and to supply an army of 6000 French soldiers to suppress rebellion in England.

The same ministers who had supported the Triple Alliance now agreed to attack Holland, Arlington and Clifford in the hope of promoting the cause of Catholicism, the others owing to Charles' promise to issue a Declaration of Indulgence to Protestant (not Catholic) Nonconformists. The proposed war against Holland was most unpopular, and Charles said he was almost the only man in the kingdom who liked the French Alliance.

The Treaty of Dover, which would have made England a province of France, supplies the key to the subsequent policy of Charles and James, and "may be reckoned as the first act of a drama which ended in the Revolution."

B. The Isolation of Holland.

The Emperor Leopold promised to give no help to the Dutch.

Sweden and many of the lesser German princes deserted the Dutch Louis had thus succeeded in isolating Holland.

C. The Third Dutch War **1672–1674.**

Before war was declared the English made a disgraceful but unsuccessful attack on the Dutch Smyrna fleet off the Isle of Wight.

(1) **1672.** March 17th. War declared.

June 7th. De Ruyter defeated the French and English fleets in Southwold Bay, and averted a naval attack on Holland.

Using Charleroi (gained by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle) as a base, Louis XIV invaded Holland and, owing to the strategy of Turenne, advanced nearly to Amsterdam. De Witt, who had neglected to maintain an efficient army through fear lest it might declare in favour of the young William of Orange, was murdered by a mob at the Hague. William was elected Captain-General, and Amsterdam was saved by cutting the dykes.

October. The Emperor Leopold and Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, "The Great Elector," made an alliance with Holland.

(2) **1673.** Louis' troops were successful on land, but De Ruyter, by a naval victory over Rupert off Zeeland on August 21st, again saved Holland.

The Coalition was now joined by Spain, and

(3) **1674.** February. England made peace with Holland owing to the Country Party, who demanded war with France but feared to give Charles the necessary forces. Louis, whose only ally was Sweden, continued the war, but the death of Turenne **1675,** the exhaustion of France, the strength of the Coalition, and the marriage of William of Orange and Mary **1677,** compelled him to accede to the

(4) **1678.** Treaty of Nymwegen, although Charles had offered to disband his army, to dissolve Parliament, and to abstain from helping the Dutch, in return for a new pension (page 468). By this treaty Holland was saved from Louis, but it was so weakened that its influence was greatly impaired. Louis kept most of the barrier fortresses and got also Franche Comté, but the treaty marks the height of the power of Louis, which had now reached its limit. The possibility of checking France by a European coalition had again been demonstrated, and William of Orange had undertaken his life's work of opposition to France.

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THE CAVALIER PARLIAMENT 1661–1679

The Interval between the Convention and Cavalier Parliaments.

The Convention Parliament was dissolved in December, **1660**, and before the Cavalier Parliament met in May, **1661**,

A. A rising in London of Anabaptists under Thomas Venner, a cooper, was used by Charles as a justification for the retention of the Horse and Coldstream Guards, which thus, in spite of popular opposition to the principle involved, became the nucleus of a standing army.

B. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, Pym, and Blake were removed from Westminster Abbey. The first three were hanged at Tyburn, and the last two reinterred in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster.

C. The Conference at the Savoy between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians utterly failed to carry into effect the idea of comprehension supported by the Convention, and this failure embittered the opposition between the two parties.

The Cavalier Parliament, elected during a strong Royalist reaction, contained only about fifty Presbyterians, and proved "more zealous for royalty than the King, more zealous for episcopacy than the bishops." Its members desired to strengthen the royal power, to re-establish the Anglican Church, to take vengeance on the Nonconformists for the persecution of the Anglicans under the Commonwealth, and to weaken Roman Catholicism. This Parliament was also called the Pensionary Parliament owing to the bribery of its members by the Court party, especially by Danby.

II. **The First Period to the Fall of Clarendon 1667.**

A. The royal power.

(1) **1661.** At first there existed general agreement between King and Parliament which greatly strengthened his position.

α. The Acts of the Long Parliament which had not been passed by King, Lords, and Commons were annulled.

β. It was declared illegal for either House of Parliament to wage war against the King.

γ. The consent of the King was declared necessary for legislation, and the command of the militia was vested in the Crown.

δ. The King's right of dissolving and proroguing Parliament at pleasure was asserted.

(2) **1661.** The Solemn League and Covenant was declared illegal and ordered to be burnt by the hangman.

(3) Vane and Lambert were accused of high treason on account of their services to the Commonwealth. Vane was condemned to death and executed June 14th, **1662**, and Lambert was imprisoned for life. Vane's execution was a judicial murder.

α. By a statute of Henry VII, 1496, obedience to a *de facto* King was declared legal.

β. But the Cavalier Parliament asserted, inaccurately and absurdly, that Charles II's reign had begun in 1649 and that, therefore, the Commonwealth was not a *de facto* Government.

γ. Charles had promised the Convention that Vane's life should be spared, but consented to his execution because he was "too dangerous a man to let live."

(4) But even the Cavalier Parliament recognised the need of limiting the absolute power of the King.

1661. α. It confirmed the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion (in spite of strong opposition).

β. It refused to restore the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission.

1662. γ. The King, hoping to secure the help of the Nonconformists in his attempt to secure toleration for the Roman Catholics and relying upon his dispensing power, issued a Declaration of Indulgence suspending the Act of Uniformity for three months.

1663. The Commons absolutely denied the King's right to dispense with the laws, and compelled him to withdraw the Declaration.

(5) Dissension between the King and the Cavalier Parliament due to

α. The gross wickedness of the Court;

β. The general incompetence of the Government, especially the mismanagement of the public money, much of which was squandered by the King on his own pleasures;

1662. γ. The sale of Dunkirk to the French;

1667. δ. The appearance in the Thames and Medway (at Rochester) of the Dutch fleet.

This dissatisfaction was clearly shown

1665. α. By the appropriation of the supply of £1,250,000 to the Dutch War;

1666. β. By the appointment of commissioners to inspect accounts.

B. Religious policy.

The Cavalier Parliament enthusiastically supported the Anglican Church and, unlike the King, opposed all schemes of Comprehension and Toleration.

(1) 1661. The bishops regained their seats in the House of Lords.

(2) All members were compelled to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican Church.

(3) The Clarendon Code. Acts of vengeance on the Puritans for their intolerance under the Commonwealth.

1661. α. The Corporation Act required all members of corporations to accept the doctrine of Passive Obedience, to renounce the Covenant, and to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican Church.

This Act was passed to weaken the Presbyterians, who were strong in the towns and had great influence in the town councils.

1662. β. The Act of Uniformity provided that every clergyman, schoolmaster, and fellow of a college should accept the Book of Common Prayer which alone could be used in public worship; that they should take the oath of non-resistance and renounce the Solemn League and Covenant; that every minister must be ordained by a bishop.

1. This Act was directed against the Puritan clergy, many of whom, estimated by some writers at 2000, refused to conform to it, and were ejected from their livings on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24th, 1662.

2. The expulsion of one-fifth of the most learned and respected of the clergy greatly weakened the Anglican Church, which, by the assertion of the necessity of episcopal ordination, was cut off from the Protestant churches of the Continent.

3. The Presbyterians now gave up the idea of Comprehension; their adhesion greatly strengthened the cause of Nonconformity; the united Nonconformists became so powerful that they subsequently secured Toleration, and became an important religious and political party.

1664. γ. The Conventicle Act forbade meetings (other than family meetings) of more than five persons for religious worship, except in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer, on pain, for the first offence, of fines, for the second of imprisonment, for the third of transportation. A single Justice of the Peace could inflict punishment for breaches of this Act.

1. This Act was due to the attempts of dispossessed clergymen to continue their ministrations in secret.

2. It deprived the accused of their right to trial by jury.

3. Many Nonconformists were imprisoned; five hundred Quakers, one of the smallest bodies, were thrown into prison in London alone.

1665. δ. The Five Mile Act forbade all ejected clergymen to teach in schools or to come within five miles of any corporate town.

1. Due to the jealousy felt by the Anglican clergy, most of whom had fled from London during the Plague **1665**, of the ejected Nonconformists who had preached and ministered to the sick.
2. It was now most difficult for Nonconformists, most of whom lived in towns, to obtain religious instruction; their ministers found it almost impossible to make a living, and suffered the greatest hardships.

(4) The Cavalier Parliament strongly opposed Roman Catholicism, and in **1663** successfully opposed the King's attempt to give Catholics and Nonconformists some measure of toleration by the exercise of his dispensing power.

C. The assertion of the right of Parliament to control the Executive.

(1) **1665.** The appropriation of supplies.

(2) **1666.** Commissioners appointed to audit the accounts.

(3) **1667.** The impeachment of Clarendon (page 436), an assertion of the responsibility of ministers to Parliament.

D. **1662.** A Licensing Act provided that all publications must be entered at Stationers' Hall, that printing should be allowed only in London, York, Oxford, and Cambridge, and that the number of master printers should be limited.

III. The Cavalier Parliament and the Cabal 1667–1673.

Charles, fearing the opposition of Parliament, determined to rule through a small executive. This involved to some extent the weakening of the Parliamentary authority over the executive which had just been asserted by the impeachment of Clarendon. He entrusted the adminis-

tration to the Cabal,[1] a kind of commission for foreign affairs, consisting of Clifford (a Roman Catholic, appointed Lord Treasurer), the Earl of Arlington (a Roman Catholic at heart, appointed Secretary of State), the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Ashley (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer), the Earl of Lauderdale (who was governing Scotland). Ashley and Lauderdale were inclined to support the Presbyterians, Buckingham, the son-in-law of Fairfax, favoured the Independents. The Cabal cannot be regarded as a modern "Ministry" or "Cabinet," as its members were not

α. United in policy.

β. Collectively responsible for their policy.

A. Religious questions.

(1) **1668.** The Parliament, still strongly Anglican, refused to agree to a scheme of Protestant Comprehension supported by Ashley and Buckingham.

(2) **1673.** Parliament compelled Charles to withdraw a Declaration of Indulgence (issued in **1672** during the prorogation), by which the King suspended all penal statutes against Protestant Nonconformists and Roman Catholics.

(3) **1673.** The Test Act provided that all persons holding any civil or military office should take the sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican Church and abjure Transubstantiation.

α. Consequent resignation of James Duke of York, the Lord High Admiral, who had become a Roman Catholic in **1669**, and of Lord Clifford, the Lord Treasurer.

β. The break-up of the Cabal.

[1] Although the initials of the five members happened to make the word "Cabal," the term was not new, but had been used previously to indicate what we should now term a Cabinet. The work of these particular ministers gave the name a special and sinister meaning.

γ. The Nonconformists, although affected by the Test Act, supported it through enmity to the Roman Catholics.

B. Foreign affairs.

1668. Parliament strongly approved of the Triple Alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden against France, and was prorogued for twenty-one months on April 2nd, **1671**, because the King felt that the agreement made by the Treaty of Dover with Louis XIV to attack Holland would be strongly opposed by Parliament.

1674. Parliament compelled Charles to end the Third Dutch War by threatening to refuse supplies.

C. Growing opposition to the King.

(1) The extravagance of the King aroused suspicions that he was receiving financial assistance from Louis XIV, although the provisions of the Treaty of Dover (p. 442) were not known.

(2) **1671.** Owing to an attack made, at the King's instigation, on Sir John Coventry, who had opposed him, the indignant Parliament brought in a Bill making malicious maiming a capital crime.

(3) **1672.** The Stop of the Exchequer.

Investors had entrusted money to London goldsmiths, who made a considerable profit by lending it, on the security of the revenue, to the Exchequer at a higher rate of interest than they paid to their own clients, and the Exchequer now owed £1,300,000. All payments from the Exchequer were suspended by royal proclamation for twelve months, and a commercial crisis resulted from this dishonest act.

(4) Much indignation was caused by the issue of the Declaration of Indulgence, **1672**, and by the unjustifiable attack on the Dutch trading fleet in March, **1672**.

(5) The Duke of York had openly acknowledged himself a Roman Catholic, and it was believed that Charles was one, too, [illegible].

D. The rise of the Country Party

(1) Due to the opposition roused by the King's conduct and to the skilful leadership of Shaftesbury—a supporter of the Presbyterians who became leader of the opposition on learning of the secret clauses in the Treaty of Dover by which the King undertook to restore Roman Catholicism in England.

(2) The Country Party, which included Lord Russell and Lord Cavendish, desired to prevent the King from gaining absolute power and from establishing the Roman Catholic religion. While favourable to the relief of the religious disabilities of Nonconformists, they made the limitation of the royal power their first object. They therefore refused to accept Toleration when offered as the result of the dispensing power, and denied the King's right to dispense with penal statutes without consent of Parliament. They followed up this action by strongly supporting the passage of the Test Act, which broke up the Cabal. They unsuccessfully opposed the marriage of James and Mary of Modena, a Roman Catholic, and their Bill for Protestant Securities excluding from the throne the husband of a Roman Catholic was not passed.

(3) In foreign politics they strongly opposed Louis XIV, on whose support they suspected the success of Charles' schemes depended, and compelled Charles to make peace with the Dutch, February, **1674**.

V. The Cavalier Parliament, Danby and the Country Party 1674–1679.

A. The Earl of Danby.

(1) Sir Thomas Osborne was created Earl of Danby and appointed Lord Treasurer in succession to Clifford.

(2) The King had found that the Nonconformists could not be won over to support him, and therefore turned to Danby, who, like Clarendon, was a strong Anglican, an opponent of Roman Catholicism and Nonconformity, and a supporter of the royal authority. The Danby

Ministry was an alliance between the Crown and the High Church Party.

(3) Unlike Clarendon, Danby was opposed to France and favoured union with Holland. But Charles' success depended upon the continuance of the pensions from Louis, and he persistently opposed Danby's repeated demands for war with France.

(4) Danby anticipated the policy of Walpole, and was the first English minister to maintain his position by organised bribery. Under his administration the "Pensionary Parliament" well deserved its name.

B. The Country Party.

(1) **1675.** Danby endeavoured to compel all State officials to take the oath of non-resistance and to undertake "not to endeavour any alteration in the Government in Church or State as it is by law established." The House of Lords, in which the Court Party was strong, carried the Bill, but Shaftesbury and the Country Party ensured its rejection in the Commons.

(2) The Country Party repeatedly urged Charles, the pensioner of Louis XIV, to declare war on France, but, through fear of the growth of the King's power, refused to vote the necessary supplies.

(3) Prorogation of Parliament from November 22, **1675**, to February 15, **1677**.

α. Charles was bribed to prorogue the Parliament by Louis, who feared that the Country Party would insist on a war against France.

1675. December. β. To check political discussions in the coffee-houses (equivalent to modern clubs), Charles by proclamation revoked all their licences, but was compelled by popular indignation to withdraw the proclamation.

1676. γ. Another secret treaty concluded between Louis XIV and Charles enabled the former to continue his victorious career without fear of interference from England.

(4) **1677.** February. Parliament reassembled. Shaftesbury was committed to the Tower by the Lords on a charge of contempt for protesting against the long prorogation and attempting to force a dissolution. (He hoped that the Country Party would secure a majority in any new Parliament.)

(5) **1677.** The Country Party ensured the rejection in the Commons of a Bill introduced by Danby, which provided that in case of the accession of James, the Archbishop of Canterbury should act as guardian of the King's children, and that vacancies in the episcopate should be filled up by the bishops.

α. This Bill was regarded as an inadequate protection for the Protestant cause.

β. It affords an illustration of the bitter enmity of the Country Party against James, already shown in its opposition to his marriage to Mary of Modena.

(6) **1677.** The Country Party, though anxious for war with France and wishing to help Holland, feared that the army of about 20,000 men assembled for these objects would be used by Charles to strengthen his own power and to support Catholicism, and demanded that it should be disbanded.

(7) Louis XIV, through fear of this army, bribed Charles by a promise of 2,000,000 livres to prorogue Parliament until April, **1678.** But, through anger at the marriage of James' daughter Mary to William of Orange, which Danby arranged in **1677**, Louis refused to pay the promised subsidy, and Charles in revenge summoned Parliament in February, **1678.**

(8) The co-operation of Louis XIV and the Country Party.

1678. Charles was now anxious for war with France, and again collected an army of about 20,000 men. The Country Party, strengthened by the unscrupu-

lous use of the Popish Plot by Shaftesbury just released from the Tower, and fearing an increase of the royal power, now accepted bribes from Louis XIV (who saw that war with Charles would hamper his operations against Holland) to demand that it should be disbanded.

α. The action of Shaftesbury and the majority of the Country Party (not Lord Russell) in accepting bribes from Louis seems to us unpardonable.

β. But the bribes were too small to have much influence, and the opposition would have followed the same policy of their own accord without any bribes.

(9) The fall of Danby.

1678. Charles, annoyed at the refusal of the Country Party to support the war against France, again renewed his friendship with Louis, and five days after supplies had been voted in Parliament for war against France compelled Danby to write a letter to Louis proposing a new treaty and demanding a fresh pension. Louis in **1678** concluded the Treaty of Nymwegen with Holland, and, no longer requiring the assistance of Charles, refused to give another pension, and in order to gratify his desire for vengeance on Danby for his action in promoting the marriage of Mary and William of Orange, he published the letter in question.

(10) The impeachment of Danby.

The House of Commons, believing in the existence of the Popish Plot and fearing the re-establishment of Catholicism with the help of Louis XIV, followed the lead of Shaftesbury and the Country Party, and at once impeached Danby for high treason. This trial is a most important element in the attempt of Parliament to gain control over the executive. It clearly established the responsibility of ministers to Parliament.

α. The Commons persisted in holding Danby responsible, although the treaty and demand for a pension were acknowledged by the King as his own acts, and Charles stated that Danby signed the treaty at his command.

β. Charles tried to save Danby by issuing a pardon under the Great Seal, but the Commons maintained that no such pardon can be pleaded in bar of impeachment. This principle was finally accepted in the Act of Settlement.

γ. Charles having dissolved Parliament January, 1679, to save Danby, the question arose whether an impeachment ceased with the prorogation or dissolution of Parliament. This remained long in dispute, but was finally settled in the
1791. negative in the case of Warren Hastings.

V. Some constitutional questions 1668-1679.

(1) The original jurisdiction of the House of Lords. Skinner *v.* East India Company.

1668. α. Skinner, fearing that the ordinary courts could not give him redress for injuries done to his property in India by the East India Company, petitioned the King, who referred the matter to the Lords. The Lords awarded him £5000 damages.

β. The Company then petitioned the Commons against the action of the Lords, and the Commons declared that it was illegal for the Lords to exercise such original jurisdiction.

γ. After a violent dispute between both Houses all records were erased from the journals at the King's suggestion, but the Lords abandoned their claim to original jurisdiction in civil cases.

(2) The appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords. Shirley *v.* Fagg.

1675. *α.* Dr. Shirley appealed to the House of Lords from a decision of the Court of Chancery in favour of his opponent, Sir John Fagg, a member of the House of Commons.

β. The Commons, wishing to assert their right of freedom from legal proceedings while Parliament was sitting, opposed the appeal as a breach of their privilege.

γ. But the Lords maintained their right of jurisdiction over appeals from the Court of Chancery.

(3) **1670.** The legal position of jurors.

Bushell's Case. Edmund Bushell had acted as foreman of a jury which had acquitted William Penn, the Quaker, for preaching in London in spite of the Conventicle Act, and had been imprisoned for refusing to pay a fine imposed on the jury by the Recorder of London for their verdict. He was released by a writ of habeas corpus. Chief Justice Vaughan declared that jurors were not liable to legal penalties for any verdict they might give.

References:

A. Hallam's *Constitutional History*. Chaps. XI. and XII.

B. J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 620, 623, 641.

C. *Whitefriars*, by Robinson. (Routledge.)

THE GREAT PLAGUE AND THE FIRE OF LONDON

I. The Great Plague 1665.

It was not of foreign origin. England repeatedly suffered from intermittent outbreaks of the plague, especially **1603** and **1625** when enormous crowds thronged to London for the Coronations of James I and Charles I, and during the Civil War when the towns were greatly overcrowded.

A. Causes.

(1) It was due to poisonous exhalations from the soil, greatly increased by the great drought of the preceding winter and spring.

(2) Owing to the growth of London it was found very difficult to dispose of refuse and to provide for the proper interment of the dead.

(3) The evil was aggravated by the narrow streets with overhanging houses which impeded the free circulation of air.

The Plague was popularly regarded as a divine punishment for the wickedness of the times.

B. Course.

The Plague began May, 1665, in St. Giles-in-the-Fields, and advanced eastward. At its worst period, the beginning of September, over 1000 died each day and about 80,000 died of the plague in London.

Infected houses were shut up and marked with a red cross and often inscribed with the words, "Lord, have mercy on us."

Most of the Anglican clergy and the doctors fled. The Nonconformist ministers rendered excellent services to the sick, and the Lord Mayor administered a relief fund.

I. **The Fire of London 1666.**

Began September 3rd in a baker's shop in Pudding Lane. Was ascribed, quite wrongly, to the Roman Catholics. Lasted until September 6th, extended from the Tower to the Temple and from the Thames to Smithfield. Destroyed old St. Paul's, 89 churches and 13,000 houses; made 200,000 people homeless; the damage estimated at £7,000,000. Ultimately checked by blowing up houses in its path with gunpowder under the King's personal direction. Great indignation was caused by the action of the courtiers, who openly rejoiced in the ruin of the city which had strongly opposed the King.

The fire burnt out the plague, but London continued most unsanitary and was always liable to epidemics.

Sir Christopher Wren, whose Renaissance buildings are remarkable for their excellent proportions, built St. Paul's Cathedral and 50 churches (including St. Mary-le-Bow).

References:

A. *Social England.* Vol. IV, pp. 637–46.
Defoe, *Journal of the Plague Year.*

B. *Pepys' Diary,* August and September, 1665, and September 2nd–6th, 1666.

C. Ainsworth, *Old St. Paul's.* (Routledge.)

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY 1621–1683 AND THE COUNTRY PARTY

I. The Life of Shaftesbury to the Break-up of the Cabal.

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Bart., was a member of the Short and Long Parliaments. At first he took the King's side, but became a Parliamentarian, and was a member of the Council of State appointed to supervise the Government. As a Puritan he showed himself "the loudest bagpipe of the squeaking train"; but quarrelled with Oliver Cromwell, and strongly supported the restoration of Charles II, acting as one of the commissioners who invited Charles to return.

1660. At the Restoration he was created Baron Ashley, and appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was a member of the Court Party from **1660**–**1667**, strongly opposed the religious persecution of the Cavalier Parliament, helped to overthrow Clarendon **1667**, became one of the Cabal (page 450), and in **1672** was appointed Lord Chancellor and made Earl of Shaftesbury.

I. As Leader of the Country Party 1672–1679.

A. His breach with the King.

Up to 1672 he had tried to secure the friendship of Charles, hoping thereby to secure toleration for Nonconformists, and to unite all in resistance to absolutism at home and danger from Louis XIV abroad. In 1672 he defended the Dutch War in Parliament, although he had in 1668 supported the Triple Alliance with Holland. But on discovering in 1672 that, by the Treaty of Dover 1670 (page 442), Charles had agreed with Louis not only to join in war with Holland (as all the members of the Cabal knew), but also to establish Catholicism in England (of which Shaftesbury and Buckingham were kept in ignorance), he finally left the King's party and became the leader of the Country Party (pages 454–7).

B. Resistance to Roman Catholicism.

Shaftesbury now considered that resistance to Roman Catholicism was urgently necessary.

1673. (1) He co-operated in the passage of the Test Act which broke up the Cabal (page 450), although it pressed heavily on the Nonconformists, for whom he had much sympathy.

1673. (2) He realised the danger to English Protestantism if James became King, and especially if he married a Catholic princess for his second wife. He therefore opposed the proposed marriage of James with Mary of Modena.

[November, 1673. He was deprived of the office of Lord Chancellor.]

1674. Supported the Bill for Protestant Securities (page 453).

1674. (3) Shaftesbury was dismissed from the Privy Council and removed from the lord lieutenancy of Dorset.

1678. (4) He took full advantage of the growing suspicion of the danger of the re-establishment of Roman Catholicism and also of the national outburst caused

by the Popish Plot to strengthen his position, and to ensure the exclusion of Roman Catholics from Parliament, although he failed to prevent James from retaining his seat in the House of Lords.

C. Shaftesbury and Louis XIV.

(1) He realised the danger to England from Louis XIV
1674 and supported the peace with Holland.

(2) But his fear that Charles would use supplies and the army voted by Parliament for war with France, in order to establish absolute monarchy in England, led him to agree with Louis to secure the dissolution of Parliament, which was strongly opposed to France, and
1678 to support the impeachment of Danby (page 456).

III. **The First Short Parliament of the Restoration.** March, **1679,** to May, **1679.**

A. The elections had aroused great excitement. Shaftesbury had gone from place to place, speaking in favour of members of the Country Party (one of the first examples of "stumping the country"), and candidates had been required to pledge themselves to support the Exclusion Bill in Parliament (probably the first time such a pledge was exacted). Owing to the fear of the Popish Plot, to the impeachment of Danby, and the discredit into which the King had fallen, a strong anti-Catholic majority was returned.

B. The impeachment of Danby.

The impeachment was renewed, but subsequently dropped. Danby was committed to the Tower, where he remained for five years.

C. The exclusion of James.

The Country Party were determined to exclude James, and Lord Russell said that "if James became king his subjects must either become Papists or be burnt." They refused to accept a proposal of Charles that on the accession of a Roman Catholic the last Parliament of the previous reign should continue and should make all civil and military appointments. They introduced an

Exclusion Bill which was read twice in the Commons. Charles therefore dissolved Parliament. May, **1679.**

D. The Habeas Corpus Act **1679.**

The arbitrary imprisonment of political offenders by Lord Clarendon had directed attention to the inadequacy of ancient remedies against illegal detention. Although the writ of habeas corpus issued of right, it was sometimes evaded by delay on the part of the gaoler in making returns to the writ, and by moving the prisoner from place to place. The jurisdiction of the Courts was not clear; the Court of Exchequer had never issued a writ; it was doubtful whether the Court of Common Pleas could do so, and whether a single judge of the King's Bench could grant a writ in a vacation.

(1) Provisions.

α. Any judge could, during a vacation, award a writ of habeas corpus to any prisoner accused of crime other than treason or felony on request being made in writing.

β. Prisoners committed for treason or felony should be tried at the next sessions or released on bail, they should be discharged if not indicted at the following sessions.

γ. Gaolers disobeying the writ to pay the aggrieved party £100 for the first offence, and on a second to pay £200 and to lose their office. Any judge illegally denying a writ to pay £500 damages.

δ. No prisoner once delivered by habeas corpus to be recommitted for the same offence.

ε. No inhabitant of England or Wales to be imprisoned in Scotland or beyond the seas.

(2) Criticism.

α. The Habeas Corpus Act did not introduce any new principle or confer any new right. "The right of personal liberty is as old as the Constitution itself." But it did much to remedy evasions of this right.

β. Its chief defects were:—

1. It did not limit the amount of bail. This defect was remedied by the Bill of Rights **1689**.
2. It applied only to criminal cases.
3. It did not ensure a true return.

These last two defects were remedied in **1816** when Judges were required to determine the accuracy of the return, and the right of Habeas Corpus was extended to non-criminal cases.

IV. The Duke of Monmouth.

After the dissolution of Parliament in May, **1679**, the national feeling against the accession of a Roman Catholic king grew, and Shaftesbury continued to use the Popish Plot to support his effort to exclude the Duke of York from the throne. He now supported the Duke of Monmouth as the successor of Charles II.

A. The Duke of Monmouth was the illegitimate son of Charles and Lucy Walters, and to support his claim to the throne Shaftesbury circulated the story of the existence of a "Black Box" containing the certificate of the marriage of Lucy Walters and Charles, while Monmouth dropped the baton sinister from his arms.

Monmouth, although a profligate, was popular on account of his handsome person, the clemency he had shown to the Covenanters after his victory at Bothwell Brig, June, **1679** (page 473), and his support of Protestantism, which gained him the name of "the Protestant Prince." His cause was strengthened by the great unpopularity of James, and by the fact that William of Orange, the other possible successor of Charles II, was a foreigner.

B. Halifax, Sunderland, and Essex objected to Monmouth on account of his birth, resented Shaftesbury's violent methods, and supported the cause of William of Orange,

whose wife Mary, a Protestant, had the next claim to the throne after her father James. Shaftesbury distrusted William because of his relationship to James, and his unwillingness to weaken the royal power.

V. **Reaction in favour of the King.**

A. The serious illness of the King in June, **1679**, had increased his popularity. The King recovered, and Monmouth withdrew to Flanders, while James was appointed as High Commissioner to Scotland (page 473). In October, **1679**, Shaftesbury was deprived of his office as Lord President of the Council.

B. In spite of Shaftesbury's efforts to increase the opposition to James by means of the Popish Plot and of his unscrupulous use of the Meal Tub Plot[1] popular feeling began to turn. Four of Oates' victims were acquitted in **1679**, many objected to the prospect of having a sovereign of illegitimate birth, there was a strong feeling that the Roman Catholicism of James ought not to prevent the accession of his Protestant children, and it seemed possible that Shaftesbury's policy might lead to civil war.

C. **1679.** The King had prorogued for one year the newly elected Parliament, and his action led the Country Party, at Shaftesbury's instigation, to present petitions that Parliament should meet. "The Petitioners" were called Whigs (from the term "Whigamore"[2] applied to the Scotch Covenanters), and this name was due to their strong Protestant sympathies and involved a suggestion of treasonable opposition to the Crown. The Court Party, gradually growing stronger, resented this attempt to put pressure upon the King, and declared their abhorrence of the action of the Petitioners. "The Abhorrers" were called Tories

[1] A plot against James invented by Dangerfield and so called because on his subsequent arrest incriminatory papers were found in a Meal Tub.

[2] From "Whey." A reference to the stern looks of the earnest Covenanters.

(the term Tory was given to the popish robbers in Ireland), and this name referred to their support of Roman Catholicism. Owing to Louis' subsidies, Charles was independent of Parliament, while Shaftesbury thought that Charles would be compelled to depend on Parliamentary grants to meet his expenses.

D. In **1680**, Shaftesbury's bold action in presenting the Duke of York as a popish recusant before the Grand Jury of Westminster failed, as Chief Justice Scroggs quashed the action on a technical point.

VI. **The Parliament of 1680.**

A. Parliament met in October, **1680**, and the Country Party carried the Exclusion Bill in the Commons, but it was thrown out in the Lords owing to the opposition of Halifax.

B. Halifax, who wished to protect the interests of William of Orange and Mary, induced the Lords to pass a Bill for Protestant Securities which, while allowing James to succeed, would have greatly limited his power. The Bill was thrown out by the Commons.

C. In order to rouse public feeling, the Commons impeached Lord Stafford for supporting the Popish Plot. He was condemned by the Lords and executed, although no charge against him was supported by more than one witness. This execution was a gross judicial murder.

D. The Commons refused to vote supplies until the Exclusion Bill had been passed, demanded the expulsion of Halifax from the Council, and asserted that the Papists had caused the Fire of London. Therefore January 18th, **1681**, Charles dissolved Parliament.

VII. **The Oxford Parliament, March 21st-28th, 1681.**

A. During the interval between this and the preceding Parliament

(1) Monmouth had made quasi-royal progresses throughout the country to strengthen his cause.

(2) Charles had secured a promise of £250,000 a year for three years from Louis, who feared that if James were excluded William of Orange might unite England and Holland against France.

(3) Charles, anticipating that the violence of the Country Party would play into his hands, called the third Short Parliament of his reign at Oxford.

α. Oxford had always been strongly loyalist.

β. London was "fanatically antipapist."

γ. The Whigs, fearing an attack, appeared at Oxford in arms and thus supported the assertion of the Court Party that they were preparing for civil war.

(4) Shaftesbury insisted on the recognition of Monmouth as heir to the throne, and refused to accept the offer of Charles that James should be banished, and William of Orange should act as regent for him. Charles therefore dissolved Parliament.

VIII. **The importance of the Country Party.**

A. They recognised the necessity of limiting the authority of the Crown.

B. They saw that the power of Louis XIV was dangerous to Europe and advocated the alliance between England and Holland, which became the main element in the Grand Alliance that, under William III and Marlborough, ultimately checked the aggression of France.

C. They believed that the cause of Protestantism was imperilled and therefore opposed France and endeavoured to exclude James from the throne. This policy was justified

(1) By the existence of the plot made by Charles and Louis in the Secret Treaty of Dover to restore Roman Catholicism in England;

(2) By the policy of James II which resulted in the Great Revolution.

D. But the Country Party injured their cause by their violence.

(1) They made a shameful use of the disgraceful Popish Plot to strengthen their position and must be held responsible for the judicial murders which resulted, especially that of Lord Stafford (although the Lords who condemned him share the blame).

(2) Their refusal to accept the reasonable offer of Charles at the Oxford Parliament and the factious way they supported the Exclusion Bill weakened their position.

(3) Their support of Monmouth's candidature and the proposed exclusion of James' Protestant children roused much indignation.

(4) Moderate men were alienated by their illegal impeachment of some Abhorrers, by their extravagant assertions, e.g. that the Papists were responsible for the Fire of London, and by the danger of Civil War due to their actions.

(5) In 1681 Charles saw that the violence of his opponents had caused a strong reaction in his favour. He skilfully put them in the wrong at the Oxford Parliament, and was able to pose as a generous sovereign anxious to preserve the monarchy, willing to give reasonable securities for the safety of Protestantism, but unwilling to yield to the violence of a factious opposition whose action had brought the country to the verge of civil war.

IX. **The Character of Shaftesbury.**

A. Dryden calls him "the false Achitophel . . a name to all succeeding ages cursed"; Macaulay says that "he was a principal member of the most profligate Administration ever known and a principal member of the most profligate Opposition ever known"; Hallam refers to him as "destitute of all honest principle."

B. His reputation for profligacy rests largely upon his answer to Charles II: "You are the wickedest dog in England?"

"Of a subject, Sir, I believe I am." But the physical weakness of his "pigmy body" rendered gross dissipation impossible, and he was probably a temperate man.

C. In the early part of his very varied political career he was a political Bohemian, and he had been a supporter of Cromwell, an opponent of Cromwell, a member of the Court Party **1660–1667**, and of the Cabal **1667–1673**. But when Charles deceived him about the Secret Treaty of Dover he joined the Opposition, and during the rest of his life he consistently supported the policy of the Country Party, especially the limitation of the royal power, the exclusion of James, and opposition to France.

As a politician he was clear-sighted. He supported the Habeas Corpus Act because he saw that the vindication of the liberty of the subject was an effective means of limiting the absolute power of the King. He was ambitious and "resolved to ruin or to rule the state." He was utterly unscrupulous in his methods, and his use of the Popish Plot is one of the greatest of the blots on his fame.

Although he cared little for religion, he was a firm supporter of religious toleration, but he supported the Test Act in **1673** because such a measure seemed necessary to check the power of Charles II.

D. He was a great Parliamentary tactician, and had the power of influencing large masses. By organising the Country Party, by giving it a definite policy, he led the supporters of Charles to organise themselves. The nicknames of Whig and Tory tended to unite the parties so formed, and Shaftesbury thus played a very important part in the development of Party Government in England.

References:

A. J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 642–46.

B. Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*. "Of these the false Achitophel was first."

C. *In the Golden Days*, by Lyall. (Hurst and Blackett.)

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE'S PLAN FOR THE REORGANISATION OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL 1679

A. The arrangement whereby the Privy Council had been divided into committees for administrative purposes which had been in force under Charles I had been revived by Clarendon, and the Committee for Foreign Affairs became the most important. The unpopularity of the Cabal and the difficulty of ensuring harmonious relations between the legislature and the administration (shown by the impeachment of Clarendon **1667** and Danby **1678**) had discredited this system.

B. The violence of the Parliament of **1679** made Charles II willing to agree to Temple's scheme, which seemed likely to limit the power of Parliament, while the nation welcomed a scheme which they thought would deliver them from such committees as the Cabal and would check the power of the King.

C. Details of the scheme.

(1) The Privy Council to be reorganised, and to consist of thirty (instead of fifty) members, half being officers of State, and ten Lords and five Commoners forming the remainder, the total income of the Councillors to be not less than £300,000.

α. Thus the Council would be too large for a "Cabal";

β. The wealth and position of its members would inspire confidence in the country.

(2) The King promised to act according to the advice of this Council, to whom all State secrets were to be disclosed. Thus the Council would act as a check upon the royal power.

D. Criticism.

(1) The scheme failed as an attempt to reconcile the executive and the legislature.

(2) The new Council was too large for administration and for unanimity among the members.

(3) An inner Cabinet of four—Temple, Halifax, Essex, and Sunderland—soon became supreme, and thus the old evil of government by a small committee, which the new arrangement was intended to obviate, again arose. There were grave differences between this Cabinet and the other twenty-six members, and especially between Shaftesbury, the President, and Halifax.

(4) The King acted on the advice of the small Cabinet, and prorogued Parliament without consulting the Council.

(5) Macaulay thought that Temple's object was to establish not a Privy Council, but an Assembly of Estates.

α. The numbers were too large for a Privy Council.

β. The Peerage, the Commons, the Law, and the Church were all represented.

γ. Half the councillors were excluded from office under the Crown, and this shows that the sole object was not, as in the case of a Privy Council, executive.

SCOTLAND IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II

"No part, I believe, of modern history, for so long a period, can be compared for the wickedness of government to the Scots administration of this reign" (Hallam). On the arrival of Charles in London, **1660**, he was met by James Sharp begging him to re-establish Presbyterianism, of which religion the Earl of Lauderdale, Secretary of State for Scotland, was a supporter. Sharp and Lauderdale adopted the cause of Episcopacy, and the former was created Archbishop of St. Andrews. The Earl of Middleton was created Lord Commissioner of Scotland. Charles had promised that no change should be made in religious matters in Scotland, but Lauderdale, Sharp, and Middleton now did their best to overthrow the Presbyterian Church.

I. **The "Drunken" Parliament 1661.**

A. By an "Act Rescissory" all Acts passed after **1641** were rescinded, and this evolved the separation of England and Scotland, united under the Commonwealth (page 408), and the overthrow of Presbyterianism.

B. The restoration of Episcopacy.

(1) The Episcopal Church was formally restored and general assemblies were discontinued.

(2) All officials were ordered to renounce the Covenant, which was burned by the hangman.

The Privy Council continued the work of Parliament after prorogation.

(3) **1662.** All ministers holding livings were required to accept episcopal ordination. (With one exception every man present at the Council on this occasion was said to have been drunk.) About 350 ministers who refused to comply were ejected from their livings.

(4) The Scotch Mile Act forbade any minister not so ordained to live within twenty miles of his parish or within three miles of a royal borough.

(5) The Court of High Commission was established to enforce Episcopacy.

II. **The Execution of Argyle.**

Although Argyle had strongly supported the Restoration he was condemned of treason and executed May, **1661.** His condemnation was partly due to the production by Monk of letters in which Argyle had written favourably of Cromwell's policy. The real reasons for his execution were his position as leader of the Covenanters, the great authority he exercised in the Highlands, and his share in the execution of Montrose **1650** (page 407).

III. **The Resistance of the Covenanters.**

On the removal of Middleton from office, Lauderdale and Sharp continued the policy of persecution, but the Covenanters met for worship secretly, especially in the Western Lowlands, where they were termed Whigamores.

A. The people of Galloway, Ayr, and Dumfries rose in insurrection, but were routed at Rullion Green, and many were executed after cruel torture.

B. **1679.** Archbishop Sharp was murdered on Magus Moor, near Cupar, by a party of Covenanters lying in wait for an official named Carmichael who had cruelly enforced the laws against Presbyterianism in Fifeshire.

C. **1679.** Second rising of the Western Lowlands. The Cameronians.

(1) This was due to the atrocities of the Highlanders—"The Highland Host"—sent to suppress the Covenanters, and to the influence of the murderers of Sharp, who fled to the West.

(2) John Graham, of Claverhouse, one of the most cruel opponents of the Covenanters, was defeated at Drumclog and Glasgow was captured by the rebels.

(3) The Duke of Monmouth routed the Covenanters at Bothwell Brig, where, in spite of Monmouth's orders to show mercy to them, many were slain by Claverhouse and the Highlanders. Monmouth showed leniency to the rebels and, partly for this reason, was recalled.

(4) James Duke of York was then appointed Royal Commissioner and treated the Covenanters with gross cruelty. He made a great use of torture,[1] and is said to have invented the "Boot."

The new Duke of Argyle took the oath of allegiance, but reserved his right to support any "beneficial reform in Church and State." He was therefore condemned to death for treason on grounds for which Halifax asserted, "We should not hang a dog here," but, with the help of his daughter, escaped to Holland.

References:

B. Macaulay's *History of England*, pp. 244–5. (Longmans.)

C. *Old Mortality*, Sir Walter Scott.
The Men of the Moss Hays, by Crockett. (Isbister.)

[1] The last case of torture in England was in 1640, when a criminal was racked for attacking Laud's palace. It ceased in Scotland about 1690.

THE ABSOLUTE GOVERNMENT OF CHARLES II 1681–1685

I. The Causes of Charles' Absolute Power.

A. He was in receipt of £250,000 a year from Louis XIV (paid on condition that he did not summon Parliament), his income from the customs was growing, and there were no wars to pay for. Charles was therefore independent of Parliament.

B. He had used the garrison of Tangier to increase his Guards, who now numbered 9000 men.

C. The power of the Whigs was broken.

(1) Their violent support of the Exclusion Bill (especially in the Oxford Parliament 1681), the belief that they were ready to stir up civil war in favour of Monmouth, and the violent reaction against the Popish Plot had gained for Charles the strong support of the majority of the nation.

(2) The vengeance of the King.

(*a*) College, "the Protestant joiner," the inventor of the "Protestant flail,"[1] was charged with treason, and although acquitted in London, was convicted by a Tory jury at Oxford and executed, although the facts of his case did not warrant the charge.

(*b*) Shaftesbury was accused of high treason. Dryden published *Absalom and Achitophel* to ensure his conviction, but the Middlesex Grand Jury, whose sympathies were Whig, threw out the bill. Shaftesbury vainly tried to form an association in favour of Parliamentary government and the Exclusion Bill and fled to Holland (October, 1682), and died there, January, 1683.

[1] A stick loaded with lead, carried by Protestants at the time of the Popish Plot.

(*c*) **1682.** Monmouth was arrested at Stafford during a progress through England. He was accused of a share in the Rye House Plot, pardoned, but fled to Holland **1684.**

(*d*) **The Rye House Plot, 1683.**

After Shaftesbury's flight some of the leaders of the Country Party, including Lord Howard of Escrick, Lord Russell, Lord Essex, and Algernon Sidney, formed an association to compel the King to summon Parliament.

Another and quite distinct plot was formed without the knowledge of Howard, Russell, and Sidney by Col. Rumbold, an old Cromwellian and one of Shaftesbury's most violent supporters, to murder Charles and James on their way to Newmarket races at the Rye House, near Hoddesdon, which belonged to Rumbold.

The two plots were discovered, and the Crown lawyers, wishing completely to break up the Country Party, successfully implicated Howard, Russell, Essex, and Sidney in Rumbold's plot. Howard turned informer, Essex committed suicide in June, **1683**, Russell and Sidney were executed in July and December, **1683**, respectively. These executions were judicial murders.

α. The juries were packed by the Tory sheriffs of London.

β. Two witnesses were necessary to prove treason, but in the case of Russell hearsay evidence was admitted instead of a second witness, and in Sidney's case a Republican treatise found in his desk, written years before, containing expressions of approval of insurrections against Nero and Caligula, and asserting the right of subjects to depose an unworthy king was accepted as evidence in place of a second witness.

γ. The attainder was reversed at the Revolution as incorrect in fact and law.

(*e*) The laws against Nonconformists were rigidly enforced.

D. The confiscation of town charters.

(1) London in particular and the towns in general were Whig strongholds, and Charles strongly resented the action of the Grand Jury of Middlesex who had thrown out the bill against Shaftesbury. The right of voting for members of Parliament was often vested in the town councils, and Charles determined to remodel the corporations in order to punish the towns for their Whig sympathies and to ensure a Tory majority in any Parliament he might summon.

(2) **1683.** A *quo warranto* writ was issued against the city of London accusing the corporation of having forfeited their charter by

α. Illegally imposing tolls by their own by-laws;

β. Petitioning the King to summon Parliament and publishing the Petition, December, **1679.**

1683. Judgment was given against London by the Court of King's Bench, and its charter was declared forfeited. The forfeiture was not enforced, because the corporation agreed to give to the King control over the election of the mayor, sheriff, and recorder. By a similar process before judges of assize, or, in many cases, by voluntary surrender of charters, the corporations of many towns were remodelled, and Judge Jefferies in **1684** on the Northern Circuit "made all the charters, like the walls of Jericho, fall down before him." There was now a Tory majority in the town councils.

E. Charles' cause was helped by the partial recognition of the King's right to absolute power.

(1) Many of the Anglican clergy preached the duty of non-resistance.

(2) **1683.** The University of Oxford declared the theories:—

α. That all civil authority is derived originally from the people,

β. That there is a compact, tacit or express, between the King and his subjects,

to be "false, seditious, and impious."

(3) The posthumous works of Sir Robert Filmer were now published and widely read. They asserted the derivation of the sovereign power by hereditary right from patriarchal government, wherein the head exercises absolute power over his family, and maintained that "as kingly power is by the law of God, so hath it no inferior power to limit it."

I. The King's Policy 1681–1685.

A. There is a marked difference between the personal government of Charles I from **1629–1640** (page 365) and that of Charles II from **1681–1685**. Unlike his father, Charles II imposed no arbitrary taxes, exercised no censorship over the press, and imprisoned no men without a trial (although servile judges and jurors sometimes, e.g. in the cases of Russell and Sidney, committed judicial murder at the King's wish).

B. But while keeping within the letter of the law, Charles II contrived to ruin the Whigs, to establish his control over the towns.

C. He steadily refused to call Parliament in spite of the Triennial Act, and although his Tory supporters favoured Parliamentary government. But the French subsidies (owing to which Charles had connived at the seizure of Strasburg and Luxemburg by Louis) ceased in **1684**, and if Charles had lived he would have been compelled to summon Parliament through want of money.

D. He appointed James Lord High Admiral and summoned him to the Council in spite of the Test Act of **1673**.

E. Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester (second son of Clarendon), supported the King in his illegal policy, but Halifax the "Trimmer," who now became leader of the Opposition, protested strongly against the violation of the Triennial and Test Acts, urged the King to rule as a constitutional monarch, and secured the dismissal of Rochester from his post as First Lord of the Treasury.

F. February 6th, 1685. Death, after a short illness, of Charles II, who on his deathbed declared himself a Roman Catholic.

References:

A. J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 661–64.

CHARLES II

I. His Early Life.

Born **1630**, landed in Scotland June 24th, **1650**, after the execution of Montrose had made his presence imperative for the success of his cause. He accepted the Covenant, but endeavoured to escape from Argyle and the strict Covenanters to the Highland Royalists. "The Start." The "Engagers" (page 401) under Hamilton came to an agreement with Argyle and Charles was crowned at Scone January 1st, **1651**. He was routed by Cromwell at Worcester, September 3rd, **1651**, but escaped to Normandy and found a refuge with his cousin, Louis XIV.

II. His Objects.

A. He wished to secure absolute power.

(1) The example of absolute power of Louis XIV, who declared "L'État! C'est moi," influenced Charles.

(2) He may possibly have believed in Divine Right.

B. He wished to secure toleration for Roman Catholics.

He probably had become a Roman Catholic before **1660**, but did not announce his conversion.

III. His Character.

A. (1) He was utterly selfish, aiming at his own enjoyment, and apparently could not appreciate any good qualities in others. He squandered public money on his own pleasures, ruined the London goldsmiths to relieve his financial embarrassment, basely deceived his ministers,

In his negotiations with Louis XIV he sacrificed personal dignity and national honour in order to secure his own ends, and treated with great ingratitude many who had made great sacrifices for his cause.

(2) He was shamelessly immoral; his illegitimate children were publicly acknowledged and received grants of titles and money. He was a gambler and a drunkard.

B. He was a man of charming manners and of great wit. He "never said a foolish thing" and apologised on his death-bed to his courtiers for being "such an unconscionable time in dying."

C. But it is quite wrong to assume that he was simply a "Merrie Monarch" who "discovered a most delicious mode of walking called sauntering" (Pepys) and whose sole object was "not to go on his travels again."

(1) Charles II was the ablest of the Stuarts. He had been trained in the school of adversity and had shown great courage and coolness in danger. He knew what he wanted, but recognised the difficulties of his position. He was a keen and accurate observer of facts (e.g. he saw that it was impossible to maintain his Declarations of Indulgence, **1662** and **1672**, in face of national opposition; he also saw that the Country Party had gone too far in **1681** and profited by the reaction of feeling caused by their extravagance).

(2) Although he was very lazy he was capable at times of vigorous action and could make the most of favourable opportunities, e.g. the prompt measures he took to establish his power after the fall of the Country Party.

(3) He was a clever tactician, he succeeded in diverting the wrath of Parliament from himself to his ministers, he abstained from useless resistance, e.g. to the outcry against the "Popish Plot," although he knew that the danger was greatly exaggerated.

(4) At the end of his life he had secured absolute power and "his death at the very moment of his triumph saved English freedom."

References:

A. J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 629–31.
Macaulay's *History of England*. Popular Edition. Vol. I, pp. 82–3.

B. Macaulay's *History*. Vol. I, p. 213.

C. *Simon Dale*, by Anthony Hope. (Methuen.)

THE REIGN OF JAMES II FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT, NOVEMBER 20TH, 1685

I. The Position of James at his Accession.

His position was very strong. Charles II had made the royal power absolute at the end of his reign. The nation as a whole favoured hereditary monarchy. The Tory party, including most of the nobility and gentry, and (owing to the remodelling of the corporations by Charles II) possessing a majority on the town councils, supported the accession of James in the expectation of the ultimate succession of his daughter Mary, a Protestant. The Anglican Church, although now rather Latitudinarian than Laudian, accepted the doctrines of Divine Right and passive obedience. The University of Oxford (page 476) was strongly Royalist. The standing army, gradually strengthened by Charles, now numbered about 10,000 men, and was at the King's disposal.

II. The Objects of James.

A. Like Charles II he wished to re-establish Roman Catholicism. Unlike Charles he failed to perceive the strength of the national opposition to this policy, and the openness with which he pursued his object soon roused strong opposition.

B. He wished to rule absolutely, believed firmly in the Divine Right of Kings, thought that the royal prerogative enabled him to override the law, wished in particular to abrogate the Test Act and to annul the Habeas Corpus Act.

C. He determined to rely upon the standing army, which he soon increased.

D. A conviction of the identity of his religious policy with that of Louis XIV led him at first to renew the alliance with France. He accepted gifts of £37,000 and £30,000 from Louis and told Barillon the French ambassador that without Louis' aid he "could do nothing." But he refused to become a mere servant of Louis and would not assist him in his schemes of aggression in Europe, devoting all his energies to the maintenance of absolutism and the establishment of Roman Catholicism in England. He summoned Parliament partly in the hope that its subsidies would make him independent of Louis.

II. **The King's Promise.**

A. On his accession he promised to "preserve this Government both in Church and State as it is now by law established." This promise made a most favourable impression and deepened the loyalty of the country.

B. But James, pending the meeting of Parliament, by the advice of Jefferies collected and used the customs duties by Royal Proclamation without Parliamentary sanction (these duties had been granted to Charles II for his life only).

α. He thus at once broke his promise.

β. While delay in the collection of the customs would have interfered with the trade of the country, they ought, after collection, to have been kept unused until Parliament authorised their expenditure.

C. Judge Jefferies condemned Titus Oates to be flogged twice from Newgate to Tyburn within two days, and after a disgraceful trial imprisoned Richard Baxter, a Nonconformist minister of the highest character, for protesting against religious persecution. Although these verdicts were given in accordance with the forms of law, they showed that the Court, of which Jefferies was a servile instrument, would not shrink from violence and cruelty in pursuit of its aims.

IV. The Parliament. May to November, 1685.

The Rye House Plot had broken the Whig party, and the remodelled corporations returned a strong Tory and Royalist majority.

Parliament voted the King an annual revenue of nearly £2,000,000 for life. As James did not wish to take an active part in European politics, this grant made him independent of Louis XIV's subsidies and of Parliamentary control in England. But a Committee of Parliament showed the feeling of the nation by petitioning James to enforce the penal statutes against Protestant Nonconformists and Roman Catholics.

V. The Rebellions.

A. Argyle, a strong Presbyterian, returned from Holland May 2nd, 1685, and raised a rebellion in Scotland, owing to his opposition to a Roman Catholic king. He wished to secure the Highlands, where he could rely upon his own clan, the Campbells, but his Lowland supporters, Patrick Hume and Cochrane, over whom his authority was limited, compelled him to divert part of his forces to the Western Lowlands. He was captured in Renfrewshire and executed on the old charge of treason (page 473) June 30th.

B. June 11th. Monmouth returned from Holland, landed at Lyme, and issued a proclamation in favour of Parliamentary Government and Religious Toleration for Pro-

testant Nonconformists. He was attainted by Parliament and the gentry held aloof partly owing to his illegitimate birth, but the country people supported him, and he soon had a force of about 5000 men, very badly equipped with arms. He was well received at Taunton, where he assumed the title of king, and at Bridgwater, but the Lords Lieutenant called out the militia against him. He failed to capture Bristol, and after a successful skirmish at Philip's Norton, fell back on Bridgwater pursued by the Earl of Feversham and the Royalist army, which encamped in three divisions on Sedgemoor. Monmouth wisely planned a night attack, July 6th, but the advance of his army, which had safely crossed two ditches, was checked by the Bussex Rhine, and a pistol fired in the confusion warned the Royalists, who, under Churchill, at once attacked the rebels. Monmouth fled, but his followers fought bravely until the King's artillery appeared. Monmouth was captured July 8th, and executed July 15th, in spite of the servile entreaties for his life he made to James.

Colonel Kirke, formerly commander at Tangier, and his "Lambs" stamped out the rising with gross cruelty, and executed one hundred people within a week after the battle. Judge Jeffreys, who was frequently drunk at the trials, in the Bloody Assize, condemned about four hundred to death, and over eight hundred to slavery for ten years in the West Indian plantations. Many of the latter were presented to the Queen, her maids of honour, and the courtiers, who made large sums by selling them to the planters. Mrs. Alice Lisle was beheaded and Mrs. Elizabeth Gaunt burned for sheltering rebels. Jeffreys was created Lord Chancellor for his services.

C. The failure of these rebellions showed the general loyalty of the country and marks the height of the power of James, who now began to give commissions to Roman Catholic officers, and demanded supplies for a large standing army "to avoid such risings in the future."

VI. **The Beginning of Resistance.**

A. The execution of Monmouth removed a cause of dissension among the Whigs, who united to advocate the claims of William and Mary to the throne, while the King's approval of the cruelties of Jeffreys caused much indignation.

B. October, 1685. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV greatly aggravated the opposition to Roman Catholicism in England. (Louis wished to ensure uniformity of religion in France, and to show that, in spite of a quarrel with the Pope as to the disposition of the income of vacant bishopries, he was an orthodox Catholic. He had secretly married, in 1683, the devout Madame de Maintenon, whose influence had done much to purify the French Court and who approved of the persecution of the Huguenots. In 1684 many Huguenots of the Cevennes recanted owing to the "Dragonnades," to protect their families from the dragoons quartered on them. In 1685 the Edict of Nantes was revoked and Protestantism became an illegal religion. Fifty thousand Huguenot families left France and went to England (especially Spitalfields, where they founded the silk trade), Holland, and Brandenburg, in all of which their presence led to an industrial revival, while French commerce suffered much from their departure).

C. James had roused opposition by publicly attending Mass, and in October, 1685, Halifax was dismissed from the Privy Council for protesting against the King's violation of the Test Act. Rochester, James' brother-in-law, continued to maintain the cause of the English Church in opposition to a strong Roman Catholic party led by Sunderland, Father Petre (James' Jesuit confessor), and Tyrconnel.

D. Parliament reassembled November 9th, 1685.

The Commons by a majority of one vote refused supplies until grievances were redressed, and the Lords

and Commons protested against the illegal grant of commissions to Roman Catholics and the King's claim to the Dispensing Power. Parliament prorogued November 20th, and not summoned again by James.

[For references see next note.]

THE REIGN OF JAMES II FROM THE PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT TO THE DISMISSAL OF ROCHESTER AND CLARENDON, NOVEMBER, 1685, TO JANUARY, 1687

The attempt of James, relying upon the subservience of the judges, and the royal supremacy over the Church and the army, to admit Roman Catholics to office.

I. The Dispensing Power.

A. The Dispensing Power was the power claimed by the Crown of exempting individuals from the operation of particular statutes. It was based on the old theory that the king made the statutes and could therefore grant exemption from their operation. It was usefully employed to mitigate hardships caused by the enforcement of carelessly drafted statutes, and was usually exercised, as at the present day, in pardoning offenders for breaches of the law actually committed.

B. Hales' Case 1686.

James wished to use the Dispensing Power to admit Roman Catholics to office. He removed from office those judges who would not support him, and a collusive action was brought against Sir Edward Hales, a Roman

Catholic who had received a commission in the army, by his coachman. The judicial bench was packed, and eleven out of twelve judges decided that "the King of England is a sovereign prince, and the laws are his laws, whence it follows that it is part of his prerogative to dispense with penal law as he sees fit and necessary," June 21st, 1686.

α. The decision in this special case was probably legally correct.

β. But the assertion of the absolute power of the Crown to nullify statutes and the theory that no statute could limit the King's prerogative threatened the liberty of the subject and Parliamentary government and "may be said to have sealed the condemnation of the House of Stuart."

Relying on this decision, James at once appointed four Roman Catholic peers to be members of the Privy Council.

C. The University of Oxford.

The University of Oxford had always been strongly Royalist and had firmly maintained the illegality of any resistance to a king. The Anglican Church had adopted the same attitude, and James anticipated little opposition to his attempt to use the Dispensing Power to appoint Roman Catholics to ecclesiastical and academic posts at Oxford. He therefore

(1) Appointed Massey, a Roman Catholic, Dean of Christ Church;

(2) Granted a dispensation to Walker, Master of University College, who had become a Roman Catholic, to retain his mastership.

II. The Court of Ecclesiastical Commission.

A. July, 1686. In order to enforce the royal supremacy over the Church, James re-established the Court of High Commission under the name of the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission. His action was illegal because he re-established by his own authority a court which had been abolished by Parliament 1641. The abolition had been confirmed in 1661. Chancellor Jeffreys, the President, Chief Justice Herbert, the Earls of Rochester and Sunderland, and three bishops formed the Court, which had jurisdiction over all clergymen and all teachers, and was bound by no rules of legal procedure. Archbishop Sancroft refused to become a member.

B. The Court suspended Compton, Bishop of London, for refusing to suspend Dr. Sharp, Rector of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, who, in defiance of James' orders, had preached strongly against Roman Catholicism.

III. The Army.

Great indignation had been roused in London by James' policy, especially by his reception of the Papal Nuncio at Court and his public attendance at Mass. A serious riot broke out at the opening of a new Catholic church in London, and James gladly seized the opportunity of strengthening the royal power, and stationed an army of 13,000 men on Hounslow Heath to overawe the capital. July, 1686.

IV. Scotland.

The Chancellor, the Earl of Perth, a Catholic, had ensured the removal of the Commissioner, the Protestant Duke of Queensberry, and tried to get Parliament to repeal the Test Act. Parliament refused and was prorogued by James, who endeavoured to relieve Roman Catholics by declaring null and void all penal statutes which had been passed against them.

V. Ireland.

James determined to overthrow the Settlement made in **1661** and to favour the Irish Roman Catholics at the expense of the English Protestants. The Earl of Clarendon was appointed Lord Lieutenant, but Tyrconnel had more power, and by replacing Protestant officers by Roman Catholics and enlisting 2000 Catholic soldiers secured the support of the Irish army for James.

VI. The Dismissal of Rochester and Clarendon, January, 1687.

James, who failed to appreciate the opposition of the country to the establishment of Roman Catholicism, deprived Rochester and Clarendon, who refused to become Catholics, of their offices of Lord Treasurer and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Consequent alienation of the Protestant nobility. Three Catholic peers were appointed to high offices of State, Lord Belasyse was put at the head of the Treasury (now placed in commission), the Earl of Tyrconnel was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Arundell[1] was made Lord Privy Seal. Father Petre, James' Jesuit confessor, was admitted to the Privy Council.

References;

A. Gardiner's *Student's History of England.* Chap. XLI. (Longmans.)

B. Judge Jefferies. Macaulay's *History.* Vol. I, p. 220.
Richard Baxter. Macaulay's *History.* Vol. I, p. 239.
Argyle. Macaulay's *History.* Vol. I, p. 274.

C. *The Courtship of Morrice Buckler*, by Mason. (Macmillan.)
Lorna Doone, by Blackmore. (Sampson Low.)
Micah Clarke, by Conan Doyle. (Longmans.)

[1] Baron Arundell of Wardour. His title must be distinguished from that of Earl of Arundel, which was held by the Howards.

THE REIGN OF JAMES II FROM THE DISMISSAL OF ROCHESTER AND CLARENDON TO THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS, JANUARY, 1687, TO JUNE, 1688

James now endeavoured to secure his objects by winning over the Protestant Nonconformists.

I. **The First Declaration of Indulgence, April 4th, 1687.**

James II, on his own authority, suspended all penal laws and annulled all religious tests. The Suspending Power thus claimed as part of the royal prerogative was much more serious than the power of dispensing with the law in the case of individuals, and was quite incompatible with constitutional government. Although many Nonconformists were released from prison in consequence, the majority of the party (who were strongly opposed to Roman Catholicism and absolutism, and had never accepted the theory of the Divine Right of Kings), led by Baxter and Bunyan, refused to accept toleration obtained by a method which made laws useless.

II. **James' Attempt to secure a Parliament.**

Owing to the failure of the Declaration of Indulgence James determined to secure the repeal of the Test Act by Parliament. He dissolved the Parliament prorogued in November, 1685 (page 485), appointed "Regulators" to remodel corporations by the admission of Roman Catholics and Nonconformists, demanded from the Lords Lieutenant the names of Roman Catholics and Nonconformists who would support him. But the "Regulators" failed, and the dismissal of many Lords Lieutenant for refusing to carry out his orders further alienated the country gentry.

III. **Further Attack through the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission upon the Universities, 1687.**

A. The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge dismissed from office for refusing to confer a degree on a Benedictine monk.

B. Oxford.

(1) The Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, refused to accept as president Antony Farmer, a Roman Catholic who, although he was not eligible for the post, and was of bad character, had been nominated by the King.

(2) The Fellows duly elected John Hough.

(3) The Court of Ecclesiastical Commission declared Hough's election void and installed Parker Bishop of Oxford, and on his death Bonaventura Giffard a Roman Catholic Bishop, as President of Magdalen.

(4) The Court expelled the Fellows and Demies (scholars) of Magdalen for non-compliance with its orders and appointed Roman Catholics in their place.

IV. **The Second Declaration of Indulgence, April 22nd, 1688.**

A second Declaration was issued by James and ordered to be read in the churches on two successive Sundays. This led to the final alienation of the Anglican Church from James. The Declaration was read in only four churches in London, and in these cases the congregation left as a protest. Sancroft the Primate, and Bishops Ken of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Trelawney of Bristol,[1] Lake of Chichester, Turner of Ely, petitioned the King that they might not be compelled to break the law by publishing an illegal declaration. James called the petition a "standard of rebellion," and by the advice of Jeffreys

[1] The famous ballad,

"And shall Trelawney die, and shall Trelawney die?
Then thirty thousand Cornish boys will know the reason why,"

was not sung by the Cornish peasants in 1688 as Macaulay asserted, but was composed in the nineteenth century by Rev. R. S. Hawker, rector of Morwenstow.

the seven bishops were summoned before the King's Bench on a charge of seditious libel and committed to the Tower on refusing to give bail, from which necessity they claimed exemption as Peers. Somers, the Bishops' counsel, declared that the petition was neither seditious, as it had been presented in private, nor a libel, as every subject had a right to petition the sovereign against a grievance. The jury acquitted the bishops June 30th, and the acquittal was gladly received even by the army on Hounslow Heath. A foolish attempt to proceed in the High Commission Court against those clergymen who had refused to read the Declaration failed. Thus the Church, previously the servile instrument of the King, had become his strong opponent, and for the first time in defending its own rights had maintained the cause of national liberty and constitutional government against the absolutism of the Crown.

V. **Birth of James Prince of Wales, "The Old Pretender."**

June 10. A son was born to James and Mary of Modena. But many believed, wrongly, that the baby had been smuggled into the palace and was not the King's son, especially as only Catholics were present at its birth, and this belief increased the unpopularity of James.

VI. James, doubting the loyalty of the army at Hounslow, now brought over some of Tyrconnel's Irish soldiers, enough to cause great discontent, not enough to crush his opponents. General resignation of Protestant officers.

References:

B. Declaration of Indulgence, Macaulay's *History*, Vol. I, p. 431.

The Trial of the Seven Bishops, Macaulay's *History*, Vol. I, pp. 500, 519.

William's entry into London, Macaulay's *History*, Vol. I, pp. 613–15.

THE FALL OF JAMES II

The Whigs had always opposed James. He had now alienated the Tory nobility and gentry, the Church, the Universities, and the Nonconformists. The birth of his son, which seemed likely to perpetuate the Catholic succession, proved the last straw, and on the day of the bishops' acquittal, June 30, Admiral Herbert, representing the Whigs, the Tories, and the Church, invited William of Orange to come to England with an army to restore national liberty and protect the Protestant religion. In August even Sunderland, James' chief supporter, and Churchill, second in command of the army, promised their help to William. Thus the whole nation was united against James.

I. William of Orange.

Hitherto William had not supported the overthrow of James II, as he hoped that James would oppose Louis XIV, and the ultimate succession of his wife Mary seemed assured. But James' refusal actively to oppose Louis and the birth of his heir completely changed William's position and made him willing to interfere.

A. His difficulties.

(1) William's great object was to oppose France, and the alliance he had formed against Louis XIV by the League of Augsburg (1686) included Catholic states (Spain and Austria), which would object to strong measures in support of Protestantism in England.

(2) The burgher oligarchy of Holland, the opponents of the House of Orange and especially Amsterdam, would prevent the provincial states from authorising war against James.

(3) The defeat of James' English army by a Dutch force would cause national resentment in England.

B. The removal of the difficulties.

(1) Louis XIV alienated Austria and Spain by forming an alliance with the Turks, by quarrelling with the Pope,

by attempting to secure the archbishopric of Cologne for a strong supporter, and thus to strengthen his power on the Rhine.

(2) The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (page 484) and the injury done to their trade, especially the herring trade, by Louis' protective policy embittered the Dutch towns, and their pride was touched by the orders Louis issued forbidding them to attack his ally James II. The English would gladly welcome William if he could defeat the Irish troops James had brought over. James II quarrelled with Louis XIV, who therefore, instead of using his army to prevent William's descent on England by intervention in the Netherlands, moved his army to the Rhine and seized the Palatinate, thus giving William a free hand.

liam's Declaration, October 10th, 1688.

He enumerated James' illegal acts, the breach of the Test Act, formation of the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, interference with town charters, the trial of the bishops.

As husband of Mary, the heiress to the throne, he claimed the right of armed interference in England, but promised to leave the final settlement to a free Parliament.

II **Concessions.**

James vainly tried to win over the Church and Tory arty by restoring the President and Fellows of Magalen, by reinstating the Lords Lieutenant, by dislving the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, by ismissing Sunderland, and by giving the Privy Council roofs of the legitimacy of his son. These concessions came too late to win back the support of the nation.

III. **The Landing of William and the Flight of James.**

William profited by Louis' attack on the Palatinate to leave Holland, October 19th. He was compelled to return owing to bad weather, but landed in Torbay (not as he intended, in the north, where he hoped to join

Danby and Devonshire) November 5. The remembrance of the Bloody Assize made the West-country people slow to join him, but Danby and Lumley roused Yorkshire, Devonshire roused the Midlands, Norfolk, and the eastern counties, and William gradually got more support. Churchill, whose plot to seize James had failed, Lord Cornbury,[1] Ormonde, Princess Anne and her husband Prince George of Denmark, and many of the chief towns (York, Hull, Bristol), deserted James, who appointed Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin to treat with William. Writs for a new Parliament were prepared, but James burnt the writs, tried to escape to France, and threw the Great Seal into the Thames, hoping thus to disorganise public business, December 11th. Halifax and many Tories, who thought that James' flight absolved them from allegiance, joined William, who marched towards London to quell riots caused by the fear of an attack from Feversham's Irish army. James returned to London, but on William's approach escaped to France, December 23rd, **1688.**

References:

A. Gardiner's *Student's History.* Chap. XLI.

B. Declaration of Indulgence, Macaulay's *Histor* I, p. 431.

The Trial of the Seven Bishops, Macaulay *y.* Vol. I, pp. 500, 519.

William's entry into London, Macaulay's *Histo* I, p 5.

THE REVOLUTION

I. **Causes.**

A. The events of the reign of Charles II do not form part of the causes of the Revolution. At his death the monarchy was in a strong position (page 476), and James' unquestioned accession showed the adherence of the nation to the principle of hereditary succession. The causes are to be found in the conduct of James II.

[1] Son of the second Earl of Clarendon.

B. The main cause was James' illegal use of the prerogative to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion and to give Catholics privileges which were contrary to law. His actions (the attempt to keep a standing army, the establishment of the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, the attacks on the Universities, the dismissal of Protestants from office, the admission of Roman Catholics to office, his use of the dispensing and suspending powers, the trial of the bishops) alienated the whole nation. He thus threatened the continuance of the Established Church, of constitutional government, and of the liberty of the subject.

C. The success of the Revolution was facilitated by James' utter folly.

(1) He refused to listen to the warnings Louis XIV gave him of the danger from William.

(2) His voluntary flight removed one of the greatest difficulties of William.

D. The birth of the Old Pretender was "the last straw."

II. [illegible]ettlement of the Succession.

[illegible] Convention.

William reached London December 18th, wisely [illegible]stained from using his army to promote his cause, [illegible]solved to keep his promise to leave the settlement to [illegible]arliament, and by the advice of the Peers, of surviving [illegible]embers of Charles II's Parliament, and of the authori[illegible]s of London, summoned a Convention Parliament [illegible]hich met January 22nd, 1689.

B. Several courses were advocated.

(1) Some of the extreme Tories wished to restore James provided the Civil and Ecclesiastical Constitution of England were adequately protected. This plan was not even brought before the Convention owing to the profound distrust caused by James' past policy and by a foolish manifesto he issued January 4th.

(2) Other Tories took Archbishop Sancroft's view that James was unfit to rule, but that Englishmen were bound by their oaths of allegiance to him, and that William should act as Regent and rule in James' name.

(3) Other Tories, led by Danby and Compton Bishop of London, accepted the illegitimacy of James' son and considered that by James' flight the crown had devolved upon his heiress, Princess Mary, and that she was actually Queen.

(4) The Whigs wished to declare the throne vacant and to elect a new sovereign on conditions which would ensure good government.

C. The decision of the Convention.

(1) The Commons passed a resolution that King James, "having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of this kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and People, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant."

This resolution was skilfully worded so as to win over as many of the popular party as possible, e.g. the reference to the original contract conciliated the followers of Sydney, the reference to the Jesuits won over the strong Protestants, the declaration of the vacancy of the throne pleased the strong Whig section.

(2) The Lords voted that the throne was not vacant and substituted the word "deserted" for "abdicated."

(3) The division of opinion between the two Houses seemed to endanger a settlement, and William, with Mary's cordial approval, therefore publicly declared that he would neither act as regent nor as his wife's "gentleman usher," and that he would return to Holland if the crown were not offered to him.

(4) The Lords then accepted the resolution of the Commons and it was decided to offer the crown to William and Mary jointly, William to direct the administration. But before the offer of the crown was made the Declaration of Rights was drawn up to safeguard the constitution and to settle the terms of the "Contract between King and People."

D. The Declaration of Rights.

(1) After mentioning the illegal acts of James and the consequent vote of abdication declared—

α. That the sovereign had no right without the authority of Parliament to—

1. Suspend laws;
2. To use the dispensing power "as it hath been assumed and exercised of late";
3. To levy money;
4. To create commissions and courts for ecclesiastical cases;
5. To raise or keep a standing army in time of peace.

β. That the subject had the right—

1. To petition the King;
2. To have freedom of election to Parliament, which ought to meet frequently;
3. To have freedom of speech in Parliament;
4. To be secure from excessive bail, excessive fines, and cruel punishment.

The Bill of Rights (the third great charter of English liberty) passed by William's first Parliament, October 25th, 1689, turned the Declaration into a regular statute, and added to it an Act of Succession which asserted that any Papist or person married to a Papist was incapable of being sovereign of England, and also that the succession should pass to the heirs of Mary, then to Anne and her heirs, then to the heirs of William by another wife.

(2) Criticism.

The Declaration and Bill of Rights—

α. Involve the theory of a contract between King and People;

β. Do not formally define the fundamental basis of the constitution, but are practical attempts to deal with particular grievances;

γ. Assume that no change is made in the constitution, but

1. The settlement they made implied a limitation of the prerogative;
2. The prohibition of the maintenance of a standing army annulled the law of **1661** (which vested the control of the militia in the Crown) and introduced a new principle.

δ. Are moderate and not extreme, e.g. there is no absolute prohibition of the dispensing power but only "as it hath been assumed and exercised of late."

E. The offer of the Crown.

February 13th, **1689**. William and Mary agreed to the Declaration of Rights, and Halifax then offered them the crown in the name of the estates of the realm. William answered, "We thankfully accept what you have offered us," and promised that his wife and he would keep the laws and rule according to the advice of Parliament.

III. **The Character of the Revolution.**

A. Macaulay maintains that the Revolution was a political rather than a religious movement, and points out that James was deposed because he had "broken the fundamental laws of the kingdom," not because he was a Roman Catholic. But his attack on the English Church and his attempt to improve the position of Roman Catholics were very important causes.

B. The term "Revolution" is somewhat misleading. The movement was largely defensive and conservative, and the Convention, unlike the Long Parliament, preserved the constitution. One of its leading features was the vindication of the ancient rights of the people against the Crown, and there is little new in the Bill of Rights. There was comparatively little change in the laws, but the laws were made more efficient.

C. The Whig landowning aristocracy took the leading part in the Revolution, but the Whig doctrines were not as yet generally accepted by the nation. Swift correctly asserts that in Anne's reign the country was mainly Tory and the Whig supremacy does not begin until the reign of George I.

D. The Revolution was not "glorious." There was a large element of chance and luck (e.g. the flight of James). It came as a surprise to the majority of the people. It was decidedly inglorious that foreign aid had to be sought to drive a despot from the throne of England. The falsehoods about the birth of the Old Pretender, the gross treachery of James' principal supporters contributed largely to William's success. "No sacrifices were made for the deliverance of the nation, except the sacrifice which Churchill made of honour, and Anne of natural affection."

E. But the Revolution, except for the loss of ten lives in a skirmish between Dutch and Irish in Reading market-place, was "bloodless," and its results (page 509) promoted national well-being. It was "the least violent and most beneficent of all revolutions."

[References, see end of next note.]

THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT IN ENGLAND

The Convention was declared a Parliament from February 13th, 1689, and proceeded to effect a settlement of the country. William selected his ministers from both Whigs and Tories. Danby (now made Marquis of Caermarthen), a Tory, became President of the Council; Godolphin, a Tory, went to the Treasury; two Whigs, Russell and Herbert, controlled the Admiralty; of the two Secretaries of State Shrewsbury was a Whig and Nottingham a Tory; Halifax, a "Trimmer," became Lord Privy Seal.

I. **The Church.**

A. The non-jurors.

March, 1689. Parliament required all officials of the State and Church to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Archbishop Sancroft, Bishop Ken, five other bishops, and about four hundred clergy refused to take the oath, as they still believed in the Divine Right of Kings, and although willing to accept the Revolution really regarded William as a usurper. They also maintained that Parliament had no right to deprive a bishop of his office. They were deprived of their livings. They formed a party which continued until 1805, and tended to support the Stuarts, thus weakening Church and State. William therefore had to depend upon the Latitudinarians led by Tillotson (appointed Archbishop of Canterbury) and Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury. Bishopries were bestowed mainly on Whigs, and the Church was further weakened by the opposition between the bishops and the clergy, who were largely Tory.

B. The Toleration Act, 1689.

(1) The Nonconformists had loyally co-operated with the Anglicans in opposing James, and an attempt, strongly supported by William, was now made to remove their religious disabilities.

(2) But Convocation refused to sanction changes in the Prayer Book, which would have removed some of their grievances. Parliament threw out a Comprehension Bill, and the Test and Corporation Acts were not repealed.

(3) **The Toleration Act.**

Granted freedom of worship to all who would take an oath of allegiance and supremacy and subscribe a declaration against Popery, relieved Nonconformist ministers, who accepted most of the Thirty-nine Articles, from the restrictions of the Act of Uniformity and the Conventicle Act, allowed Quakers to make an affirmation instead of taking an oath, protected from molestation all registered conventicles.

The Toleration Act (due largely to Nottingham's influence) was not a full measure of toleration.

α. It practically put an end to the persecution of Nonconformists for the exercise of their religion, but Papists and disbelievers in the Trinity were expressly excluded from its benefits.

β. The Test and Corporation Acts were not repealed.

II. **The Bill of Rights, October, 1689** (page 497).

Gave Parliamentary sanction to the limitation of the royal power and to the assertion of the rights of the subject contained in the Declaration of Rights, and also excluded from the throne all who should be members of the Church of Rome or marry a Papist.

III. **The Army.**

(1) Disaffection arose in the Army partly owing to the disgraceful treachery of some of its leaders towards James II and the inglorious part it had played in the Revolution, partly owing to jealousy of William's Dutch soldiers. A mutiny in favour of James at Ipswich was put down by force, and the mutineers sent to Holland. But as yet the soldiers were in

theory only civilians, and it was necessary to provide legal means of ensuring military discipline.

(2) There was still much opposition to a standing army. But the French war made a standing army necessary, and Parliament wished to secure control.

(3) The Mutiny Act, **1689**, provided,

α. That for breaches of military discipline soldiers shall be punished by court-martial;

β. That no standing army may be maintained without consent of Parliament.

The Mutiny Act (now termed the Army Act) thus secured discipline[1] and Parliamentary control. It remained in force for one year only, and therefore limited the power of the Crown by ensuring the annual meeting of Parliament.

IV. **Bill of Indemnity, 1689.**

A. The Whigs, to whom the Revolution was mainly due, wished to take vengeance on the Tories, many of whom had supported James II. William desired to conciliate both parties, especially in view of the need of union in England to check the danger from Ireland, and would not become a mere party leader as the Whigs wished.

B. The Whigs attacked Halifax, who was held responsible for the misgovernment of Ireland, and Caermarthen, and proposed, unsuccessfully, that all who had been concerned in the recent remodelling of town charters (page 489), i.e. many of the leading Tories, should hold no municipal office for seven years. The Whigs then tried to exclude many Tories from the benefit of the proposed Act of Indemnity, but William, disgusted with the violence of the Whigs, threatened to return to Holland, leaving Mary to reign alone. The Convention Parliament was dissolved January, **1690**.

[1] But a British soldier, though subject to military laws for military offences, remains liable to the common law for offences other than military, and thus differs from the French soldier, who can be tried for any offence only by a military tribunal.

C. **1690.** An Act of Grace strongly supported by William passed by a new Parliament gave indemnity for all previous political offences. Some nominal exceptions were made, but no one was actually punished.

V. **The Settlement of the Revenue, 1690.**

The new Parliament was largely Tory, and Caermarthen[1] became William's leading minister.

A. Repeated quarrels had arisen between Parliament and previous kings as to the revenue. In **1614** and **1640** the grant of supplies had been made conditional upon the redress of grievances. In **1665** supplies had been appropriated to a special purpose in order to prevent the King from spending Parliamentary grants as he pleased (page 448). The Whigs now determined to settle and to appropriate the revenue, partly to prevent the King from securing the means to keep a standing army without consent of Parliament, partly to prevent waste of public money.

B. The revenue included

(1) The ancient hereditary revenue of the Crown derived from the rent of Crown lands, feudal dues (replaced **1660** by an excise on beer, and **1663** revenues of the Post Office), profits of justice;

(2) Additional excise duties;

(3) Customs duties.

C. The settlement.

(1) The revenue of the Crown was fixed at £1,200,000 per annum in time of peace.

(2) £700,000, the proceeds of the hereditary revenues and of the excise, were granted to William and Mary for life, but were appropriated to the Civil List (including the personal expenses of the monarch, the cost of the Court, payment of ambassadors, judges, and other civil servants, payment of pensions). The remainder, about £600,000, derived from the customs, was voted for four years only, and appropriated to public defence and the cost of government.

[1] Danby.

(3) Commissioners were appointed to audit accounts and to ensure the proper appropriation of grants.

This settlement very greatly strengthened the control of Parliament over the Crown in the work of executive government.

References:

A. *English Constitutional History*, Taswell-Langmead, pp. 538–43.

History of England, Bright. Vol. II, pp. 779–89. (Longmans.)

B. Macaulay's *History*. Vol. I, pp. 531, 549, 551.

THE SETTLEMENT OF SCOTLAND

I. **The Convention Parliament.**

A. **1688–1689.** James had been more successful in crushing Nonconformists in Scotland than in England, and the revolution was more violent in consequence. Presbyterian reaction against Episcopalian oppression. "Rabbling" of Episcopalian ministers.

B. The Convention Parliament, to which Presbyterians though legally ineligible were admitted, asserted that James had forfeited the crown by misgovernment, drew up a "Claim of Right," similar to the Bill of Rights, demanded the abolition of Episcopacy, and offered the crown to William and Mary, who accepted it.

The Presbyterian religion was established, but owing to William's influence toleration was given to Episcopacy.

II. **"Bonny Dundee."**

(1) John Graham of Claverhouse, created Viscount Dundee for his attack on the Covenanters, stirred up the Western Highlanders, who cared little for James' cause, but were jealous of the great power of the Whig Earl of Argyle.

(2) July 27th, **1689.** General Mackay was routed at Killiecrankie by Dundee, partly owing to the time lost by the English in fixing their bayonets in the muzzles

of their muskets after they fired a volley. But the death of Dundee neutralised his victory, the Highlanders were checked by the gallant defence of Dunkeld Cathedral by the Cameronian Highlanders, and Fort William was built by Mackay, who subdued the Highlands.

III. **The Massacre of Glencoe, February 13th, 1692.**

In order to pacify the Highlands £15,000 was distributed by the Marquis of Bredalbane, a Campbell, to the chiefs of the clans, and pardon promised to all who submitted by January 1st, **1692**. Macdonald of Glencoe was unable, owing to the absence of a magistrate, to take the oath of allegiance at Fort William, whither he went for this purpose on December 31st, **1691**, but took it at Inverary January 6th, **1692**, six days too late. Sir John Dalrymple, Master of Stair,[1] who was acting as Secretary for Scotland, obtained from William a warrant "to extirpate that sect of thieves." The execution of the warrant was entrusted to Campbell of Glenlyon and soldiers of his clan (bitterly opposed to the Macdonalds), who, after having been kindly entertained at Glencoe for twelve days, murdered thirty-eight of their hosts in a sudden attack on the night of February 13th, **1692**. In May, **1695**, the Scottish Parliament established the guilt of Dalrymple, who was deprived of his office in consequence. William's failure to inflict adequate punishment on Dalrymple after his guilt was proved is a serious blot on his reputation. The resentment caused by the massacre increased the difficulty of making the union between England and Scotland, and greatly strengthened the Stuart cause in the Highlands.

References :

A. *History of England*, Bright. Vol. III, pp. 836–8. (Longmans.)

B. Macaulay's *History of England*. Vol. II, pp. 341–3.
Aytoun's "Burial March of Dundee" in the *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*.

C. *The Glen of Weeping*, by Marjorie Bowen. (Alston Rivers.)

[1] Eldest son of Viscount Stair.

THE SETTLEMENT OF IRELAND

The Revolution led to a "war of race and religion" in Ireland, where the Roman Catholics now held most of the important offices, had a majority on the town councils and, through the sheriffs, controlled the nomination of juries. The Roman Catholic Irish led by Tyrconnel supported James, although Tyrconnel's main object was to make Ireland independent of England and not to restore James to the throne, the Protestant English and Scotch colonists supported William.

Louis XIV gladly supported an Irish rising which would divert William's attention from the Continent.

I. The Roman Catholic Reaction.

A. March 12th, **1689.** James, escorted by the fleet of Louis, which commanded the Channel, and accompanied by 8000 French soldiers, landed at Kinsale.

B. An Irish Parliament in Dublin annulled all grants of land made by the Act of Settlement in **1661** to English settlers, established Catholicism, proscribed the Protestant religion, and condemned 2500 Protestants to death for treason. James injured trade by the issue of a depreciated coinage, largely of brass.

C. The whole country submitted except Enniskillen and Londonderry, in which many Protestants took refuge.

II. The Catholics Checked.

A. In spite of weak fortifications and scanty provisions Londonderry, owing to the influence of Rev. G. Walker, held out for 105 days until, on July 30th, **1689,** Colonel Kirke, commanding a relief squadron of three ships, broke the boom the besiegers had thrown across the Foyle and saved the town.

B. August 2nd, **1689.** James' army was routed at Newtown Butler by the men of Enniskillen, led by Colonel Wolseley.

C. Schomberg, a Huguenot refugee, was sent over by William. His soldiers were largely recruits and were badly supplied with food and horses, but he captured Carrickfergus. He failed to capture Dublin, and took up his winter quarters at Dundalk, where he lost many men owing to pestilence.

D. Tourville defeated Torrington in Bantry Bay, and Louis sent reinforcements of 6000 men, under Lauzun, to James.

III. **William's Campaign, 1690.**

A. William had been prevented from leaving England in **1689** owing to the difficulties of settling the government, to the danger of a reaction in favour of James, to the popular indignation at the expulsion of the Non-Jurors, and to a plot formed by Clarendon against him. But, realising that the success of James and Louis in Ireland would weaken the cause of Protestantism in Europe, he landed at Carrickfergus on June 14th, **1690**, instead of going to fight the French in the Netherlands. Louis' fleet, most unwisely, did not try to stop him. Tourville completely routed Torrington (who was suspected of treachery and superseded for his failure) off Beachy Head on June 30th, **1690**. The French thus gained command of the Channel and could send reinforcements to Ireland as required. The battle of Beachy Head thus counteracted to some extent the battle of the Boyne.

B. July 1st, **1690**. Victory of William at the battle of the Boyne, in which Schomberg was killed and James displayed great cowardice. Dublin at once submitted, James fled to France and thus ruined his cause. July 25th, **1690**, William captured Waterford. He failed to capture Limerick (most gallantly defended by Sarsfield, although Lauzun said "the wall could be knocked down with roasted apples"), and in September returned to England.

IV. **The Subjugation of Ireland, 1691.**

A. Marlborough, recalled from the Netherlands, took Cork and Kinsale, and subdued the south.

B. Ginkel, a Dutch general, subdued the west. He captured Athlone, routed St. Ruth at Aughrim, and after a three months' siege captured Limerick, October 3rd, **1691**, again defended by Sarsfield.

V. **The Treaty of Limerick, October, 1691.**

A. Roman Catholics to have the privileges they enjoyed under Charles II.

B. Irish soldiers to be allowed to go to France. Consequent departure of 10,000 men under Sarsfield, the "Irish Brigade" of Louis XIV.

VI. **The Breaking of the Treaty.**

1695. The Irish Parliament (in which Catholics were not represented) annulled the treaty, passed severe penal laws forbidding Catholics to enter the learned professions, to carry arms, to act as guardians of minors, to purchase land or to marry Protestants.

The Catholics "became hewers of wood and drawers of water to their conquerors" (Swift), and Ireland was so utterly crushed that the Jacobite risings of 1715 and **1745** found no support there.

Limerick was nicknamed the "City of the Broken Treaty."

References:

A. *History of England*, Bright. Vol. III, pp. 826–30.

B. Londonderry, Macaulay's *History*. Vol. I, pp. 751–3, 769–71.
Battle of the Boyne, Macaulay's *History*. Vol. II, pp. 191–3.

C. *A Man's Foes*, by Strain. (Ward, Lock.)
Wild Geese, by Weyman. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

THE RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTION

I. Constitutional Results.

A. Limited monarchy was established.

(1) The authority of Parliament over the Crown was asserted. The Convention deposed and expelled James II, and thus broke the succession. The tenure of the Crown was made dependent upon the faithful observance of the law and the maintenance of the constitution. This involved the denial of the doctrines of Divine Right and Passive Obedience (for the monarch became a "mere creature of an Act of Parliament"), and the establishment of the Reign of Law.

(2) The power of the Crown, already limited by the Bill of Rights (page 497), was further restricted by

α. The limitation of the grant of revenue to four years, and subsequently to only one (the revenues of Charles II and James II had been granted for life), and the strict appropriation of supplies.

1694. β. The Triennial Bill limited the duration of Parliament to three years, and ensured the meeting of Parliament at least once in three years. This was to prevent the King from keeping a subservient Parliament for an indefinite period.

γ. The Mutiny Act (page 502), renewable yearly, which gave to Parliament the control of the army.

δ. The provision of the Act of Settlement (page 525) that judges should hold office *quam diu se bene gesserint*, instead of according to the King's will, removed a means of tyranny which James I (page 342), Charles I (page 368), and James II (page 485) had used with effect.

c. Although no mention was made in the Bill of Rights of the control of trade by Parliament this power was soon gained, and thus the Crown lost another important part of its prerogative.

B. The supremacy of Parliament was assured. The Revolution marks the final triumph of the legislature over the executive, and the Commons, the popular element, soon became the most important part of Parliament. These results of the Revolution led to

(1) The development of Party Government, whereby the executive (the Ministry) holds office according as it secures the support of the Commons. Party Government greatly modified the ferocity of political life. A defeated politician was no longer executed, like Strafford, or impeached, like Danby, but took a recognised place as leader of the Opposition.

(2) The growth of bribery, especially in the Commons, in order to gain for a ministry the support necessary for its continuance. From this, and other reasons, arose the demand for Parliamentary Reform.

(3) The Liberty of the Subject was protected by the Bill of Rights, by the Toleration Act, 1689, by the Treasons Bill of 1696, which ensured a fair trial to prisoners accused of treason, and by the lapse of the Censorship of the Press. Thus the permanence of the Revolution settlement became highly desirable in the interests of the great majority of the nation.

II. **Finance.**

A. The settlement of the royal revenue (page 503).

B. The establishment of the National Debt, which made national credit the foundation of public finance (page 519).

III. **Religious Toleration.**

Religious Toleration resulted from the Revolution, and henceforth men were allowed to worship God in their own way without persecution. But the Test and Cor-

poration Acts (although evaded by Protestant Nonconformists) were not repealed until 1828; Roman Catholics were not emancipated from legal disabilities until 1829, and Jews were not admitted to Parliament until 1858.

IV. **England again became a first-class European Power.**

A. The Revolution involved war with France. William's great object was to check the aggression of Louis XIV, and England became the leading member of the Grand Alliance, the chief Protestant power in Europe, and the chief element in the Balance of Power which William, like Wolsey, tried to establish.

B. Rivalry with France remained the leading feature of British foreign policy until 1815, but two views as to the best method of procedure were held.

(1) William wished England to adopt a policy of active military interference on the Continent.

(2) The other view, first prominently advocated by Bolingbroke and subsequently adopted by Chatham and Wm. Pitt, involved the payment of allies to fight France in Europe, and the employment of the forces of England in naval attacks on the French colonies.

C. The later connection with Hanover increased the interest of England in continental politics.

V. **The Growing Power of the Whigs** (page 555), **who made Adherence to the "Glorious Revolution" a Leading Element in their Political Creed.**

VI. **Freedom of the Press.**

The freedom of the Press was ensured by the Revolution.

A. Before the Reformation the Church exercised a strict censorship over publications, especially after the invention of printing. After the Reformation the right to control the Press passed to the Government as part of the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown.

B. **1585.** Printing was restricted to London, Oxford, and Cambridge, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Stationers' Company exercised supervision over printers and publishers. Offenders were liable to death, mutilation, fine, or imprisonment.

C. Under the Stuarts the Star Chamber exercised strict censorship of the Press and severely punished the authors of Puritan publications—Leighton, Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton (page 366). The abolition of the Star Chamber in **1641** was followed by the publication of many pamphlets on the great questions of the day. Upwards of 30,000 newspapers and pamphlets appeared between **1640** and **1660**. Therefore

D. **1643.** The Long Parliament, in order "to repress disorders in printing," instructed its agents to apprehend authors and printers when necessary.

E. **1644.** In the *Areopăgitica* Milton supported the cause of the liberty of the Press, asserting the ultimate victory of truth over error. "Let Truth and Falsehood grapple: who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?", and maintaining that "the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience was above all liberties."

F. **1662.** A Licensing Act vested the control of printing in the Government; restricted printing to London, York, Oxford, and Cambridge; limited the number of master printers.

G. **1679.** The judges declared it a common law offence to publish criticisms of the Government without licence. All newspapers (except the official *Gazette* and *Observator*) were stopped; consequent development of the coffee-houses as a means of expressing public opinion.

H. **1685.** The Licensing Act was revived.

I. **1695.** The Commons refused to renew the Licensing Act.

Thus the liberty of the Press in England does not rest upon a positive enactment, but on the negative fact

that the censorship of the Press, which expired in 1695, was not renewed. The Press was restricted by the Stamp Duty on newspapers, by the law of libel, by punishment for improper publications. The Stamp Duty was abolished in 1855, the injustice of the law of libel was modified by Fox's Libel Act 1792 and Lord Campbell's Libel Act 1843, and absolute freedom of publication is now limited only by the right of a person libelled to sue for damages, and by State prosecutions for improper publications.

The removal of the tax on paper in 1861 made the Press more effective, owing to the consequent diminution in the price of newspapers.

References:

A. Hallam, *Constitutional History*. Chap. xv.

B. Macaulay's *Essays*, pp. 91–3.

THE WAR OF THE GRAND ALLIANCE 1689–1697

I. The Formation of the Grand Alliance.

Opposition to the aggression of Louis XIV (who aimed at extending the frontiers of France to the Rhine) was the leading feature of William III's policy. In 1689 he succeeded in uniting Western Europe against France.

A. England.

Louis realised the importance of driving William from the English throne, and of detaching the English fleet from the Coalition formed to check the expansion of his power. He therefore welcomed James in Paris, and, realising that the war in Ireland would prevent William from active opposition on the Continent, he sent considerable reinforcements to help James in that country. The English cared little for Louis' policy on

the Continent, but strongly resented his attempt to restore James II to the throne of England. Therefore

May 13th, **1689**, England declared war on France, and Holland soon followed. The beginning of the "Second Hundred Years' War."

B. Austria.

Austria joined the Coalition because Louis was in alliance with the Turks, who were attacking her eastern border; because on hearing of William's success in England, Louis had utterly devastated the Palatinate before withdrawing his troops for operations against William; and because the Emperor[1] Leopold I hoped for the assistance of the allies in prosecuting his claim to the Spanish dominions on the expected death of King Charles II, and feared the results of the possible union of Spain and France.

C. Spain joined the Alliance to defend the Spanish Netherlands against France and to maintain her independence of Louis.

D. Victor II, Duke of Savoy, joined the Alliance **1690**, hoping to secure independence of France.

II. **The Course of the War.**

A. The war in Ireland (page 506).

The battles of the Boyne, July 1st, **1690**, and Aughrim, July 12th, **1691**, removed all danger from Ireland, and enabled William to direct the war on the Continent.

B. The naval struggle.

(1) Seignelay, son of Colbert, had reorganised the French navy, which had secured the command of the Mediterranean. Both Torrington and Russell had negotiated with France, and Louis expected their co-operation in his designs on England.

[1] The Holy Roman Emperor. There was no "Emperor of Austria" until 1806.

(2) June 30th, **1690.** Defeat of Torrington, commanding the English and Dutch fleets, by Tourville, off Beachy Head. The French secured command of the Channel and could therefore easily send reinforcements to Ireland. Torrington was acquitted of having "brought dishonour on the British nation," but deprived of his post.

(3) Tourville's fleet then caused great indignation by burning Teignmouth.

(4) **1692.** Proposed attack on England from Normandy by the French, in co-operation with English Jacobites. Tourville's fleet to convoy the necessary transports.

May 19th, **1692.** Russell with a fleet of ninety English and Dutch vessels routed, off Cape La Hogue, Tourville's fleet of fifty, which had attacked in the expectation of treacherous co-operation from Russell. But a foolish proclamation in which James had proscribed his opponents had roused the loyalty of Englishmen, and Queen Mary had made a personal appeal to Russell, who declared, "If I meet them I will fight them, even if King James himself should be aboard." Russell destroyed, in the bay of La Hogue, sixteen French vessels which had escaped from the battle. This victory

α. Gained for England the command of the seas, averted the danger of a French invasion, and ensured the English supremacy in Ireland;

β. Broke the naval power of France, and inspired the allies to further efforts on land, which prevented Louis from giving the necessary attention to his navy.

1693. But the French privateers, commanded by Jean Bart and others, continued to attack English commerce, and the greater part of the Smyrna merchant fleet was captured or destroyed by Tourville off Lagos, June 17th, **1693.**

C. The war on the Continent.

An exhausting and uninteresting war, in which sieges, greatly protracted owing to the skilful fortifications of Vauban and Coehorn, were the most important part. Luxemburg, though a brilliant tactician, could not secure the results of victory. William, although most skilful in avoiding the results of defeat, was a poor tactician on the battlefield.

1691. The French captured Mons.

1692. The French captured Namur.

William, attempting to save Namur, was defeated (**1692**) at Steinkirk, and (**1693**) Neerwinden (or Landen) by Luxemburg, who failed to follow up his victories.

1694. June. Failure of an English attack on Brest, owing to the treachery of Marlborough, who sent information to the French, hoping to ensure the failure of his personal rival Talmash, the English commander.

1695. August. William recaptured Namur. His greatest achievement.

1696. The Whigs strongly supported the war, and therefore William, who hitherto had tried to remain neutral, by the advice of Sunderland, now formed a Ministry of Whigs alone. "The Junto."

III. **The Treaty of Ryswick 1697.**

Both parties desired peace.

Louis wished to end the war because France had become "one vast hospital," and he had spent enormous sums. Louis knew that the question of the succession to the throne of Spain would soon arise, and wished to make preparations for the war which was sure to break out on the death of Charles II. William found difficulty in meeting the expenses of the war, as the excise and customs brought in less than had been expected, and the alteration of the currency caused temporary embarrassment.

A. September 10th, **1697**, by the Treaty of Ryswick
   (1) Louis gave up all his conquests since the Treaty of Nymwegen, **1678** (page 445), except Strasburg;
   (2) Louis recognised William as King of England, and Anne as his successor, and promised to give no more help to James;
   (3) The Dutch were allowed to garrison the "Barrier Fortresses" on the French frontier.

B. Criticism.
   (1) William had checked the aggression of Louis on the Continent, and made England independent of the French influence, which had been powerful since **1660**.
   (2) The Protestant succession was guaranteed in England.
   (3) The success of the English in gaining command of the sea and ruining the French navy enabled them in the next war to secure a great colonial empire.

References:

A. *The Ascendancy of France*, Wakeman, pp. 260–5. (Rivingtons.)

B. Macaulay's *History*. Vol. II, pp. 630–1.

C. *The Blue Pavilions*, by "Q." (Cassell.)
The King's Agent, by Paterson. (Heinemann.)

DOMESTIC HISTORY 1689–1699

I. Jacobite Plots.

A. Causes.
   (1) William was most unpopular.
   His manners were cold, he hated society, he was a foreigner speaking English badly; he caused great discontent by giving promotion in the army, lands and titles to his Dutch followers. His position was greatly weakened by the death, in **1694**, of Queen Mary, whose amiability and fine character endeared her to her subjects.

(2) There was a reaction in favour of James due to fear of Whig vengeance, the expulsion of the Non-Jurors, the heavy taxation and injury to trade caused by the war which the Tories steadily opposed.

(3) There was considerable doubt whether William could maintain his position, and many leading men (including Russell and Godolphin), anticipating the restoration of James, had secured written pardons from him for their share in the Revolution. Marlborough promised to get rid of William's Dutch troops and then to restore James by means of the English army. The French attack in **1692** (page 515) was due to the expected co-operation of Russell and Marlborough.

B. The plots.

(1) **1690.** Failure of a plot made by Clarendon, Dartmouth, and Preston (Secretary of State to James II) to restore James.

(2) **1692.** William discovered Marlborough's treachery. "Were I and my Lord Marlborough private persons the sword would have to settle between us." Marlborough lost all his appointments and was imprisoned in the Tower. Consequent estrangement between Princess Anne (the great friend of Marlborough's wife) and William and Mary.

(3) **1696.** The Assassination Plot.

Sir George Barclay, with about forty other Jacobites, formed a plot to kill William at Turnham Green. The plot was discovered, and as a result

α. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended;

β. A Bill was passed to ensure the continuance of Parliament on the death of William;

γ. An association was formed to protect William and, if necessary, to avenge his murder.

Sir John Fenwick, a well-known Jacobite, was implicated in the plot, and there were two witnesses against him, but on the flight of one, the Whigs,

unable to secure Fenwick's conviction in the law courts owing to the new Law for the Regulation of Trial in Cases of Treason (page 521), and exasperated by his charges against Marlborough, Godolphin, Russell, and Shrewsbury, condemned him to death by Bill of Attainder. Fenwick was the last person condemned by Bill of Attainder. The action of the Whigs was legal, but such interference with the usual course of legal procedure was most undesirable.

II. **The Financial Settlement.**

The heavy expenses of the wars and the strong opposition to any further increase of taxation led to the rearrangement of the finances.

A. The Land Tax **1692.**

Land had been long assessed for taxation at four shillings in the pound. But the rise in the value of land, and the fall in the value of gold and silver (due to the import of precious metals from America) had made the old assessment quite inadequate, and the Land Tax produced only twopence in the pound. This was now reassessed and the Land Tax produced from one shilling to four shillings in the pound according to necessity.

B. The National Debt **1693** and the Bank of England **1694.**

The reorganised Land Tax did not produce enough to defray the cost of the war and additional taxation would cause grave discontent. Montague solved the difficulty by raising a loan "on the security of the nation." On this "National Debt" interest was to be paid, but the capital was not repayable. Montague borrowed £1,200,000 at eight per cent from the London merchants. The capital was never repaid, and certain taxes were assigned as security for payment of the interest, which was to become a permanent charge on the Government. The subscribers were incorporated by royal charter as "The Governor and Company of the Bank of England," and the negotiation of public loans was entrusted to them.

(1) These new arrangements secured the support of the moneyed classes for the Government, as a Jacobite restoration would have meant the repudiation of the debts.

(2) Previously the London goldsmiths had acted as bankers. But they could not give absolute security to their clients, and in **1672** Charles II had caused great distress by suspending repayment of their clients' money advanced to the Exchequer by the goldsmiths (page 452).

(3) The Bank of England was a national bank, and national finances were now firmly established on a foundation of national credit.

C. The reform of the coinage.

Such harm had been done to the coinage by clipping that "it was a mere chance whether what was called a shilling was really tenpence, sixpence, or a groat." Shopkeepers often refused to take coin in payment except by weight, and thus trade was impaired and great hardship inflicted on the poorest classes. Montague, Somers, John Locke, and Sir Isaac Newton made the necessary arrangements.

(1) The Bank of England advanced £1,200,000 to the Government on the security of a window tax to compensate the holders of clipped coin which was withdrawn from circulation. Thus the cost of the reform fell rightly upon the nation and not upon individuals.

(2) By the use of Exchequer Bills (issued by Montague), of paper money, cheques, and credit, the difficulties arising from the withdrawal of the old coins before the issue of the new were obviated.

(3) Only "milled" coins, the clipping of which could be easily detected, were to be current in future.

III. The Beginning of Party Government.

A. In spite of the leading part played by the Whigs at the Revolution, William, anxious to secure the support of both parties for his opposition to Louis XIV, chose as

his first ministers both Whigs and Tories (page 571). But, although William retained in his own hands the direction of foreign affairs, he was compelled to rely upon Parliament for the necessary supplies. His original plan for the selection of ministers from both parties tended to increase faction and disorganisation in Parliament, and realising the need of the steady support of Parliament for the furtherance of his policy, he gradually, by the advice of Sunderland, formed a ministry consisting solely of the Whigs—the strong supporters of the war. Russell became head of the Admiralty, and his personal enemy, Nottingham (a Tory), therefore resigned the Secretaryship, which was given to Shrewsbury, a Whig. Somers, who had first come into prominence as junior counsel for the Seven Bishops, became Lord Keeper; Montague became Chancellor of the Exchequer; and the Duke of Leeds,[1] the Tory Lord President, was impeached for corruption in **1695**. Thus, by **1696**, the Whig Junto, the first ministry composed of men of identical political views, was formed, and the dependence of the ministry upon the support of a majority of the House of Commons was recognised. (For the subsequent development of Party Government see page 571.)

IV. **The Triennial Bill 1694** (page 509).

V. **The Liberty of the Press 1695** (page 511).

VI. **The Treasons Act 1696.**

Up to this time persons accused of treason had been tried most unfairly, and trials for treason had often resulted in judicial murders. This Act provided that the accused

(1) Should be furnished with a copy of the indictment five days, and a list of the jury two days, before the trial;

(2) Should be represented by counsel;

[1] Sir Thomas Osborne, Bart., had been created Earl of Danby 1674, Marquis of Caermarthen 1689, and Duke of Leeds 1694. His impeachment broke down, but he lost all influence owing to it.

(3) Should be convicted on the evidence of not less than two witnesses.

This Act made conviction difficult, and Burnet said its object "seemed to be to make men as safe in all treasonable practices as possible." But it afforded valuable protection to innocent men unjustly accused of treason.

VII. **Opposition to William.**

A. The army reduced **1697.**

(1) The Treaty of Ryswick had given peace, and owing to the pressure of taxation, to the objection to the maintenance of a standing army in time of peace both on constitutional grounds and owing to the heavy expense involved, to the failure to appreciate the danger from Louis' plans, the Whig Parliament, in spite of William's strong opposition, reduced the Army from 80,000 to 10,000 men.

(2) The new Parliament, which met December 6th, **1698**, was mainly Tory, and reduced the army to 7000 Englishmen, and dismissed William's Dutch Guards.

(3) William was dissuaded from returning to Holland only by the earnest entreaties of Somers.

B. The attacks on William's ministers.

1699. Unsuccessful attempts of the Tory Parliament to impeach Montague, Somers, and Orford (Russell).

1701. Proposed impeachment by the Tory House of Commons of Portland, Orford, Somers, Montague, for their action in supporting the Partition Treaties. The impeachment failed because the Commons refused to appear to prosecute before the House of Lords, the Whig majority of which would be sure to acquit the accused.

C. The resumption of the Irish grants.

1700. Parliament "resumed" the forfeited Irish lands, much of which had been granted to William's Dutch friends. The Lords opposed the Bill, but the Commons compelled them to accept it by "tacking" it to a Money Bill.

D. But the growing danger from Louis' designs on Spain (page 530), the seizure by Louis of the Barrier Fortresses (page 531), and the violence of the Tories provoked a reaction in William's favour. The Grand Jury and freeholders of Kent sent to Parliament the Kentish Petition in 1701, urging the Commons to "turn their loyal addresses into bills of supply." The Commons voted the petition to be seditious and committed the five gentlemen who presented it to the Gatehouse. A Whig pamphlet, the *Legion Memorial*, by Defoe helped to gain the approval of the nation for war with France.

VIII. **The Act of Settlement** (page 525).

References:

A. *History of England*, Bright. Vol. III, pp. 848–56. (Longmans.)

WILLIAM III

I. **A European Statesman.**

A. Hallam calls William "the greatest man of the age," and his chief title to fame rests on his success as the champion of the liberty of Europe against Louis XIV. He loved Holland intensely and rendered great services to England, but his success in maintaining the Balance of Power and in checking the aggression of Louis, saved Western Europe, and not merely Holland and England, from the domination of France.

B. In this struggle he displayed keen political insight and great organising ability. He saw the danger and very skilfully organised the Grand Alliance to meet it.

II. **King of England.**

A. He accepted the throne of England largely because the support of England (especially of the navy) was essential for successful resistance to Louis. His main interest lay in foreign politics, the direction of which he kept in his own hands, particularly the arrangement of the Partition Treaties (page 527).

B. He was most unpopular in England.

(1) The conditions of his accession, which involved the denials of Divine Right, and Passive Obedience, and the assertion of the Parliamentary control of the Church, alienated many of the Tories.

(2) He was a foreigner, spoke English badly, displayed a strong partiality for his Dutch friends (to whom he made lavish grants), and his Dutch Guards, and repeatedly left England to visit Holland.

(3) His manners were cold, he hated pomp and show, he was silent and taciturn. He was entirely lacking in the geniality which had gained for Charles II much undeserved popularity.

C. But England derived great blessings from his reign, and he is the only great English King after Henry VIII.

(1) He made England one of the leading countries in Europe and saved her from danger from France.

(2) He strengthened the cause of Protestantism and strongly supported Religious Toleration in England and Scotland.

(3) He saved England from absolute monarchy.

(4) During his reign the finances of the country were reorganised, the liberty of the Press was secured, and Cabinet government was introduced.

III. William III as a General.

He could not, like Marlborough, plan a great campaign, and his tactics on the battlefield were inferior to those of Luxemburg. But he was most skilful in averting the consequences of defeat, his dogged perseverance inspired his soldiers, and the adoption of his foreign policy led to the victories of Marlborough and Nelson.

IV. Personal Characteristics.

He had learned, during an unhappy childhood, to hide his feelings, and his chronic dyspepsia and asthma made him shun society. "Generous instincts withered away in a heart in which affection had ever to give place to

policy" (Wakeman). But his determination, his courage and patience enabled him to triumph over opposition. He refused to accept defeat or recognise failure, and his resolve to "die in the last ditch" if necessary for the country he loved was no empty boast.

His fond love for his wife and his devotion to Holland are the most pleasing features in his character.

References :

A. *The Ascendancy of France*, Wakeman, pp. 246–8. (Rivingtons.)
William III, Traill. *Twelve English Statesmen*, pp. 196–204.

B. Macaulay's *History of England* (Vol. II, p. 772). (Longmans.)

C. *The Sword of the King*, by Macdonald. (John Murray.)

THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT 1701

The death of the Duke of Gloucester, Anne's sole surviving child, in 1700 led to the passage of the Act of Settlement (or Act of Succession).

The Provisions.

A. That the Electress Sophia of Hanover (daughter of James I's daughter Elizabeth, the wife of the Elector-Palatine) and her heirs, being Protestants, should succeed to the throne after Anne.

B. That England should not go to war for the defence of any territory not belonging to the Crown of England without consent of Parliament.

C. That the sovereign should not go abroad without consent of Parliament.

D. That the sovereign should be a communicant of the Church of England.

E. That no foreigners should hold any public post.

F. That all public business should be done in the Privy Council, the decisions of which should be signed by all its members.

G. No pensioner or placeman to be a member of the House of Commons.

H. Judges to hold office *quam diu se bene gesserint*, and to be removable only upon an address from both Houses of Parliament.

I. No pardon under the Great Seal should stop impeachment by the Commons.

II. **Criticism.**

(1) The Act was passed by a Tory Parliament, and thus the Tories repudiated the idea of Divine Right and recognised the national right to regulate the succession, and the whole nation was committed to support the Protestant succession.

(2) Clauses B, C (repealed at the request of George I), and E show the bitter enmity of the Tories towards William, and amount to a vote of censure especially on his foreign policy.

(3) Clause F (repealed in 1705) was due to jealousy of the power exercised by the Cabinets, and if it had been strictly enforced would have made Cabinet government impossible.

(4) Clause G was intended to prevent the sovereign from exercising undue influence on the Commons, but was far too strict and would have weakened the connection between the Legislature and the Executive, which is one of the chief features of Cabinet government. It was modified by an Act passed in **1706** which excluded holders of pensions at the pleasure of the Crown and holders of offices created since **1705**, while members of the House of Commons accepting offices existing before **1705** were compelled to seek re-election.

(5) Clause H made the judges independent of the Crown.

References:

A. *English Constitutional History*, by Taswell-Langmead, pp. 550–6.

THE PARTITION TREATIES 1698–1700

The candidates for the Spanish Throne.

A. Charles II, the last of the Spanish Hapsburgs, who had succeeded his father, Philip IV, in **1665**, was imbecile and childless. His death, which was likely to happen soon, would lead to a great struggle for his dominions, for which there were three possible claimants.

B. Charles II's elder sister, Maria Theresa, had married Louis XIV, but by the Treaty of the Pyrenees had renounced all her claims to the Spanish throne on payment of a dowry of 500,000 crowns. But the dowry had not been paid, and it was therefore maintained that the renunciation was cancelled in consequence, and that her eldest son, the Dauphin, was heir to the Spanish dominions. He had passed his rights to his *second* son, Philip of Anjou, to avoid the union of the thrones of France and Spain.

C. Charles II's younger sister, Margaret Theresa, had married the Emperor Leopold I. Her only child, Maria Antonia, had married the Elector of Bavaria, and the Electoral Prince of Bavaria would therefore have succeeded to the rights of his grandmother if Maria Antonia had not renounced all claim to the throne of Spain on her marriage.

D. Charles II's aunt, Anne of Austria, younger daughter of Philip III, had married Louis XIII, but her renunciation of her claim to Spain deprived her son, Louis XIV, of any right to the throne.

E. Maria, elder daughter of Philip III, had married the Emperor Ferdinand III, had made no renunciation of her rights, which had therefore passed to her son, the Emperor Leopold I. He passed his rights to his *second* son, the Archduke Charles, to avoid the union of the thrones of Austria and Spain.

II. **Political Conditions.**

A. France objected to the accession of the Archduke, Austria to the accession of Philip; Germany, England, and Holland would strongly oppose the accession of either Philip of Anjou or the Archduke Charles, which would endanger the Balance of Power in Europe owing to the closer union of France and Spain or Spain and Austria.

B. The struggles between Catholics and Protestants in Central Europe up to **1648** had averted a general attack on the weak power of Spain. But the Treaty of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War in **1648**, settled the religious question, and now a division of the Spanish dominions seemed imminent because

(1) The maritime nations, England and Holland, would no longer submit to exclusion from the trade with the West Indies, especially the slave trade;

(2) Austria wanted to gain part of Northern Italy;

(3) France was determined to secure such of the Spanish possessions as would strengthen her frontiers and prevent the union of Austria and Northern Italy in one united monarchy;

(4) Holland, greatly strengthened by the success of the Grand Alliance, was resolutely opposed to the extension of French influence in the Spanish Netherlands.

III. **The First Partition Treaty 1698.**

Louis realised that more could be gained by diplomacy than by war, and made the first Partition Treaty with William (who carried on the negotiations himself) and Holland. This provided

(1) That the Electoral Prince of Bavaria should receive Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands;

(2) That the Dauphin should receive Naples and Sicily;

(3) That the Archduke Charles should receive Milan and Luxemburg.

Thus both the French and Austrian candidates were excluded, and the Netherlands were saved from France.

V. **The Second Partition Treaty 1700.**

A. The Electoral Prince died 1699, and a new treaty was made, which provided

(1) That the Archduke Charles should receive Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands;

(2) That the Dauphin should receive Naples, Sicily, and Milan—the last to be exchanged for Lorraine.

B. Criticism.

The second treaty was less satisfactory than the first.

(1) The House of Austria was apparently receiving too much, and the possibility of united action between Spain and Austria seemed dangerous to the peace of Europe. But

α. Spain was very weak and Austria bankrupt.

β. The Austro-Spanish dominions, though very extensive, were divided into four parts—Austria, Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies. France and the fleets of the maritime powers could prevent effective combination between these parts.

(2) France gained great advantages.

α. The possession of Naples and Sicily gave her command of the Mediterranean.

β. The acquisition of Lorraine strengthened France on the east.

γ. The possession of Milan by the Duke of Lorraine, an ally of France, checked the Spanish power in the north of Italy.

C. But the Partition Treaties were unpopular in England.

(1) Englishmen did not appreciate the danger to Europe from the aggrandisement of Austria or France, and many objected to interference in the affairs of Spain.

(2) The secrecy with which William had conducted the negotiations roused opposition.

(3) William was now at the height of his unpopularity (page 517), and owing to the reduction of the army 1698 and the hatred of the Tories was less able to offer active opposition to Louis.

V. **The Will of Charles II.**

A. The Spaniards strongly resented the proposed Partition of the Spanish dominions, and Charles II, influenced by Porto Carrero, Archbishop of Toledo, the supporter of France, and thinking that William was losing power in England and that Louis XIV would be strong enough to keep the Spanish territories united, left them all to Philip of Anjou, the second son of the Dauphin.

B. Louis, on the death of Charles, November, **1700**, accepted the Spanish dominions for his grandson, who entered Madrid in triumph, and with the approval of the nation became Philip V of Spain. Louis' famous saying, "Il n'y a plus de Pyrénées."

(1) The action of Louis, to whom the Partition Treaties were mainly due, was absolutely dishonourable, but

(2) To force the Spaniards to accept the Archduke would have meant a war to aggrandise Austria the rival of France.

(3) The republicans in Holland (especially the people of Amsterdam, the strong opponents of the House of Orange) and the majority of Englishmen (especially the Tories) were pleased "that France has preferred the will to the treaty," and William and Heinsius, the Grand Pensionary, seemed unable to rouse effective opposition in England and Holland.

References:

A. *The Ascendancy of France*, Wakeman. Chap. XIV. (Rivingtons.)

Macaulay's *Essays*, pp. 242–8. Popular Edition. (Longmans.)

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

The Immediate Causes.

War might have been averted if Louis had not foolishly roused the Dutch and English, who would not have gone to war to maintain the Partition Treaties.

A. **1701.** He expelled the Dutch from the Barrier Fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands, which he claimed for his grandson, and put in French garrisons, thus breaking the Treaty of Ryswick and threatening the independence of Holland.

William, in May, formed the second Grand Alliance (page 532), to obtain compensation for the Emperor, to regain the Barrier Fortresses for Holland, and to protect England and her allies, and sent Marlborough with an English force to Flanders.

B. By commercial decrees Louis tried to exclude the Dutch and English from trading with the Spanish Indies. The commercial question was very important.

C. September, **1701.** On the death of James II he recognised James Edward, the Old Pretender, as King of England, thus again violating the Treaty of Ryswick and threatening the Revolution Settlement and the Protestant Succession to which Whigs and Tories were now committed.

Owing to these causes, commercial as well as dynastic, and not to the breach of the Partition Treaties, England and Holland determined on war.

A large number of Whigs were returned in the new Parliament in **1702**, which voted 40,000 soldiers for the war with France, passed a Bill of Attainder against the Old Pretender, and required all members of Parliament and all officials of Church and State to take an oath to support the Protestant Succession in England.

March 8th, **1702**. Death of William, who on February 20th had been thrown from his horse, which stepped upon a molehill at Hampton Court. He was so weak

from disease and anxiety that the accident proved fatal. One of the most famous Jacobite toasts was "The little gentleman in the brown jacket" who caused William's death. But his death caused no break in policy, as his work was continued by Marlborough, and May 4th, **1702**, war was declared against France by England, Holland, and the Emperor.

II. **The Extension of the Grand Alliance.**

A. Many German princes joined the Alliance.

(1) The Elector of Brandenburg, who was recognised as King of Prussia by the allies.

[The Mark of Brandenburg, the nucleus of the German Empire, lay between the Havel and the Spree, and was founded by Henry the Fowler, **928**, as an outpost against the Slavs. It was given to Frederick of Hohenzollern by the Emperor Sigismund **1415**. Count Albert of Hohenzollern, the last Grand Master of the Knights of the Teutonic Order (page 188), seized the lands of the Order and became Duke of East Prussia **1525**. Frederick William, the "Great Elector of Brandenburg," annexed Eastern Pomerania and established his supremacy over East Prussia. His son, Frederick I, was recognised by the Emperor Leopold as King of Prussia in **1700** in return for his help against France. In the nineteenth century the King of Prussia wrested from Austria the supremacy over the German Confederation by the victory of Königgrätz (Sadowa), **1866**, and was recognised as German Emperor after the Franco-Prussian War, January 18th, **1871**.]

(2) The Elector of Hanover, the heir to the throne of England.

(3) The Elector Palatine.

(4) The Elector of Bavaria joined Louis, and thus added to the danger of Austria, which was isolated from her allies.

B. The Duke of Savoy, father-in-law of Philip of Anjou, a first supported Louis, but in **1703** joined the Alliance, thus cutting off the French army in the Milanese from connection with France and affording a base of operations against France from the south-east.

C. **1703.** The Methuen Treaty secured the adhesion of Portugal. It arranged that the duty on Portuguese wine imported into England was to be a third less than the duty on French wine, and that Portugal should have preferential treatment in regard to the English wool trade.

(1) Thus the allies secured a base of operations against Spain, but the attack on Spain itself, as distinct from the Spanish dominions, was an unwise extension of the area of the war and added greatly to he difficulties of England.

(2) Drunkenness greatly increased in England owing to the substitution of port wine for the lighter claret of France.

D. **The allies were helped by**

(1) The rising of Catalonia against Philip of Anjou ;

(2) The rising of the Huguenots of the Cevennes, the Camisards,[1] against Louis XIV.

II. The Operations of the War.

A. Marlborough.

Marlborough (page 544) was appointed commander-in-chief of the Dutch and English armies, but his action was greatly hampered by the interference of the civilian field deputies, who were appointed by the Dutch to accompany and advise him and who attached too much importance to the capture of the Barrier Fortresses and failed to appreciate the wider issues of the war.

(1) The safety of Holland ensured.

The command of the Spanish Netherlands gave a base of operations against Holland to the French, who now held the lower Rhine and the Meuse.

[1] So called from the shirt (Fr. chemise) they wore over their clothes in night attacks.

α. **1702.** Marlborough secured the line of the Meuse and captured Liége;

β. **1703.** Marlborough drove the French from the lower Rhine and captured Bonn.

Thus Holland had been saved and Marlborough had secured his communications with North Germany.

(2). Blenheim, **1704**, saved Vienna.

Louis XIV planned a threefold attack on Vienna, the fall of which would compel the Emperor to sue for peace.

α. An attempt of Villeroi to advance on Vienna through Italy had been prevented by the defeat of the French at Cremona by Prince Eugene of Savoy, **1702**, and the defection of Duke Victor Amadeus of Savoy, **1703**, rendered a further attack from the south impossible.

β. Louis had stirred up the Hungarians to attack Vienna on the east.

γ. **1704.** An army under Tallard was sent to co-operate with the Elector of Bavaria in an attack on Vienna from the west.

Marlborough realised the supreme importance of saving Vienna. He deceived the Dutch (who would not have consented to his leaving the Netherlands) by pretending that he was going to advance into France up the Moselle, and led his army to Maintz, thence to the Danube. He routed the Elector of Bavaria at Donauwörth and Tallard at Blenheim on August 13th, **1704**, and returned at once to the Netherlands.

α. His operations were remarkable for the daring of the scheme, the rapidity of his march, the distance of the scene of his triumph from his base, and the cavalry charge which, led by Marlborough in person, broke the French centre and ensured victory for the allies.

β. The victory, the first important English victory on the Continent since Agincourt, saved Vienna and Germany, made a French invasion of England impossible, ensured the Protestant Succession in England, broke the prestige of the French troops, and showed the importance of England as a military power. It caused great enthusiasm for the war in England and strengthened Marlborough's position.

(3) Ramillies, **1706**, secured Flanders.

The Dutch prevented Marlborough from attacking the French at Waterloo in **1705**, but he regained part of Brabant, and in **1706**, by the victory he gained over Villeroi at Ramillies, he secured the line of the Scheldt and drove the French out of Flanders.

(4) Oudenarde, **1708**, ensured the capture of Lille.

By the rapidity of his advance, Marlborough threw into confusion the French (already hampered by contradictory orders issued by the Duke of Burgundy, Louis' grandson, and his adviser, General Vendôme) and utterly routed them at Oudenarde.

Capture of Lille commanding the road to France.

(5) Malplaquet, **1709**, followed by the capture of Mons.

Villars advanced to relieve Mons, which Marlborough was besieging, and occupied a very strong position at Malplaquet where only a front attack was possible. Marlborough and Eugene defeated Villars, but lost 22,000 men, while Villars lost 12,000 in this "deluge of blood." Marlborough captured Mons.

This was the last of Marlborough's great battles. His influence was weakened by the quarrel between his wife and Queen Anne, by the fall of the Whig Ministry **1710**, by the withdrawal of British troops from Flanders to serve in Canada **1711**, by secret negotiations between the French and the Tories, who feared that Marlborough was wishing to establish a military despotism. December 31st, **1711**, he was dismissed from his command.

B. Spain.

The attempt of the allies to force a foreign king, the Archduke Charles, on Spain failed before the national opposition of the Spaniards. In Catalonia alone was there a strong feeling in his favour.

1704. Sir George Rooke and Sir Cloudesley Shovel captured Gibraltar. England thus obtained a naval base of supreme importance in the Mediterranean and prevented communication by sea between Naples and France.

1705. The Earl of Peterborough captured Barcelona and secured Arragon.

1706. The Earl of Galway, who replaced Peterborough, took Madrid and proclaimed the Archduke Charles as king. The Spaniards refused to accept him, and Galway evacuated Madrid on the approach of the Duke of Berwick (natural son of James II and nephew of Marlborough).

1707. Galway routed by Berwick at Almanza. This battle strengthened the position of Philip V and brought Arragon again under his rule.

1708. The capture of Port Mahon in Minorca by Stanhope, who succeeded Galway, gave England a valuable naval base in the Mediterranean.

1710. The allies gained the victories of Almenara and Saragossa. The Archduke Charles entered Madrid but soon withdrew, as the Spaniards refused to recognise him.

Vendôme routed Stanhope at Brihuega and Staremberg at Villa Viciosa, and these victories finally secured the position of Philip V.

C. Italy.

1702. Prince Eugene routed Villeroi at Cremona.

1706. Prince Eugene routed Marsin at Turin, conquered Northern Italy and cut off communication by land between Naples and France.

IV. **Negotiations for Peace.**

A. **1706.**

After the battles of Ramillies and Turin and the occupation of Madrid by Galway, Louis offered to recognise the Archduke Charles as King of Spain and the Netherlands; to accept Naples, Sicily, and the Milanese for Philip of Anjou, to give up the Barrier Fortresses to Holland, and to recognise the Protestant Succession in England.

The Emperor Joseph objected to the separation of the Barrier Fortresses from the Spanish Netherlands, which he hoped to secure for his brother, the Archduke Charles; Marlborough thought that the French were asking far too much and wished, for his own advantage, to continue the war. The Whigs, therefore, unwisely refused Louis' terms. The allies did not secure such an advantage over Louis again.

B. **1709.**

Owing to his defeat at Oudenarde, to the capture of Lille and Port Mahon, to the financial exhaustion of France and to famine resulting from the very hard winter of 1708–9, Louis offered at the Hague to withdraw help from Philip, to give up the Barrier Fortresses to the Dutch and Strasburg to the Emperor, to recognise the Protestant Succession in England, to expel the Pretender from France, and to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk.

The Whigs demanded that he should also assist the allies to compel Philip to resign the Spanish crown, and Louis broke off negotiations, declaring, "If I have to fight I would rather fight my enemies than my children." There was a great outburst of national patriotism in France which prompted the stubborn resistance offered by Villars at Malplaquet.

Peace ought probably to have been concluded after Ramillies and certainly after Oudenarde.

C. **1710.** Ineffectual negotiations for peace at Gertruydenberg.

D. The Treaty of Utrecht 1713.

The Tories, who were opposed to the continuation of the war, had come into office in 1710. They feared Marlborough; objected to the enormous expense of the war; feared that as, in 1711, the Archduke Charles became the Emperor Charles VI there would be grave danger if he secured Spain as well as Austria. There was a strong feeling against the waste of British blood and money in the cause of the allies, which was shown in Swift's *Conduct of the Allies*. "The High Allies have been the ruin of us. We are paying the Allies to be allowed to fight their battles for them." Marlborough was accused of peculation and dismissed from office. His successor, Ormonde, was hampered by "restraining orders" which forbade him to fight without the Queen's permission. Twelve Tory Peers, created to swamp the Whig majority in the House of Lords, ensured the acceptance of the Treaty of Utrecht by the Upper House.

(1) The Treaty.

α. Great Britain to receive Gibraltar, Minorca, Newfoundland, Acadia (Nova Scotia), and Hudson's Bay territory; to have the Assiento, the sole right of supplying negro slaves to Spanish America; to send one merchant ship a year to the Spanish colonies.

β. Louis XIV to recognise Anne and the Protestant Succession, to expel the Pretender from France, to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk.

γ. Philip V to keep Spain and the Indies, but the crowns of France and Spain never to be united.

δ. The Emperor Charles VI to receive the Spanish Netherlands, the Milanese, Sardinia and Naples.

ε. The Duke of Savoy to receive Sicily.

ζ. The Dutch to receive the Barrier Fortresses.

(2) Criticism.

The treaty was advantageous to Great Britain, but possibly inadequate and certainly dishonourable.

α. Great Britain profited greatly. Her trade and colonial empire were greatly extended, and the development of the colonies, due largely to the Treaty of Utrecht, was one of the leading features of British history in the eighteenth century. Britain became the leading naval power, and the possession of Gibraltar and Minorca gave her the command of the Mediterranean. She had shown her military power, and was now recognised as one of the leading nations of Europe. The Revolution Settlement and the Protestant Succession were secured.

β. The treaty put an end to the Grand Alliance, which had succeeded in limiting the power of France.

γ. Many thought that France ought to have been crushed. It is probable that Great Britain might have secured more advantages from the great victories of Marlborough, and at no time after Ramillies could Louis have hoped for such favourable terms.

δ. The peace was dishonourable to Great Britain, who shamefully deserted her allies. The treaty was concluded without due consideration for the Dutch and Austrians, who had to make their own terms. No measures were taken to protect the Catalans from the vengeance of Philip or the Camisards from Louis XIV.

References:

A. *The Ascendancy of France*, Wakeman. Chap. xv. (Rivingtons.)

Macaulay's *Essay on the War of Succession in Spain.*

C. *The Bravest of the Brave*, by Henty. (Blackie.)

Lally of the Brigade, by McManus. (Unwin.)

UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

I. **Long-standing Enmity.**

A. The traditional policy of Scotland from the time of Edward I (page 136) to the middle of the sixteenth century had been alliance with France against England. This was shown repeatedly, e.g. **1346** Scotch invasion of the north in alliance with Philip of Valois checked at Neville's Cross; a strong Scotch force helped the French at Beaugé **1421.**

B. The union of the crowns under James I, **1603**, did not involve the union of the countries. Attempts were made to effect such a union but failed because

a. The Commons refused to accept the doctrine that naturalisation depended upon the relation to a king, i.e. that Scotchmen born after James succeeded to the English throne should be regarded as Englishmen.

β. James objected to naturalisation by Parliamentary statute.

γ. The English merchants objected to Free Trade between England and Scotland.

C. A union of the Parliaments of England, Scotland, and Ireland was carried out under the Commonwealth. Five representatives from Scotland sat in Barebone's Parliament **1653**, and the Instrument of Government **1653** provided that thirty Scotch members should sit in the English Parliament. But the old enmity continued, and this Parliamentary Union was annulled at the Restoration.

II. **Difficulties.**

A. Religious.

(1) The majority of the Scotch were strong Presbyterians. The attempts of James I and Charles I to force Episcopacy on Scotland and the persecution of the Covenanters under Charles II and James II had

roused strong opposition. In **1689** the Scotch Parliament asserted that Episcopacy was "a great and intolerable grievance."

(2) The Scotch Episcopalians tended to join the Jacobites.

(3) Some of the Covenanters favoured republican principles.

B. Commercial.

English merchants had steadily refused to give commercial equality to Scotland because they feared the competition with their own trade that would follow.

(1) Scotland suffered greatly from the Navigation Acts **1651** and **1660**, which excluded them from the colonial markets. An attempt in the reign of William III to found a Scotch East India Company failed owing to English opposition.

(2) The Darien Scheme **1699**. An attempt was made by Paterson to found a Scotch colony on the isthmus of Darien, in Spanish America. In spite of the opposition of King William, who knew that the attempt would lead to hostilities with Spain, of the House of Commons and the East India Company, Paterson, *relying upon the authority of the Scotch Parliament* which had sanctioned his scheme, raised £200,000 capital and took out 1200 colonists to "New Caledonia." The undertaking utterly failed owing to the unhealthy climate, the attacks of the Spaniards, and the colonists' ignorance of the possibilities of the district. The failure caused the greatest indignation in Scotland, where it was ascribed to national jealousy and to William's wish to protect Dutch trade from possible competitors. The whole affair showed the grave danger that might arise from the separation of the Parliaments.

(3) Scotch goods were excluded from English markets owing to heavy customs duties imposed to protect English trade, and the discontent thus caused was aggravated by the contrast between the poverty of Scotland and the wealth of England.

C. The massacre of Glencoe, **1692** (page 505), had greatly increased the hatred of England, and ever since the Restoration the connection with England had been regarded as injurious to Scotland.

III. **Danger of Continued Separation.**

A. **1703.** The Scotch Parliament passed an Act of Security refusing to recognise Anne's successor as King of Scotland unless the trade restrictions were removed and the Presbyterian religion was secured, and authorising the formation of a national militia.

B. August, **1704**, the English Parliament, fearing that if Marlborough were defeated the French might invade Scotland, accepted the Act of Security with great reluctance.

C. **1704.** The victory of Blenheim removed the danger of a French invasion of Scotland. The English Parliament therefore declared the Scotch to be aliens, prohibited trade with Scotland, and ordered the border towns to be fortified.

This difference afforded a further proof of the danger of separate Parliaments. For a time there seemed some possibility of war, which would have been welcomed by the Jacobites, who were a strong party in Scotland. But in **1706** thirty-one Commissioners were appointed on each side to consider the question, and the Union came into force May 1st, **1707.**

IV. **The Terms of the Act of Union.**

A. England and Scotland to form the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and the succession to the throne of Great Britain to follow the Act of Settlement of **1701** (page 525).

B. The Scotch Church and Law to remain unaltered.

C. Scotland and England to have the same rights of trade and to be liable to the same taxes.

D. England to pay to Scotland £398,000 partly as compensation to the shareholders in the Darien Company, partly as a contribution towards the Scotch National Debt.

E. Scotland to be represented by forty-five members in the House of Commons, and by sixteen elected Peers in the House of Lords.

F. The national flag to be the Union Jack,[1] in which the white cross of St. Andrew was incorporated with the red cross of St. George.

. The Results of the Union.

A. There was little, if any, opposition to the Act of Union in England, but "this sad and sorrowful union" aroused fierce opposition in Scotland. The Presbyterians feared that the Episcopal Church would secure a strong position in Scotland. The Highland chiefs feared the loss of their feudal rights. The Jacobites objected to the exclusion of the Stuarts. It was thought that the transference of the Scotch Parliament to London would injure Edinburgh, and many feared that Scotch national sentiment would be gradually destroyed.

B. But "all that passed away was the jealousy which had parted, since the days of Edward I, two peoples whom a common blood and common speech proclaimed to be one" (Green).

(1) Increased trade led to great material prosperity. Towns grew rapidly. Roads were made. Agriculture was improved. Manufactures developed.

(2) The guarantee of Scotch religion and laws[2] did much to preserve national sentiment.

(3) The pacification of the Highlands was a slow process. A Disarming Act was passed in **1715**, in **1746** the hereditary feudal jurisdiction of the Highland chiefs was abolished, and the Highland regiments enrolled by Pitt did great service in the Seven Years' War.

eference :

A. *The Age of Anne*, Morris. Chap. XVI. (Longmans.)

[1] The Union Jack (so called from "Jacobus") had superseded the banner St. George as the flag of England **1606**, three years after James I united e Crowns of England and Scotland.

[2] The famous Gretna Green marriages were due to the difference between otch and English marriage laws.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH
1650–1722

I. **A Great Statesman.**

A. He continued the work of William III, who recognised his great ability and appointed him to command the English troops in Holland in **1702**. His skilful diplomacy kept together the Grand Alliance and ruined the plans of Louis XIV, thus saving Europe from possible French domination. The personal friendship of Marlborough, Heinsius (the Grand Pensionary of Holland), and Prince Eugene, "the Triumvirate of the Grand Alliance," was very important.

B. His home politics were decided by the war. At first he was a Tory, but as the Tories did not strongly support the war he joined the Whigs. He brought his son-in-law, Sunderland, a strong Whig, into the ministry **1706**, and relied upon the Whigs exclusively after **1708**. The war became a "Whig war," and Marlborough's victories greatly strengthened that party.

II. **A Great General.**

A. He had "the power of conceiving and executing combined movements on a large scale," e.g. the campaign of **1704**.

B. He was a great tactician, able to see the weak points of the enemy's arrangements, prompt to act, able quickly to concentrate his whole force wherever necessary, and to move with such rapidity that he prevented the foe from finding out his real object, e.g.

(1) **1704**. The rapid march to Blenheim and the quick concentration of his attack on the enemy's centre, which turned a possible defeat into a brilliant victory. On this occasion Marlborough altered the formation of his army in a quarter of an hour.

(2) **1706**. At Ramillies he completely deceived Villeroi, who, in consequence, concentrated his forces at a point where they were of little use to resist the English attack.

(3) **1708.** His rapid movements enabled him to catch the French in confusion at Oudenarde.

C. He displayed the greatest tact in keeping together and managing his armies, which were composed of English, Dutch, Prussians, and Hanoverians. His unfailing courage on the field of battle inspired his men.

D. "He never fought a battle which he did not win, nor besieged a town which he did not take," but the timidity and folly of the allies, particularly of the Dutch deputies, often prevented him from securing the full result of his victories. But in spite of all difficulties, his military genius enabled him to save Europe from the domination of France.

I. His Character and Personality.

A. "The Handsome Englishman" possessed charming manners. He "engrossed the graces," was diplomatic, even tempered, tactful, and it was largely his personal influence that kept the Alliance together. He was an excellent speaker, but confessed "I do not love writing."

B. He was utterly selfish and cared only for his own advantage.

(1) He was ready to betray his friends to serve his own interests.

α. **1689.** He deserted James II, who had trusted him implicitly and treated him with generosity.

β. **1692.** He intrigued against William on behalf of Anne, whose accession would greatly strengthen his own position.

γ. **1694.** To injure Talmash, a possible rival, he informed the French of an impending attack on Brest.

δ. He steadily supported William after the death of Mary, in **1694**, because Anne was then sure to succeed.

(2) He was avaricious. "He is perhaps the only man of real greatness who loved money for money's sake."

1711. He was accused of taking £63,000 as commission from the army bread contractors, and of receiving $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on all subsidies paid to the allies. He replied that all generals serving in Flanders had received commissions on the bread, and that the money he had received had been spent in secret service; that the percentage on the subsidies had been a voluntary gift from the allies, and that he had received a royal warrant allowing him to accept these payments. His defence was probably sound. He certainly gained an enormous fortune, but probably did not break the law.

(3) He was greedy of power, and his opposition to the proposals for peace, in **1706**, was largely due to the fear that the importance of his own position would be diminished if the war came to an end.

C. His great love for his domineering wife "ran like a thread of gold through the dark web of his career."

References:

A. J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 701–20.

B. *The Ascendancy of France*, by Wakeman, pp. 345–7. (Rivingtons.)

C. *The Cornet of Horse*, by Henty. (Blackie.)

WHIGS AND TORIES IN THE REIGN OF ANNE

I. **The Growth of the Power of the Whigs.**

A. Anne's first Ministry.

(1) Marlborough, although a Tory, wished to unite Whigs and moderate Tories in following the policy of William III. Anne's first ministry included Marlborough, Godolphin (a connection by marriage of Marlborough and a great financier), appointed Lord Treasurer, and Nottingham, who became Secretary of

State, and also the Duke of Devonshire, a prominent Whig, appointed Lord Steward. This arrangement shows that the principle of Party Government was not finally established.

(2) Differences of opinion.

The moderate Tories, with whom the Queen agreed, like the Whigs, supported the war in the hope of checking the power of France and maintaining the Protestant Succession. They strongly supported the Anglican Church, and thus differed from the Whigs, who received the support of the Nonconformists and advocated religious toleration.

The extreme Tories, led by Rochester, were High Churchmen, opposed the war, and regarded the Pretender as the rightful king.

(3) The influence of the Tories, who had a majority in the House of Commons from 1702–1705, appeared in

1702. *a.* A declaration that Marlborough had "retrieved the ancient honour of the English nation." This involved a serious reflection upon William III.

1702–3–4. *β.* The passage through the Commons of the Bill against Occasional Conformity. This Bill was intended to exclude from office Nonconformists who "occasionally conformed" to the rites of the Anglican Church in order to qualify for municipal and other offices. The Bill was rejected by a Whig majority in the Lords.

(4) The weakening of the Tory element in the ministry.

1703. Dismissal of Rochester, the leader of the extreme Tories, from office.

1704. Nottingham and others of the advanced Tories replaced by Harley and St. John, the leaders of the moderate Tories.

1704. The victory of Blenheim greatly strengthened the Whigs

B. The Whig triumph **1708.**

(1) The Tories gradually turned against the war, partly owing to its cost (£5,000,000 per annum), partly because of Marlborough's closer connection with the Whigs.

(2) **1705.** A Whig majority was returned to Parliament.

1706. Sunderland, a strong Whig and Marlborough's son-in-law, was appointed Secretary of State.

1707. Parliament resolved that there should be no peace as long as a Bourbon occupied the throne of Spain.

(3) The Whigs had appointed several Latitudinarian bishops, and Harley tried to rouse the opposition of the Queen (who favoured the High Church party) and to weaken the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough by introducing his cousin, Mrs. Masham, into the Queen's confidence. Harley and St. John supported an attack on the ministry for failing to maintain an efficient force in Spain. Partly owing to these reasons, partly because one of Harley's clerks had divulged some State secrets, Marlborough and Godolphin dismissed Harley, St. John, and the moderate Tories from the ministry, which now consisted solely of Whigs, Robert Walpole becoming Secretary at War. The war was now a "Whig War," and the Lords declared "That no peace can be safe and honourable until the whole monarchy of Spain be restored to the House of Austria." But Marlborough's position was weakened

α. By his refusal of the terms offered by Louis in **1709**;

β. By the great loss of the English at Malplaquet;

γ. By his request for the post of Captain-General for life, which aroused a fear that he was aiming at a military dictatorship and was refused by Anne.

I. **The Fall of the Whigs 1710**

A. Very strong feeling was caused by the cost of the war, the refusal of the Whigs to conclude peace, the ambition of Marlborough.

B. April, 1710. The Duchess of Marlborough was dismissed from Court.

C. Dr. Sacheverell had denounced the Revolution, the Toleration Act, and the ministry in a sermon on "The Perils of False Brethren both in Church and State," preached before the Lord Mayor in St. Paul's Cathedral, November 5th, **1709**. The sermon was printed and widely distributed and greatly increased the feeling against the Whigs. The ministry most foolishly proceeded against Sacheverell, not by common law process, but by impeachment before the Lords for "high crimes and misdemeanours"—a method which suggested party spite. He was tried in Westminster Hall, but only suspended from preaching for three years.

D. Largely owing to this impeachment a Tory majority was returned to Parliament. Sunderland and Godolphin were dismissed, and a Tory ministry was formed in **1710** with Harley (created Earl of Oxford **1711**) as Chancellor of the Exchequer. This ministry

(1) **1711**. Passed the Act against Occasional Conformity, thus strengthening the Anglican Church;

(2) Secured the dismissal of Marlborough for peculation (page 546), committed Walpole to the Tower;

(3) Endeavoured to come to terms with France.

α. Ormonde, who succeeded Marlborough as commander-in-chief, was ordered to adopt a less aggressive policy against France.

1713. β. Concluded the Treaty of Utrecht (page 538).

II. **The Question of the Succession.**

A. Both Oxford (Harley) and Bolingbroke (St. John) were in negotiation with the Old Pretender, who at the election of **1714** advised his friends to support the ministry.

(1) Oxford had negotiated with the Duke of Berwick, but was a strong Protestant, and absolutely refused to support the cause of James Edward, who refused to renounce Catholicism. (He would certainly have succeeded Anne if he had become a Protestant.) But Oxford was dilatory, fond of intrigue. He failed to take strong action and Bolingbroke gradually became supreme.

(2) Bolingbroke, an atheist, cared nothing for the Pretender's religion, had incurred the enmity of the Elector of Hanover, and did all he could to ensure the return of the Stuarts, from whom he looked for important preferment.

B. Measures were taken to secure the Pretender's accession.

(1) Athol and Mar, two Jacobites, received important offices in Scotland.

(2) Ormonde, a strong Jacobite, was put in command of the Cinque Ports to facilitate the landing of a French army.

(3) The army was reorganised.

(4) To secure the support of the High Church Party the Schism Act was passed **1714**, which provided that no person who was not a member of the Anglican Church should keep a school or act as a tutor.

Oxford, who had been brought up as a Nonconformist, strongly opposed the Bill and was dismissed from office.

C. The Whigs.

The Whigs, led by Stanhope, strongly resisted Bolingbroke.

(1) A resolution in favour of the Protestant Succession was passed by the Commons, although the small majority showed the strength of the Jacobites.

(2) Marlborough returned from Flanders to command the Whig troops if necessary.

(3) The Whigs demanded that the Electoral Prince of Hanover should be summoned to the House of Lords by

his English title of Duke of Cambridge. Anne in consequence wrote so angry a letter to his grandmother, the aged Electress Sophia, that it was supposed to have hastened her death.

D. The sudden illness of the Queen.

Civil war seemed imminent when Anne was seized with apoplexy, and her sudden illness ruined the Jacobite plans.

The two Whig Dukes of Argyle and Somerset, acting as Privy Councillors,[1] attended the Cabinet Council and induced the dying Queen to appoint Shrewsbury as Lord Treasurer, and these three Whigs took measures to ensure the recognition of the Elector as George I.

References:

A. *The Age of Anne*, Morris. Chap. XIII. (Longmans.)

B. J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 715, 717.

C. *In Kings' Houses*, by Dorr. (Duckworth.)
St. James's, by Ainsworth. (Routledge.)

THE FIFTEEN 1715

I. **Causes.**

A. In Scotland.

(1) There was much dissatisfaction in Scotland owing to the foreign domination imposed on the country by the Union, the advantages of which were not yet apparent.

(2) The Duke of Argyle and the Campbells were strong Whigs, and opposition to the Campbells made many of the Highlanders Tories and Jacobites.

(3) The prospect of putting a Scotch king on the throne of England appealed to the national feeling.

[1] Such an action on the part of a Privy Councillor opposed to the ministry would be regarded as irregular now, as it is an unwritten law that only supporters of the ministry attend Cabinet Councils.

B. In England.

(1) There was much disaffection in England owing to the vindictive policy of the Whigs, who had impeached the Tory leaders for their share in the Treaty of Utrecht, and passed the Riot Act (1715) to put down riots which broke out in consequence.

(2) George I was very unpopular.

II. **Failure was certain.**

A. Foreign aid was essential for success, but Louis XIV, who had supported the rising, died September 1st, **1715**, and the Duke of Orleans, the Regent of France, was anxious to ensure his own accession if the young Louis XV died, was jealous of Philip of Spain, his possible rival, and therefore adopted a friendly policy towards England and refused to help.

B. It was necessary that the English Jacobites should rise, but the refusal of James Edward to become a Protestant made a general rising impossible in England.

C. The Pretender was supremely dull and uninteresting, and quite unable to inspire the enthusiasm necessary for success, while Mar was distrusted owing to his vacillating policy, which gained for him the nickname of "Bobbing John."

D. Bolingbroke, a most capable organiser, who had been deprived by the Pretender of the direction of the rebellion, broke with the Jacobites.

III. **The Course of the Rebellion.**

A. In Scotland.

(1) The absence of the Pretender weakened his cause at the outset.

(2) September 6th, Mar proclaimed the Pretender as James VIII of Scotland and III of England at Braemar, "The Hunting of Braemar." He was supported by the Murrays and Gordons and other enemies of the Campbells, seized Perth and Aberdeen, and collected an army of 12,000 badly equipped Highlanders.

(3) Argyle held Stirling (to prevent Mar from invading England) and fought a drawn battle with Mar, November 13th, **1715**, at Sheriffmuir, where the left wing of each army was defeated. Retreat of Mar to Perth.

(4) December, **1715**. The Pretender landed at Peterhead, was crowned at Scone, but on the approach of Argyle deserted his followers and fled with Mar to France, February, **1716**.

B. In England.

(1) Failure of Ormonde to effect a landing in the south.

(2) Rising in Northumberland under Mr. Forster, M.P. for the county, and Lord Derwentwater. These rebels were joined by the Border Jacobites under Lord Kenmure and by 1500 of Mar's followers under Mackintosh who had evaded Argyle, crossed the Forth, and marched south after failing to capture Edinburgh. The united forces marched through Carlisle and Penrith, and ignominiously surrendered to General Carpenter at Preston November 13th, **1715**.

V. The Results.

A. Punishment of the rebels.

(1) Execution of Derwentwater and Kenmure.

(2) Escape of Nithsdale, with his wife's aid, and of Forster, possibly with his gaoler's connivance.

(3) Execution of about thirty rebels of lower rank.

But the Government did not show undue severity to the rebels.

B. The Septennial Act was passed **1716** to avoid the danger of a Jacobite rising during the elections (page 554).

C. The Hanoverian and Protestant Succession was confirmed.

References:

A. *The Political History of England, 1702–1760*, Leadam. Chaps. XIV., XV. (Longmans.)

C. *Rob Roy*, Sir Walter Scott.
Dorothy Forster, by Besant. (Chatto and Windus.)

THE SEPTENNIAL ACT 1716

I. **Reasons for the Septennial Act.**

A. In accordance with the Triennial Act of **1694**, Parliament would be dissolved and an election would be necessary in the spring of **1718.**

B. Elections always led to disorder and riots, and although the Fifteen had been easily suppressed, it was difficult to gauge the feeling of the nation. It was possible that a Tory majority might be returned which would imperil the "Whig Settlement" made at the Revolution.

II. **The Septennial Act.**

The Act provided that the existing Parliament should continue for seven and not simply for the three years for which it had been elected.

III. **Criticism.**

A. Thirty-one peers protested that by this extension the constituencies were disfranchised, and that M.P.s would not represent their constituents for the last four years.

This protest apparently assumed, incorrectly, that Parliament acts as the agent or trustee of the electors.

B. Hallam justifies the Act on the ground that the Triennial Act "was of little more than twenty years' continuance. It was an experiment, which, as was argued, had proved unsuccessful; it was subject, like every other law, to be repealed entirely or to be modified at discretion."

C. It was asserted that Parliament had a right to pass laws affecting its successors, but that it had no right to pass a law to continue its own existence.

This argument is wrong and unduly limits the legislative authority of Parliament, which has an absolute right to pass any law it chooses.

IV. **Results.**

A. The Act strengthened the position of the House of Hanover by ensuring the continuance of a Whig House of Commons at a time of national danger.

B. Owing to the longer duration of Parliament the House of Commons became more independent of the Crown, the House of Lords, and of the electors. In order to secure control over the Commons ministers were compelled to make a greater use of bribery, and thus the Act led to an increase in Parliamentary corruption.

C. The Act gave greater stability to national policy, ensured a fair trial for a new ministry, and saved the country much expense by diminishing the number of general elections.

eference:

A. *The Law of the Constitution*, by Dicey, p. 41. (Macmillan.)

THE WHIG SUPREMACY 1714–1761

The Reasons for the Supremacy.

A. Although the Whigs had done much to ensure the "Glorious Revolution," their supremacy was not finally established until **1714**, when George I, who could not speak English, was utterly ignorant of the conditions of English life and politics, and cared more for Hanover than England, naturally gave his confidence to the party that had ensured his accession.

B. The party was better organised than the Tories owing to its united action against James II in **1688**, and against the Pretender in **1715** (p. 550), and included all the ablest men of the time, with the exception of Bolingbroke.

C. The majority of the peers were Whigs, who thus had a majority in the House of Lords. These Whig peers owned about two-thirds of the country and many "rotten" boroughs (and thus controlled elections to the House of Commons). They secured control of State patronage (and were thus able to bribe members of Parliament to support their policy) and of the administration of local government, especially the militia and poor law.

D. The Whigs were supported by the trading classes, who had supplied the loans necessary to carry on the wars against France, and feared that the return of the Stuarts (of which the Whigs were the strongest opponents) would be followed by the repudiation of the national debt. The opposition of the Whigs to France led to the development of the British colonial empire and an enormous increase in trade. The towns still remembered the attack of Charles and James on their charters, and the opposition of the Whigs to these kings.

E. The Nonconformists, who were strong in the towns, supported the Whigs, who advocated Religious Toleration and repealed, in **1719**, the Schism Act and the Act against Occasional Conformity, and, although they feared to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts, passed an annual Act of Indemnity[1] for the violation of these laws, thus giving practical relief to the Nonconformists.

II. **The Nature of the Whig Supremacy.**

A. The Whigs, by the low personal character and the corruption of some of their leading men (Aislabie, Walpole, Newcastle), lowered the tone of the nation. They made bribery into a system and aimed often at the maintenance of their own power rather than the advantage of the nation. Their rule, which depended upon a few great families, has been called a "Venetian oligarchy," and their power is shown by the success of the Pelhams in compelling George II to accept Pitt, whom he hated, as Paymaster of the Forces in **1746**.

B. By suppressing Convocation in **1717**, and by giving high ecclesiastical preferment as a reward of political support, the Whigs did much to reduce the Anglican Church to the low position it held under George I and II.

C. But in spite of serious faults the Whigs rendered great service to England.

[1] An Act of Indemnity is a statute the object of which is to make legal transactions which, when they took place, were illegal.

(1) They steadily supported the principles of the "Glorious Revolution," which represent a great advance upon the constitutional practice of Stuart times, and were infinitely better than any European system of government in the eighteenth century. "Before their long rule was over, Englishmen had forgotten that it was possible to persecute for difference of opinion, or to put down the liberty of the press, or to tamper with the administration of justice, or to rule without a Parliament" (Green).

(2) They finally established party government in England (page 571).

(3) They showed some respect for public opinion, e.g. in the settlement of the South Sea Bubble in **1721**, the withdrawal of the Excise Bill **1733**, and the proclamation of war with Spain.

(4) They generally were good financiers, they maintained national credit, tried to reduce the national debt, and by removing unnecessary duties increased the revenue.

(5) English trade prospered greatly under their administration. The volume of trade doubled between **1715** and **1750**, manufactures developed with the growth of towns, agriculture flourished, and the reign of George I has been termed "the golden age of the English agricultural labourer."

(6) They recognised the supreme importance of the development of the navy, secured the command of the seas for Great Britain, and thus promoted the growth of the colonies.

(7) It is certain that the Tories would not have done as well, and although the Whig methods of government were corrupt, government at the time could not have been carried on at all without bribery.

erences:

A. Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century.* Vol. I, chap. II.

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY 1715–1721

I. Foreign Policy.

Stanhope (Secretary of State for the Southern department **1714–1717**, First Lord of the Treasury **1717–1718**, and Secretary of State for the Northern department **1718–1721**) aimed at maintaining the Balance of Power established by the Treaty of Utrecht **1713** and at defending Hanover.

A. Conditions of Europe.

(1) France.

Louis XIV died in **1715**. His great-grandson, Louis XV, was a weakly infant, and the Regent, the Duke of Orleans, who hoped to secure the throne if Louis XV died, was a personal friend of Stanhope. He cultivated friendly relations with England, through fear that, if Louis XV died, Philip V of Spain (Louis' uncle) would obtain the French crown in spite of the Treaty of Utrecht, which forbade the union in one person of the French and Spanish crowns.

(2) Spain.

Philip V and his minister Alberoni wished to recover Sicily, Sardinia, the Netherlands, Naples, Milan, and Gibraltar (lost by the Treaty of Utrecht), and therefore reorganised the Spanish navy, with which they hoped also to weaken British trade and to help the Jacobites if necessary. Philip's wife, Elizabeth Farnese, wished to secure for her son, Don Carlos, the duchies of Parma and Piacenza.

(3) The Emperor.

The Emperor Charles VI (formerly the Archduke Charles) wished to retain the Austrian Netherlands, Milan and Naples, and to exchange Sardinia for Sicily.

(4) Hanover.

George I, as Elector of Hanover, wished to retain the duchies of Bremen and Verden, taken from

Sweden during the absence of Charles XII in Turkey by the King of Denmark, and sold by him to Hanover in **1715**. George I feared the designs of Peter the Great on Hanover.

The protection afforded by Stanhope to Hanover was due not only to the partiality of George for his Electorate, but also to the need of securing the control of the mouths of the Weser and Elbe for a state which was friendly to Great Britain, which carried on a great trade with the Baltic and Northern Germany.

(5) Sweden.

Charles XII wished to recover Bremen and Verden, and was willing to help the Jacobites.

(6) Russia.

Peter the Great wished to secure supremacy in the Baltic, and thus endangered British commerce.

The interests of Great Britain, Hanover, France, the Empire, and Holland, were thus opposed to those of Spain and the "Northern Powers." Stanhope aimed at alliance with France, Holland (anxious to keep the Barrier Towns), and Austria, and the Austrian alliance remained the keynote of his foreign policy.

December 15th, **1716**, dismissal of Townshend, Secretary of State for the Northern Department, owing to unwillingness to go to war with Sweden to protect Hanover, and to his friendship with the Prince of Wales. Resignation of Walpole, Townshend's brother-in-law, of the Treasury and Exchequer, **1717**.

B. The Triple Alliance **1717**.

1717. Triple alliance between England, France, and Holland to ensure the Hanoverian Succession, and to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain. The Pretender to be expelled from France, and the fortifications of Dunkirk and Mardyke (dangerous to England) to be destroyed.

C. The Quadruple Alliance **1718.**

(1) Cardinal Alberoni's aim was to recapture Sicily and Sardinia by the Spanish fleet, while the Emperor was engaged in warfare with the Turks, and to induce Sweden and Denmark to facilitate his designs by attacking Great Britain and restoring the Stuarts.

(2) Stanhope negotiated the Peace of Passarovitz between the Turks (defeated by Eugène at Belgrade, **1717**) and Austria, and concluded the Quadruple Alliance between Great Britain, Holland, France, and Austria which provided that

α. The Emperor should renounce his claim to Spain.

β. The Emperor should receive Sicily.

γ. Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, should give up Sicily and receive the Kingdom of Sardinia.

The beginning of the Royal Family of Savoy which has since secured the Kingdom of Italy.

δ. Don Carlos should receive Parma and Piacenza.

(3) Alberoni, who had previously seized Sardinia, refused to accept these terms.

1718. July. Alberoni attacked Sicily.

1718. August 11th. Byng, although Great Britain had not declared war on Spain, destroyed the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro.

1718. December 11th. The death of Charles XII at the siege of Friedrickshall averted a threatened Swedish attack on Scotland in alliance with the Jacobites.

1719. March 29th. A new Spanish fleet, carrying Jacobites to Scotland, wrecked off Cape Finisterre. Surrender of the Jacobites, who had escaped the storm, and their Spanish allies, to the British at Glen Shiel.

D. Peace.

(1) Spain.

1719. The failure of Alberoni's scheme led to his dismissal.

1720. Philip V of Spain agreed to observe the conditions of the Treaty of Utrecht.

(2) Hanover.

1719. Sweden recognised the cession of Bremen and Verden to Hanover, and Prussia formed a treaty with Hanover.

(3) Russia made peace with Sweden, and became the leading Northern power.

Stanhope's policy gave Europe peace for twelve years, maintained the Treaty of Utrecht, secured Bremen and Verden for Hanover, and protected the British trade with the Baltic.

Domestic Policy.

A. Ecclesiastical Policy.

(1) The Whigs, who were generally Latitudinarians, strongly resented the Jacobite sympathies of many of the clergy, and in **1717** suppressed Convocation owing to its opposition to the doctrines of religious liberty advocated by Hoadly, the Whig Bishop of Bangor.

Convocation was revived in **1853**.

(2) The Relief of the Nonconformists.

To reward the Nonconformists, their steady supporters, the Whigs in **1719**, repealed the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts.

The opposition of Walpole, who feared "the unpopularity of such a measure," prevented Stanhope from repealing the Test Act.

B. The Peerage Bill.

(1) The Whigs, now supreme in the House of Lords, wished to maintain their position by limiting the extension of the Peerage, and thus preventing the Crown from making sudden creations for a definite purpose, as in **1712**, and from giving peerages to foreigners. The Bill provided

a. That, with the exception of the Royal Family, not more than six peers should be added to the existing number;

β. That the Scotch peers sitting in the Lords should be increased from sixteen elective to twenty-five hereditary peers.

(2) The Bill passed the Lords, but was thrown out by the Commons owing to Walpole's strong opposition. Walpole was justified in his action because the Bill would

α. Have made the Peerage an independent oligarchy;

β. Have weakened the connection between the House of Commons, the leading members of which hoped for peerages as a reward for political services, and the House of Lords;

γ. Have weakened unduly the prerogative of the Crown.

C. The South Sea "Bubble."

(1) The National Debt.

In **1719** the National Debt stood at £51,000,000, on which the Government paid interest at the rate of seven or eight per cent, largely in the form of irredeemable annuities, while the normal rate of interest was only four per cent. Financiers, failing to realise that the country, largely owing to the policy of the Whigs, was wealthy enough to bear the burden easily, wished to diminish the amount of, and the rate of interest on, the Debt.

(2) The South Sea Company had been founded by Harley in **1711**, by the incorporation of holders of £10,000,000 Government stock, who received the monopoly of the Pacific trade.

(3) **1719.** The Company offered to take over the National Debt, accepting five per cent (four per cent after **1727**) from the Government. The holders of Government stock were induced to accept South Sea stock, influenced by the prospect of the high dividends, and the appreciation in the value of the stock, which were expected to follow the Government credit thus

secured by the Company. The Directors offered to pay seven and a half millions premium to the Government for the bargain, thus outbidding their rival the Bank of England.

α. Thus the Company became the sole Government creditor.

β. The Debt would be reduced immediately by the amount of the premium, and the Government stood to gain by the reduction of interest.

γ. The large amount of available capital in the country ensured the ready subscription of the additional capital necessary, and the consequent appreciation of the stock.

δ. The scheme depended upon the expected expansion of trade, and the £100 shares rose to £1000 on July 16th, 1720.

(4) The success of the scheme (ensured partly by presents of South Sea stock to members of Parliament and to the Hanoverian courtiers, and to the strong support of Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had bought largely in expectation of a rise in price) led to the formation of many other companies, and a "disease of speculation" broke out.

α. Some of the new companies were sound, e.g. the Royal Exchange and London Assurance, which are still prospering.

β. Many were unsound and illegal because unchartered, e.g. companies to import asses from Spain, to fix quicksilver, and for a business "the nature of which will be revealed in due time."

(5) The South Sea Company, "unconscious how much their success depended upon the universal delusion," proceeded against some illegal companies. The bubble burst. The stock fell from £1000 to £135 and all other stocks fell in sympathy, thus causing an acute financial crisis.

(6) The settlement.

The South Sea Company never actually became bankrupt, and proved successful after reconstruction. But an inquiry led to the expulsion of Aislabie from the Commons for "notorious and infamous corruption," to the death[1] of Craggs, the Postmaster-General, to the death of Stanhope (not personally involved in the scandal) of apoplexy, due to anger at unjust accusations, and to the resignation of Sunderland, though innocent of corruption. Walpole, who made a fortune by selling South Sea stock at a high figure, finally arranged

α. That the premium should be remitted;

β. That the directors' estates, worth £2,000,000, should be confiscated for the benefit of the shareholders;

γ. That the Government should resume its stock. Thus the proprietors received about one-third of their capital.

References:

A. *Political History of England, 1703–1760*, Leadam. Chaps. XVI., XVII.
The Balance of Power, Hassall. Chaps. I. and II. (Rivingtons.)

B. South Sea Bubble. Macaulay's *Essays*, p. 291.

C. *The Regent's Daughter*, by Dumas. (Dent.)
The Mississippi Bubble, by Hough. (Methuen.)

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE

I. **His Character.**

A. His private character was bad and his ideals of conduct low.

B. Coarse; no sympathy with music and learning—"loved neither reading nor writing."

C. But he possessed a profound knowledge of men, of the needs of England, and of the House of Commons. A great debater and tactician, a man of robust common sense.

[1] There was a strong suspicion that he had poisoned himself.

D. An excellent business man, methodical and hardworking.

E. Not vindictive. "He gave to our government that character of lenity which it has since generally preserved."

I. **In Home Affairs.**

His great principle was "quieta non movere," i.e. "let sleeping dogs lie." Walpole made no important alterations in any institution and shrank from making even desirable changes if they were likely to rouse opposition.

A. He did nothing to relieve Nonconformists of their disabilities, in spite of the strong support he got from them, except to pass an Indemnity Bill.

B. He did nothing to pacify the Highlands.

C. He withdrew good measures owing to opposition.

(1) The Excise Bill **1733.**

Owing to a very extensive system of smuggling the Government received only two-thirds of the duty payable on wine and tobacco. Walpole proposed to levy excise not customs duties on wine and tobacco, and to allow them to be put in bond and re-exported free of duty. This was an excellent measure, and would have

α. Checked smuggling;

β. Increased the carrying trade of England;

γ. Made London a free port;

δ. Made possible the total or partial repeal of the Land Tax.

There was a great outcry against "that monster the Excise" because of the objection to the inspection of shops and warehouses necessitated by the Bill, and it was feared that the large number of revenue officers necessary would always support Walpole in elections.

(2) Wood's Halfpence.

1722. The right of coining the additional halfpence and farthings required to make up a deficiency in the Irish coinage was granted to William Wood, of Wolver-

hampton. *Drapier's Letters*, by Swift, aroused great opposition to the new coinage on the ground that it was too light, and Walpole cancelled the issue.

α. "The first constitutional victory of the people of Ireland over Great Britain."

β. All Irishmen, irrespective of creed or party, "united to acclaim the man whose pen had evoked from a country of distracted factions an effective sense of nationality" (Leadam).

D. The Porteus Bill.

1736. John Porteus, Captain of the City Guard, without reading the Riot Act, ordered his men to fire on an Edinburgh mob during a riot occasioned by the success of a smuggler named Wilson who had facilitated the escape of a fellow-prisoner on the way to execution. Six people were killed. Porteus was condemned to death, but respited. He was taken from the Tolbooth by the mob and hanged in the Grassmarket.

A Bill was introduced to abolish the charter and guard of Edinburgh, but owing to the opposition it provoked Walpole withdrew it. The city was fined £2000 (given to Porteus' widow) and the provost deprived of office.

E. He yielded to the popular demand for war with Spain in defiance of his better judgment, in **1739.** "They are ringing their bells now, they will be wringing their hands soon."

III. **In Foreign Politics.**

His great object was to save England from war.

A. Maintained friendship with France. The Duke of Orleans, Regent and heir-presumptive to Louis XV, remained friendly with England in order to oppose his possible rival, Philip V of Spain. **1721.** Orleans revealed Atterbury's plot. Cardinal Fleury afterwards continued the policy of Orleans.

B. Sought friendship with Prussia

C. Opposed Austria and Spain.

(1) Both Austria and Spain were hostile to Great Britain because each wished to regain advantages lost by the Treaty of Utrecht. The Emperor Charles VI wished to regain for the Austrian Netherlands the trade with the East and West Indies, and **1722** founded the Ostend East India Company, which threatened to become a rival of the English East India Company. Philip V demanded the restoration of Gibraltar, and wished to secure Parma for his stepson, Don Carlos.

(2) **1725.** Spain and Austria made the Treaty of Vienna, by which

α. Philip V guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, which provided for the succession of Maria Theresa to the dominions of her father, the Emperor Charles VI, and recognised the Ostend East India Company;

β. The Emperor guaranteed the succession of Don Carlos to Parma and Placentia, and promised to support Philip V's demand for the restoration of Gibraltar.

(3) **1725.** Counter alliance of England, France, Hanover, and Prussia negotiated by Townshend. The Treaty of Hanover.

(4) **1727.** Unsuccessful siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards.

(5) **1729.** Peace made with Spain by the Treaty of Seville, by which

α. Great Britain recognised the claim of Don Carlos on Parma;

β. Spain withdrew the recognition of the Ostend East India Company.

(6) **1731.** Peace was made with Austria by the Treaty of Vienna, by which Great Britain guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction. But the peace thus obtained was very precarious because it was based upon arbitrary arrangements of territory made to maintain the Balance of Power.

D. The Family Compact **1733.**

The Family Compact (following the birth of a son to Louis XV, and the consequent impossibility of the union of the French and Spanish thrones) formed by France and Spain against Great Britain and Austria.

War between Great Britain and France and Spain was ultimately certain because

α. Of the commercial rivalry with Spain in the West Indies;

β. Of the rivalry between British and French colonies in America. The French tried to prevent the British from extending westward, and the British colonies prevented the union of Canada and Louisiana.

E. The Polish Succession War **1733–1735.**

Walpole refused to join in this war, and in **1734** declared "there are 50,000 men slain this year in Europe and not one Englishman."

F. Agreed to the war with Spain **1739.**

IV. **Causes of his Power.**

Walpole was "moderate in exercising power, not equitable in engrossing it."

A. George I could not speak English, did not attend Cabinet meetings, was more anxious to ensure the welfare of Hanover than Britain, and left the control of English politics in Walpole's hands.

B. Walpole refused to retain in the ministry those who disagreed with him.

(1) Dismissal of Townshend, who, when Prussia and Austria made an alliance in **1730**, wanted to fight both. "The firm must be Walpole and Townshend, not Townshend and Walpole."

(2) Dismissal of Chesterfield for opposing the **Excise Bill.**

(3) This policy had an important effect upon the development of Cabinet government.

α. Walpole did much to ensure unity in the Cabinet.

He acted as "the drill-sergeant of the Whig party," insisted on uniformity of policy, and was practically the first Prime Minister, although the term was not generally used until about 1760.

β. He had to face fierce opposition, but the opposition was disunited, and the only bond was hatred of Walpole. The nominal leader was Frederick Prince of Wales, "who was alive and is dead." The opposition included

1. Tories—led by Shippen—weak;
2. Discontented Whigs—"The Patriots"—led by Carteret and Pulteney;
3. The "Boys"—led by Pitt.
4. Frederick Prince of Wales, owing to a quarrel with his father, supported the opponents of his father's minister.
5. Walpole's leniency to his opponents encouraged them to attack him with great violence in such papers as the *Craftsman*.

C. His management of Parliament.

He made a great use of bribery.[1] He was obliged to bribe because government was impossible without it, and the House of Commons, which was independent of the Crown and electors, could be reached by no other means. He was not himself corrupt, and some of his successors bribed far more than he did. His reputation for bribery is partly due to the bitter attacks of the *Craftsman*.

D. The strong support of George I and, owing to Queen Caroline of Anspach, of George II. Walpole was never a popular minister. He was "a minister given by the King to the people."

[1] He did not say, "All men have their price." The statement he really made was, "All these men have their price," and referred to a particular group.

V. **Walpole was a Great Financier and Extended Trade.**

A. He arranged the South Sea Bubble.

B. His Excise Bill was a most wise measure.

C. He allowed Georgia to export rice direct to Europe in spite of the Navigation Acts.

D. He steadily reduced the National Debt and took off many taxes.

E. The alliance with France promoted English trade in the Mediterranean.

F. Hence he gained the strong support of the merchant classes.

VI. **The Importance of his Work.**

He gave England peace and thus

A. Ensured the permanence of the Whig Revolution Settlement and the Hanoverian succession. The trading classes supported a Government under which they were becoming wealthy, and the result of Walpole's policy was seen in the utter failure of the Young Pretender to get help in the south of England.

B. He gave England time to recover from the wars against Louis XIV, to develop her colonial empire, to obtain wealth and thus to gain strength for the coming war. The wealth of England, acquired partly owing to Walpole's policy, enabled Pitt to subsidise Frederick the Great and to devote his attention to the development of the colonies. But Walpole was quite unfit to direct a war, and this work was taken up by Pitt (Chatham).

C. But his character, policy, and methods lowered the tone of English public life. Low ideals marked the middle of the eighteenth century. The evil was aggravated by the appointment (for party purposes) of Whig bishops who were out of touch with the Tory country clergy.

References:

A. *Twelve English Statesmen*, Walpole. Chaps. VI., VIII., IX., X.

B. J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 728–30.
Macaulay's *Essays*. Popular Edition, pp. 276–84. (Longmans.)

C. *Mohawks*, by Braddon. (Maxwell.)
The Heart of Midlothian, Scott.

PARTY GOVERNMENT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CABINET

I. **The Origin of Party Government.**

A. The development of parties.

(1) The opposition of Whigs and Tories in the reigns of Charles II (page 466) and James II is the beginning of regular party government in England. Previous parties, e.g. Reformers and Catholics, Cavaliers and Parliamentarians, had lacked cohesion and organisation, both of which, in some measure, Shaftesbury gave to the Whigs.

(2) The two parties were clearly defined at the beginning of the reign of William and Mary. Both accepted the Revolution, but the Tories strongly supported the Anglican Church and believed in hereditary succession, while the Whigs favoured the Nonconformists and upheld the doctrine of limited monarchy. Later the war against Louis further divided the parties. In time it became a "Whig war," and the peace of Utrecht, **1713**, was regarded as a "Tory peace."

II. **Ministerial Unanimity.**

The theory that the ministry should be chosen exclusively from one party was not finally accepted until **1714.**

A. William III's first ministry included both Whigs and Tories, as he wished to secure the support of all parties against Louis XIV.

B. **1696.** Owing to the difficulty of inducing Whigs and Tories to adopt a uniform policy, William III formed a ministry of the Whigs alone. The first ministry ever formed from one party.

C. Marlborough and Anne at first included both Whigs and Tories in the ministry, but

D. **1708.** Marlborough and Sunderland formed an exclusively Whig ministry.

E. **1710.** Harley and St. John formed an exclusively Tory ministry.

F. **1714.** The action of the Whigs in securing the Hanoverian succession gained for them the steady support of George I, and from **1714–1761** the ministries were composed mainly of Whigs, the dominant party (page 555).

III. **The Cabinet.**

The formation of ministries exclusively from the Whigs, and the great amount of power given to their ministers by George I and II, had important effects upon the history of the Cabinet. In the past great jealousy had been aroused by the formation of Cabinets, especially in the case of the Cabal (page 450), and Temple's scheme (page 470) had aimed at strengthening the authority of the Privy Council rather than that of the Cabinet. But from the time of George I the Cabinet System steadily developed.

A. Political unanimity was enforced.

(1) Previously, even in ministries composed of men of one party, radically different views were held, e.g.

1710. Harley had been brought up as a Nonconformist, and opposed the policy of St. John, who supported the Schism Act and the Act against Occasional Conformity to secure the support of the High Church Party.

(2) Walpole, "the drill-sergeant of the Whig party," maintained strict party discipline and the exclusion of Townshend,[1] Pulteney, and Carteret made the ministry homogeneous.

(3) After the fall of Walpole there was a return to the old system in the Broad Bottom Administration **1744**, in which Whigs and Tories found a place; but

[1] Walpole's brother-in-law, called "Turnip Townshend," because he devoted himself to agriculture after giving up politics, and introduced the cultivation of turnips into England.

(4) William Pitt's personal influence, together with the support of George III, made the Cabinets from **1783–1801** homogeneous, and practically since that time political unanimity has been recognised as a condition of Cabinet government.

B. Simultaneous changes of the whole Cabinet.

The Cabinet became a Committee of both Houses, and its dependence upon the support of the majority of the House of Commons was gradually recognised.

(1) **1742.** Sir Robert Walpole recognised that the House of Commons was the most important part of the Parliament, and resigned office on being defeated in the House of Commons on the question of the Chippenham election. The first instance of the resignation of the leader of the ministry without reference to the sovereign, and owing to an adverse vote in the Commons.

(2) **1782.** Lord North, seeing that defeat in the Commons was certain, resigned office with all his colleagues (except Thurlow, the Lord Chancellor). "The first instance of the simultaneous change of the whole administration, in deference altogether to the opinions of the House of Commons."

C. The Prime Minister and the Cabinet.

The supreme authority of the Prime Minister is a most important factor in ensuring unanimity in the Cabinet, but the final recognition of the Prime Minister as an element in politics was delayed until the time of the younger Pitt.

α. The idea of a "prime minister" was most unpopular, and this unpopularity had been shown in the opposition to such "favourites" as Gaveston **1312**, and Suffolk **1450**.

β. William III was the head of his ministries, and under him there was no room for a Prime Minister.

γ. Walpole was practically the first Prime Minister, but he strongly objected to the term.

δ. After the fall of Walpole **1742**, the country was governed by departments, and the heads of departments (notably the elder Pitt) often acted independently of their chiefs.

ε. The supremacy of the Prime Minister[1] over the Cabinet was finally established by William Pitt **1783–1801**, partly owing to the steady support accorded to him by George III, partly owing to his own outstanding ability.

D. The Cabinet System and the Crown.

The development of Cabinet government has been marked by increasing freedom from royal interference.

(1) From the time of Charles II to that of Anne the sovereign regularly presided at Cabinet meetings, but as George I could not understand English he did not attend in person. George III attended once soon after his accession, but it is now a recognised convention of the constitution that the sovereign shall not attend.

(2) During the Whig supremacy the ministers usurped much of the royal power.

(3) George III, wishing to re-establish the royal supremacy, endeavoured to break the power of the Cabinet by acting as his own minister, especially during the ministry of Lord North **1770–1782**, when the country was governed by departments and the King repeatedly interfered.

(4) The authority of the Cabinet was restored by Pitt and has since steadily increased.

[1] The office of Prime Minister or Premier was first formally recognised in December, 1905, when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was appointed. The Premier is a Privy Councillor who holds a Cabinet office, usually First Lord of the Treasury (i.e. the first of the five Commissioners in whom the old office of Lord High Treasurer is vested), although Lord Salisbury was Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1885–1886 and 1886–1892. In Cabinet meetings previous to 1905 the Premier had no official precedence over his colleagues, but his personal influence and the power he possessed of recommending the sovereign to dissolve Parliament gave him supremacy.

E. The constitutional position of the Cabinet.

(1) The Cabinet, technically a committee of the Privy Council, is a committee of both Houses, acts as a link between the legislature and the executive, and has thus solved the struggle between the two which led to the Great Civil War. But the Cabinet Council has no constitutional authority, and no formal notice of the appointment of a Cabinet minister is published in the *London Gazette*, although appointments of Privy Councillors are so published.

(2) There are no rules as to place, time or quorum of Cabinet meetings. The proceedings are secret and no minutes are taken.

(3) The Cabinet is thus a conspicuous instance of the tendency in English history to find practical solutions of difficult constitutional questions without much attention to constitutional theories.

ferences :

A. *English Constitutional History*, by Taswell-Langmead, pp. 556–71.

THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION 1740-1748

The title "War of the Austrian Succession" is inadequate. In ition to the question of the succession of Maria Theresa to the one of Austria, there arose the question of the right of Spain to rch British vessels in the West Indies; the growth of the gdom of Prussia (page 532); the development of the British vy and Colonial Empire; the defence of Scotland against the obites (page 581) and the concern of George II for Hanover (the is sometimes called "King George's War"). War broke out h Spain in spite of Walpole's opposition in **1739**, "The War of kins' Ear," owing to the claim by Spain of the right of search. **9**. Vernon captured Porto Bello. **1741**. Failure of a British ck on Carthagena. This war was merged in the war of the trian Succession after **1743**.

I. **The Outbreak to the End of the First Silesian War.**

A. **1740.** Death of Frederick William I of Prussia (a tyrant who had made the Prussian army that his son Frederick II used with such success) and of the Emperor Charles VI, who had tried to ensure the succession of Maria Theresa to his dominions by the Pragmatic Sanction, to which most European nations had agreed.

B. Frederick II began the war without any justification and seized Silesia. The war extended over the world. "In order that he might rob a neighbour whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America."

C. The Elector of Bavaria (who had married the daughter of Charles VI's elder brother) claimed the Empire and Bohemia, and he was supported by France and Spain.

D. Walpole and George II, who was anxious for Hanover, tried to preserve peace and to reconcile Frederick and Maria Theresa. The latter was enthusiastically supported by the Hungarians—who did *not* say "Let us die for our King Maria Theresa."

E. Walpole fell in **1742**, and Carteret adopted a new policy. He

(1) Favoured an alliance with Austria against France;

(2) Used Hanoverian soldiers. Opposition of Pitt, and a growing feeling in favour of a strong naval rather than a military policy.

(3) **1742.** Concluded the First Silesian War by inducing Maria Theresa to recognise Frederick as master of Silesia by the Treaty of Breslau.

α. A great diplomatic success.

β. England ought then to have withdrawn from the continental war.

(4) But Carteret tried to restore Maria Theresa to her old position, and adopted an aggressive rather than a defensive policy against France. Maria (freed from danger from Prussia) aimed at the reconquest of Alsace.

(5) **1743**. George II's victory at Dettingen (the last time an English king fought in person) compelled the French to evacuate Germany.

(6) Formal alliance of England and Austria in **1743** by the Treaty of Worms.

(7) This led to the counter-alliances of France and Spain, and France and Prussia. Frederick II feared the growing power of Maria Theresa, who would probably attempt to regain Silesia, and the second Silesian War broke out.

Second Silesian War 1744.

A. Different from the first.

(1) England and France were now the chief opponents in accordance with the old Whig theory, and the rivalry between Austria and Prussia was less important.

(2) Colonial problems now became of supreme importance.

(3) Danger of French aid to the Pretender.

B. India.

(1) British "factories" at Fort William, Madras, and Bombay; French at Chandernagore and Pondicherry. The idea of European supremacy was not considered at first, as the "factories" were apparently too weak to form centres of political power.

(2) Dupleix saw the real weakness of the native states after the break-up of the Mogul Empire on the death of Aurungzebe, the Great Mogul, in **1707**, and the weakness of their undisciplined armies. He acted as agent of the Mogul Emperor, established French influence in the native courts, reorganised the native army, and captured Madras **1746**. No similar policy was adopted by the English (whose interests were mainly commercial) until Clive appeared. Dupleix was supreme in the South. The chief obstacle to his schemes was the British navy, which was checked by the French naval station at Mauritius.

C. America. Rivalry of British and French. The French held

(1) Cape Breton (Louisburg the chief port), commanding the St. Lawrence;

(2) Louisiana (New Orleans chief port), commanding the Mississippi.

(3) Their policy was to build forts along the great lakes and head-waters of the Mississippi to

α. Unite their own possessions;

β. Prevent the British from extending westwards.

"The war was becoming a world-wide duel which was to settle the destinies of mankind."

D. **1740–1744.** Anson's successful voyage round the world, during which he sacked the town of Paita in Peru, captured a treasure-ship near the Philippines, and brought home booty worth £1,250,000.

E. **1745.** The victory of Maurice of Saxony (Marechale de Saxe) over Cumberland at Fontenoy, due partly to the withdrawal of the Dutch troops from the English army, encouraged "The Forty-Five" (page 582). Therefore peace was concluded by Great Britain (which did not wish unduly to weaken the chief Protestant state in Europe) and Austria with Frederick, who found little advantage in the French alliance. End of the Second Silesian War.

α. Frederick II kept Silesia.

β. Frederick II acknowledged Maria's husband Francis as emperor.

F. Great Britain and Austria continued the struggle against France.

1746–1747. French successes on land at Roucaux and Lauffeld. English successes on the sea. Capture of Louisburg and the defeat of the French fleet by Anson off Finisterre and by Hawke off Belle Isle.

I. **The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748,** ensured the mutual surrender of conquests and the expulsion of the Pretender from France.

A. It weakened the alliance of Great Britain and Austria.

B. It did not ensure peace in Europe, as Austria was still anxious to regain Silesia from Prussia.

C. It did not extinguish colonial rivalry between the British and French.

Dupleix gave up Madras, but rejoiced in the removal of the danger from the British navy.

Louisburg was surrendered.

D. It ruined the Jacobite cause. Charles Edward became a hopeless drunkard, and after much wandering died at Rome in **1788**.

E. There was no settlement of the right of search claimed by Spain.

Thus "the fruit of years of expenditure of blood and treasure was the *status quo ante bellum*."

. **The Importance of the War for Great Britain.**

The war marks a new epoch in European history and British foreign policy. Prussia became one of the most important states in Europe and tended to alliance with Britain through fear of France and Austria. Britain was now to carry on wars to secure commercial, naval, and colonial supremacy, while European questions became of secondary importance to British statesmen. Hence the supreme importance of the navy.

ferences :

A. Macaulay's *Essay on Frederick the Great.*
The Balance of Power, Hassall. Chaps. VI. and VII. (Rivingtons.)

B. Carteret. Macaulay's *Essays*, pp. 285–6. (Longmans.)

C. *Ned Leger*, by Fenn. (S.P.C.K)
Treasure Trove, by Lever (Constable.)

THE REFORM OF THE CALENDAR
1751

England, Russia, and Sweden had retained the "old style" of reckoning time according to the Julian Calendar invented by Julius Cæsar. The errors of the Julian Calendar were corrected by Pope Gregory XIII, whose Gregorian Calendar, introduced in **1582**, had been accepted by many of the states of Europe. Therefore, in England the year began on March 25th, while in most of Europe it began on January 1st, and the error in reckoning in England had amounted to eleven days. Lord Chesterfield, assisted by Lord Macclesfield, induced Parliament in **1751** to sanction a Reform of the calendar by which

α. The year **1752** was to begin on January 1st;

β. Eleven days were to be dropped between September 2nd and 14th.

Thus the legal and solar years were made identical, and England adopted the same calendar as most of Europe.

There was considerable opposition to the change, and a cry was raised at elections, "Give us back our eleven days."

LORD HARDWICKE'S MARRIAGE ACT
1753

Grave scandal had arisen owing to the facilities existing for secret marriages, especially of minors, for whose marriages the consent of parents or guardians was not necessary. The evil was aggravated by the readiness of dissolute "Fleet parsons" to celebrate marriages for a small fee, and nearly 3000 "Fleet marriages" were celebrated in four months. This excellent Act provided:—

(1) The banns of the parties to be published in the parish church for three successive Sundays before the ceremony.

(2) Marriages to be performed in church between 6 a.m. and noon.

(3) A special licence from the archbishop was declared necessary for a legal marriage under any other conditions.

THE FORTY-FIVE

. Causes.

A. In Scotland the majority of the Highlanders were still Jacobites, and there remained a strong desire to regain the national independence lost by the Union, the advantages of which were not even yet generally appreciated.

B. In England the Hanoverian kings had utterly failed to secure the favour of the people, although George II's bravery at Dettingen had gained him temporary popularity. The violence of the Opposition led to a belief that the Government was weak, and many, without any intention of supporting a Stuart restoration, had evinced an amiable interest in the Young Pretender.

C. The defeat of the British at Fontenoy in **1745** induced Charles Edward to attempt to regain the throne.

I. The Rebellion.

Although in **1744** Louis XV had projected an invasion of England by Marshal Saxe on behalf of the Pretender, he gave no efficient help in **1745**, and on July 25th Charles Edward landed at Moidart with only seven supporters—"The Seven Men of Moidart." He was joined by Cameron of Lochiel and some of the Macdonalds, raised his standard at Glenfinnan, evaded General Cope, marched through the Pass of Killiecrankie and Perth, defeated some Royalist dragoons at the "Canter of Coltbrigg" outside Edinburgh, which was surprised by his Highlanders, although the Castle held out. Cope, who had come by ship to Dunbar, was routed in six minutes owing to the furious charge of the Highlanders at Prestonpans, September 21st.

The necessity of collecting men and arms kept the Pretender at Edinburgh and gave the Government time to organise its forces. Charles Edward, with an army of 6000 men, marched south via Carlisle (thus avoiding General Wade's army at Newcastle), Lancaster, Preston, and Manchester to Derby, which he reached on December 4th, "Black Friday," and, as he had evaded Cumberland, the way to London lay open. There was a panic in London, there was a run on the Bank of England, and George II prepared to flee to Hanover, but the Highland chiefs, especially Lord George Murray, rightly insisted on a retreat in view of the superior forces opposing them, and Charles returned to secure Scotland. His retreat was disorderly, but he routed General Hawley, who had succeeded Wade, at Falkirk, January 17th, **1746.** He unwisely wasted time in besieging Stirling, thus giving Cumberland time to follow him, and was finally routed on April 16th at Culloden, partly owing to the inaction of the Macdonalds, who refused to fight on the left flank while the Camerons and Stuarts had the post of honour on the right. He escaped to France through the devotion of Flora Macdonald, and in spite of the offer of £30,000 to any one who would betray him. The gross cruelty with which Cumberland (who shot about two hundred prisoners) punished the Highlanders gained him the nickname of the "Butcher." Lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Lovat, "the Martyrs," were beheaded, and about a hundred commoners executed for their share in the rebellion.

III. **Criticism.**

The rebellion was hopeless. The Government had control of the English army; no help came from France; the English middle class had gained so much wealth owing to Walpole's policy that although they disliked the Hanoverian kings, they would not support rebellion, and without support from England there was no chance of success. The Highland chiefs were jealous of each

other; Lord George Murray, who had skilfully conducted the march to Derby, was unpopular owing to his hasty temper, and although the remarkable personal charm of the Pretender gained a large measure of support, it could not counteract the apathy of the English.

IV. **Results.**

A. The failure of the Forty-Five finally ensured the maintenance of the Hanoverian line and the Act of Union, and showed the weakness of the Jacobites in England.

B. It showed the danger from the Highlands, where the chiefs still exercised feudal power over their clans. Therefore—

(1) The hereditary jurisdiction of the chiefs was abolished.
(2) The clans were disarmed, and the wearing of the tartan was prohibited. (This last clause was soon repealed.)
(3) Pitt made an excellent use of the military skill of the Highlanders by enrolling them in the English army.

References:

A. *History of the Four Georges*, McCarthy. Chaps. XXXIV.–VI.
Political History of England from 1703 to 1760, Leadam. Chap. XXIV.

C. *Waverley*, Sir Walter Scott.
Poor Sons of a Day, by McAulay. (Nisbet.)
Ricroft of Withens, by Sutcliffe. (Unwin.)
The Master of Ballantrae and (for years following the Forty-Five) *Kidnapped* and *Catriona*, by Stevenson. (Cassell.)
An Exiled Scot, by Bryden. (Chatto.)

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR 1756–1763

. **The Events leading up to the War.**

A. In spite of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, the struggle for the colonies between Great Britain and France continued, and this was the most important feature of the War.

(1) America.

No definite boundaries had been fixed between the French and English colonies. The French forts, Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Niagara, and Duquesne (on the Ohio), ensured the connection between Canada and Louisiana, and prevented the English from extending westwards.

1755. An attack on Fort Duquesne by Braddock failed. Braddock, ignorant of the methods of colonial warfare, foolishly kept his troops in close order in the forests of the Alleghanies. They therefore fell an easy prey to the French and Indians. His last words were, "We shall do better next time."

(2) India.

1751. Clive's seizure and gallant defence of Arcot (the turning-point in the history of the British in India) established Mahomet Ali, the British nominee, as Nawab of the Carnatic, and thus led to the foundation of our Indian Empire. Dupleix was recalled by the French Government, which failed to appreciate his policy, and objected to the expense (much of which he paid out of his own pocket). His successors were less capable men, though Lally Tollendal (an Irishman by birth) was a brave soldier.

(3) The British navy was in good condition, owing to the previous war.

B. Europe.

Maria Theresa determined to regain Silesia and to break the power of Prussia. She united with France (Louis XV was willing to support a Catholic against a Protestant nation, and Madame de Pompadour hated Frederick), Russia (the Empress Elizabeth hated Frederick), and Saxony. This involved a complete change in the foreign policy of France, which now made an alliance with the Hapsburgs.

Prussia was compelled to get the support of Great Britain, which was anxious for the safety of Hanover.

C. William Pitt.

Like Elizabeth, he roused the national spirit by his patriotism. He was able to carry out his policy, involving high ideals of patriotism, owing to the success of the materialistic policy of Walpole, which had provided the wealth necessary to subsidise Frederick. In 1755 he had protested against the payment of subsidies; in 1757 he adopted this policy in order to "conquer America in Europe."

II. The War.

A. 1756.

(1) Capture of Minorca by the French and the consequent loss of British supremacy in the Mediterranean. The execution of Admiral Byng "pour encourager les autres" on a charge of "disobedience to orders and criminal feebleness" was undeserved. He was guilty of nothing worse than an error of judgment.

(2) Frederick conquered Saxony.

B. 1757. A black year.

(1) Frederick was surrounded by enemies on the east and south, but by remarkable rapidity of movement he kept them in check.

(2) The Convention of Klosterseven and the surrender of Cumberland ["My son has ruined me and disgraced himself" (George II)].

(3) Hanover was therefore occupied by the French, who now threatened Frederick's western border.

(4) Frederick saved himself by defeating the French at Rossbach, and the Austrians at Leuthen.

(5) Montcalm was successful in Canada.

(6) Failure of the British naval attack on Rochefort.

(7) Defeat of Suraj-ud-Daulch at Plassey by Clive [in revenge for the death of 123 out of 146 British subjects imprisoned for one night in the Black Hole—a small room twenty feet square, with only two windows]. Mir Jaffir (whose agent Omichund had been tricked into an agreement by Clive's forgery of

Admiral Watson's signature) was made Nawab of Bengal, which became a British dependency.

C. **1758.** The turn of the tide.

(1) Repudiation of the Convention (which was not binding on the home Government like a Capitulation) of Klosterseven. The French driven out of Hanover.

(2) Frederick defeated the French and the Russians and drove the Austrians south.

(3) Capture of Louisburg (commanding the mouth of the St. Lawrence) and Fort Duquesne—renamed Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg)—"The key of the great west."

(4) Lally checked at Madras.

D. **1759.** The Year of Victories. "We are forced to ask every morning what victory there is for fear of missing one" (Horace Walpole).

(1) Frederick routed at Kunersdorf by the Russians. But Ferdinand of Brunswick routed the French at Minden (where Lord George Sackville refused to charge the defeated foe), and thus saved Frederick and Hanover.

(2) The destruction of the French navy and the consequent interruption of communications between France and her colonies.

The Toulon fleet was defeated off Lagos by Boscawen.

The Brest fleet defeated in Quiberon Bay (off a very rocky and dangerous shore and during a storm) by Hawke, who answered the protest of the pilot as to the dangers, "You have done your duty in speaking, now lay me alongside the French admiral."

This success, the greatest naval victory since the Armada, averted a threatened invasion of England.

(3) Canada.

Quebec captured by Wolfe—"Thank God, I die happy." The British navy commanded the sea and facilitated the conquest of Canada by preventing the French from sending reinforcements to Quebec. The

French power was further weakened by the capture of Niagara and Crown Point, and the destruction of Ticonderoga.

E. **1760.**

(1) Eyre Coote routed Lally at Wandewash, in which only English and French troops were engaged. This defeat greatly weakened the prestige of the French in India. The British navy prevented the French from sending reinforcements to India, and Pondicherry fell in **1761**. Lally was executed for failure on his return to France.

(2) Death of George II. George III was anxious to restore the power of the Crown, and wished to end the war which ensured the supremacy of Pitt, which was inconsistent with the assertion of the royal prerogative.

(3) Naval successes **1761**. Capture of Belle Isle (French soil as distinct from a French colony).

F. Spain joined France.

(1) Pitt, suspecting the union of Spain and France through the Family Compact (renewed **1761**), urged war with Spain—"There is not an hour to lose." Resigned on his failure to secure war.

(2) Bute adopted the Tory policy of peace, disapproved of continental alliances, stopped Frederick's subsidy, thought all attention should be devoted to a naval policy, and objected to the heavy expense of the war.

(3) December, **1761**. War declared against Spain. Capture of Havana and Manilla by the English fleet, and Martinique captured from the French.

II. **The Treaty of Paris, 1763, provided that**

A. England should keep, in Europe, Minorca (Belle Isle to be restored to the French); in North America, Canada and Cape Breton Island; in India, all conquests except Pondicherry; in Central America, the islands of Tobago, St. Vincent, Dominica, and Grenada, and also the right of cutting logwood in Honduras Bay.

B. Spain should give up Florida in exchange for Havana, and should receive back the Philippines unconditionally.

Criticism.

(1) Great Britain got much. She secured the eastern part of North America, supremacy in India, and command of the seas.

(2) Ought to have got more.

Manilla and Martinique were given up without equivalent, and Florida was not equivalent to Havana.

(3) The French naval and colonial policy was unduly favoured by the restoration to France of certain West Indian colonies, of Goree, of the "factories" in India, and a share of the Newfoundland fisheries, which were very important as a nursery of French sailors.

(4) The desertion of Frederick the Great, who was left to make his own terms, was disgraceful. He never forgave this, and refused to make any further alliance with Great Britain.

(5) The Treaty of Paris was a party peace (like Utrecht), carried through by shameful means by Henry Fox.

α. A bribery office was opened at the Treasury. £25,000 were paid in one day, and the lowest payment for a vote was £200.

β. Punishment of the opponents of the peace.

1. Newcastle and Devonshire lost their lord lieutenancies.
2. General expulsion from office of all who owed their position to the Whigs, however humble it was.

References:

A. Macaulay's *Essays*. Popular Edition, pp. 818–34.
The Balance of Power, Hassall. Chap. IX. (Rivingtons.)
The Influence of Sea Power on History, Mahan. Chap. VIII. (Sampson Low.)

B. Macaulay's *Essays*, pp. 519, 523–4.
C. *The Virginians*, by Thackeray.
Frederick the Great, by Mühlbach. (Appleton.)
A Fallen Star, by Lowe. (Downey.)
The Seats of the Mighty, by Parker. (Methuen.)
The Last of the Mohicans, by Cooper.

ILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM, 1708–1778

His Life.

Grandson of a Governor of Madras, and educated at Eton and Oxford.

1735. Became member for Old Sarum, a family rotten borough; Cornet of the 1st Dragoon Guards (not "the Blues"), but lost his commission through opposing Walpole.

1746. Paymaster of the Forces, but in spite of his poverty he made no profit out of the office, contrary to the custom of the day.

1755. Dismissed for opposing treaties with Russia and Hesse for the protection of Hanover.

1756. Secretary of State under Devonshire. Pacified the Highlands by raising Highland regiments.

1757–1761. Secretary of State under Newcastle. Directed the Seven Years' War (see page 586).

1763. Refused to form a ministry, because George III would not accept some leading Whigs.

1765. Opposed the Stamp Act. Refused to form a ministry without Temple.

1766. Opposed the Declaratory Act. Formed a ministry, but soon retired through illness. Resigned **1768.**

1769. Protested against the action of the Commons with regard to the Middlesex election (page 598).

1774. Opposed the Boston Port Bill.

1775. Brought in a Bill to conciliate the Americans by repealing recent Acts, and leaving taxation to colonial assemblies.

1778. Stricken with apoplexy while protesting against the recognition of American independence and died May 11th.

II. **The Great Commoner.**

A. His great work was to rouse the national spirit. He gave the people ideals of national greatness, and inspired them with his own patriotic passion. He revived to some extent the Elizabethan spirit, and by substituting high ideals for Walpole's materialism raised the tone of the nation in politics as Wesley did in religion. "He was the first Englishman of his time and he made England the first country in the world."

B. His influence due to

(1) His patriotism (he loved England with a great and passionate love);

(2) His "ostentatious purity" and uprightness, contrasted with the jobbery of Newcastle (which was, however, necessary to secure the Parliamentary support for Pitt's policy), the dishonest gains of Fox as Paymaster of the Forces, and the general immorality of the nobility.

(3) His position was greatly damaged by his acceptance of the Earldom of Chatham in **1766**, which removed him from the House of Commons to the House of Lords, where his rhetoric had little effect.

C. He fully recognised the importance of the general body of the nation. "It is the people who have sent me here" (i.e. the House of Commons), and when assuring George II that the House of Commons opposed the execution of Byng in **1757**, the King said, "You have taught me to look for the sense of my people in other places than the House of Commons."

D. His home policy was democratic, and strongly supported by London and Alderman Beckford.

He opposed general warrants, supported the liberty of the Press, the rights of constituencies in the case of the Middlesex election, and Parliamentary reform.

I. **Pitt and the Empire.**

Relying on popular support and on the wealth that had accumulated during Walpole's time, he adopted an aggressive policy of colonial expansion which his own "magnificent driving power" brought to a successful issue. This involved a world-wide struggle with France, carried on

A. On the Continent.

(1) Pitt reversed the old Whig policy of alliance with Austria, and made an alliance with Prussia (thus ensuring the safety of Hanover in spite of his previous objections to subsidising other countries for the defence of Hanover). George II was jealous of Frederick the Great, but was won over.

(2) Pitt's subsidies (rendered possible by Walpole's policy) enabled Frederick to carry on war against France, Austria, and Russia. Pitt's assistance was especially valuable to Frederick after his great defeat at Kunersdorf by the Russians in 1759.

(3) He resigned owing to the refusal of the Council to declare war against Spain in 1761, and thus counteract the renewed Family Compact. In 1766 he tried to form a northern league (Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia) to check the Bourbons.

B. In the Colonies.

(1) Owing to the subsidies Pitt paid to Frederick, France was kept busy fighting England's allies on the Continent, and thus prevented from using all her power to defend Canada. Pitt thus "conquered America in Europe."

(2) Hitherto attacks on Canada had been disorganised. Pitt adopted a general scheme of attack (against the forts, against Quebec, and against settlements at the mouth of the St. Lawrence), sent adequate numbers of troops, and showed his sound judgment of men by the choice of Wolfe and Amherst.

(3) He was most unwilling to weaken the Empire, and therefore opposed the proposal to recognise the independence of the United States, and protested against "the dismemberment of this ancient and glorious monarchy."

(4) He recognised the importance of the navy as a factor in colonial development, and made England mistress of the seas.

(5) Successes in India were not due directly to Pitt, but were perhaps inspired by successes elsewhere.

(6) Great increase in trade owing to colonial expansion. "Commerce has been made to flourish by war."

C. His general policy. "His greatness lay in action."

(1) His plans were wide and far-reaching.

(2) But he failed to appreciate the cost of his policy, which frightened Grenville, who, in order to reduce the enormous debt incurred by Pitt, tried to tax the colonies.

(3) He had no mind for details, and "knew nothing accurately except the *Faerie Queen*."

IV. **Pitt and Parliament.**

A. (1) His successes were due to the skill with which Newcastle managed Parliament and secured the Parliamentary support necessary for the success of his policy ("Mr. Pitt does everything, and the Duke gives everything"), but he objected to government by the Whig connection and by bribery.

(2) His policy from **1757–1761** was supported by men of all parties, and his ideal was a ministry composed of the best men available, united under a prime minister, and supported by the King and the nation. To this ideal the Whigs, who had long monopolised political power, and the King, who wished to govern as well as to reign, were opposed.

B. Pitt was not a successful party leader.

(1) He was too vain. "I know that I can save this country, and I know no other man can." His temper (partly owing to gout) was too bad to make him a successful leader. He could not manage a party, his personal following was very small (his was a "personal and solitary grandeur"), and he would not bribe.

(2) He refused to take office in **1763** "without the great families who have supported the Revolution settlement," and in **1765** because Temple did not join.

(3) He ought in **1765** to have supported Rockingham, whose views corresponded with his own, and who treated him with the utmost deference. Had he done so he might have averted the American War.

(4) **1766.** Accepted office to check "the Bloomsbury Gang," but soon retired owing to illness.

C. Pitt and reform.

(1) He wished to reform Parliament by triennial Parliaments, and thus differed from Burke, who sought reform by the diminution of royal influence and the exclusion of placemen.

(2) He strongly opposed the illegal extension of Parliamentary privilege in the case of Wheble and the printers.

He was a great orator, had a remarkable power of appealing to the passions of his audience, was rhetorical, and possessed a great command of language. But he was not good in debate, and his set speeches were poor.

I. **He was too theatrical,** and was always acting. His character lacked simplicity.

eferences :

A. Macaulay's *Essays* on William Pitt and the Earl of Chatham.

J. R. Green's *Short History*, pp. 748–57.

Chatham. *Twelve English Statesmen*, F. Harrison. (Macmillan.)

GEORGE III

I. **George I and George II had been very unpopular.**

A. George II spoke English badly, George I not at all.

B. Both were very fond of Hanover, and many Englishmen strongly resented the demands made upon England to ensure the safety of Hanover.

C. Both were immoral, and their courts impure.

D. The personal character of each was unpleasing (although the bravery of George II at Dettingen gained him a temporary popularity).

E. The severities following the Fifteen and the Forty-Five added to their unpopularity.

F. Their unpopularity unfairly obscured the great service both had rendered to Great Britain by their loyal acceptance of the restrictions which the conditions of limited monarchy placed upon their power, and by their success in avoiding discord between Crown and Parliament, which would have afforded opportunities for Jacobite intrigue.

II. **The Whigs had Enormous Power** (see page 555).

A. The party had been organised by Walpole, and had defended the Hanoverian succession and the Revolution settlement against the Jacobites.

B. They dispensed Crown patronage and owned many rotten boroughs themselves, while public money and their own wealth ensured a large bribery fund. The Whig nobles were supreme in the Lords, and by bribery gained control of the Commons.

C. Newcastle (the head of the Treasury) was "a hoary old jobber,"[1] whose personal character tended to bring himself and his followers into contempt. The nation had become thoroughly tired of the monopoly of power enjoyed by the "Revolution families."

[1] "There was not, it was said, a single prelate who had not owed either his first elevation, or some subsequent translation, to Newcastle."

D. The Jacobite cause had been ruined by Culloden, and the depraved character of Charles Edward, who was drunken and immoral.

I. **George III, 1760.**

A. Many circumstances combined to make him popular. He was young (only 22), chaste, pious, and sincerely attached to the Church of England, thus affording a pleasing contrast to his predecessors. He was a patriotic Englishman. "Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Britain" (not "Briton").

He had some claim to hereditary descent, as his grandfather and great-grandfather had been kings of England, and this was one reason for the strong support of the Tories, who were uninfluenced by the ideas of limited monarchy which had grown up during the eighteenth century, and gave to George III all the devotion they had formerly given to the Stuarts. The Tories "had left their king, but brought with them their principles."

B. "He came to the throne determined to exalt the kingly office, and throughout his long reign he never lost sight of this object."

(1) His mother and his tutor, Bute, had great influence, and both encouraged him in this object. His mother's advice was, "George, be King," and he aimed at being a "Patriot King," as portrayed by Bolingbroke, ruling absolutely, but for his people's good. His character fitted him for such an attempt. He was narrow-minded, tenacious of his rights, stubborn and industrious.

(2) To do this he had to break up the Whig supremacy, already weakened by division into four parties, viz. Newcastle and the aristocratic Whigs, Pitt and the democratic Whigs (e.g. Alderman Beckford), Bedford, the head of the "Bloomsbury Gang," and Grenville. He got rid of Newcastle by resuming the patronage of

the Crown, and Pitt resigned on the refusal of the Cabinet to declare war on Spain.

(3) George then aimed at being his own minister.

α. This would be impossible now, but then the Cabinet system was not fully developed, and George succeeded, to some extent, in doing what the Prime Minister (this term was in regular use by **1760**) does now—keeping the ministry together. The King became a party man.

β. The gradual formation of "The King's Friends," who supported the King even against his own ministers—"a reptile species of politician" won over by the exercise of the Crown patronage resumed by the King. But

γ. The King presided only once at a Cabinet Council, and thus the Crown finally renounced a custom which would have greatly strengthened its power.

(4) The King soon showed his determination to interfere.

1760. α. He altered the King's Speech without consulting his ministers, inserting with his own hand the words, "I glory in the name of Britain."

β. He took a keen interest in the proceedings which led to the Peace of Paris.

The Peace of Paris was a triumph for George III, "Now indeed my son is King," but it was followed by a fierce outcry against Bute, who was hated as a Scotchman who gave many posts to his fellow-countrymen, and as the reputed lover of the Princess Dowager (this suspicion was quite unjust). The cry of the London mob was, "No petticoat government, no Scotch minister." Bute was driven from office in spite of his majority.

1763. γ. He took an active part in the prosecution of Wilkes (page 599).

(5) **1770–1782.** The personal power of George III reached its height during Lord North's administration. During this time the King was "his own unadvised minister,"

and governed as well as reigned. He directed all matters of home and foreign policy, dispensed all civil, judicial, military, and ecclesiastical patronage, and in spite of North's earnest desire for peace, compelled him to carry on the American War.

(6) **1780.** The strong opposition of the Commons to this policy was shown by the passage of Dunning's motion, "That the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished," and **1782** by Burke's Place Bill which weakened the influence of the Crown by diminishing the amount of secret service money and cutting down the Pension List.

(7) After William Pitt became the Prime Minister in **1783** the King's power was weakened because "he had now a minister who, with higher abilities and larger views of State policy, had a will even stronger than his own." But the power of the King was shown

α. **1801.** By the resignation of Pitt on the King's persistent opposition to Roman Catholic Relief;

β. **1804.** By the omission of Fox from the Cabinet owing to the King's personal dislike.

(8) The attempt of George III appears now to be utterly unconstitutional, and some of his actions, especially the use of the "King's Friends," against his own ministers were not honest. But

α. Popular feeling supported his attempt to wrest supreme power from the Whigs.

β. The fact that the sovereign reigns, but does not govern, was not fully recognised in **1760**.

γ. George III thought that he was merely resuming the rights of the Crown. He was not definitely aiming at the violation of the Constitution.

ferences:

A. *English Constitutional History*, Taswell-Langmead, pp. 572–85.

The Political History of England, 1760–1801, Hunt, pp. 1–12. (Longmans.)

Macaulay's *Essays*, pp. 777–9.

JOHN WILKES

A dissolute "man about town," famed for his extraordinary ugliness and charming manners. Very clever. A strong opponent of Bute. Started the *North Briton* in opposition to *The Briton*, edited by Smollett for Bute. In spite of his disreputable character, he was concerned in constitutional questions of great importance.

I. **The Question of General Warrants.**

A. **1763.** In No. 45 of the *North Briton*, Wilkes attacked the King's Speech for a false statement about the Treaty of Paris. Although his ministers were responsible for the speech, George III took the criticism as a personal insult and ordered the prosecution of Wilkes. Halifax (Secretary of State) issued a "general warrant" (not specifying any individual), by which 49 people were arrested.

B. Wilkes was arrested, brought up for trial, but released on claiming, as a member of Parliament, the privilege of freedom from arrest, save for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

C. Lord Chief Justice Pratt declared that general warrants were illegal, and Wilkes recovered £1000 damages from Under-Secretary Wood for searching his house, and later £1000 from Halifax for illegal arrest.

II. **The Rights of Parliamentary Electors.**

A. **1763.** Grenville, finding that the law courts did not help him, brought Wilkes' case before the House of Commons, who declared No. 45 a false, seditious libel, and maintained that privilege of Parliament did not extend to such cases.

B. Wilkes printed privately (did not publish) *An Essay on Woman*, an indecent parody of Pope's *Essay on Man*, put Bishop Warburton's name to the appended notes, and addressed it to his boon companion Lord Sandwich. Its first words were "Awake, my Sandwich."

An Essay on Woman was voted by the Lords (of which Warburton and Sandwich were members) a breach of privilege and a scandalous libel. December, 1763.

C. Wilkes went to France and did not appear when summoned before the Commons, who voted him guilty of seditious libel and expelled him from the House in **1764.**

He was outlawed by the Court of King's Bench for failure to appear to answer the charge of publishing No. 45.

D. **1768.** Wilkes returned from France and was elected M.P. for Middlesex. He was sentenced to a fine of £1000 and twenty-two months' imprisonment on the original charge of seditious libel.

E. **1769.** Expelled from the House for a libel on Weymouth (the Secretary of State). This action was unjustifiable. Libel should not have been tried at the bar of the House but in the ordinary court, and libel on a peer was not a breach of the privilege of the House of Commons. The House of Commons declared him incapable of sitting in Parliament, from which he had been expelled. This was unconstitutional. The House has the right to expel an unworthy member, but to declare a man incapable of being a member was a most arbitrary proceeding.

F. Re-elected by a majority of 847 votes over Colonel Luttrell, the King's candidate, but the Commons declared Luttrell M.P. for Middlesex.

α. Their illegal refusal to accept the duly elected member was a gross interference with the rights of electors.

β. The assumption of the power of election by the House of Commons was utterly illegal.

Strong feeling was aroused for Wilkes, who was made an alderman of London. Riots in London in favour of "Wilkes and Liberty."

G. **1774.** Re-elected for Middlesex and took his seat. In **1782** the motion of **1769** declaring him incapable of re-election was erased from the journal of the House.

I. **The Reporting of Debates.**

Wilkes took an active part in securing freedom of report for the printers.

A. The House of Commons was jealous of the secrecy of its proceedings, and reporting, though tacitly allowed, was regarded as a breach of privilege.

B. **1771.** Wheble and other printers were summoned to the bar of the House of Commons on the complaint of Colonel Onslow that they had unfairly reported his speeches. They refused to attend, and Wheble was brought before Wilkes, as alderman of London, by collusive action, and discharged.

C. Miller, a printer, gave in charge a messenger from Parliament who went to arrest him. Crosby (the Lord Mayor) and Wilkes discharged Miller, and held the messenger to bail. Crosby, after having been heard in his place in the House of Commons, was imprisoned in the Tower until the end of the session. Wilkes, who refused to obey the summons except in his capacity of M.P. for Middlesex, was unmolested.

D. The Commons dropped the struggle and reporting henceforth was allowed, although, technically, it continued to be a breach of privilege.

IV. **The Importance of Wilkes.**

A. His case shows how the House of Commons, secure for seven years, had got out of sympathy with the electors. Parliament displayed a foolish insistence on its privileges, to which it wished to subordinate the rights of action of the ordinary courts.

Wilkes thus indirectly promoted the cause of Parliamentary reform, and the growth of modern Radicalism.

B. By his opposition to general warrants he protected the liberty of the subject from illegal official interference.

C. Indirectly he helped to promote the power of the Press, which was destined in time to limit the arbitrary power of Parliament.

D. His case shows the active part taken in the Government by the King, who had declared "that the expulsion of Wilkes is highly expedient and must be effected," and had done all he could to ensure that expulsion.

eferences :

A. *History of the Four Georges*, McCarthy.
Chaps. XLIV., XLV., XLIX.

B. Macaulay's *Essays*, pp. 769–70.

'HE RELATION OF GREAT BRITAIN TO THE AMERICAN COLONIES

Commercial Relation.

A. It was thought that colonies existed for the benefit of the mother country, and efforts were made to ensure that the Balance of Trade should be in favour of Great Britain, i.e. that the exports to the colonies should exceed the imports from the colonies, thus necessitating the payment of the difference in money (which alone was regarded as wealth) to Great Britain. This theory had led to the application to America of the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660, compelling the colonists to trade only in English and colonial ships, to export their chief products to England alone, and to import European goods only through England.

B. Parliamentary legislation for the colonies had been confined strictly to the regulation of trade. Customs duties had been imposed, but "England pursued trade and forgot revenue." Parliament had not taxed the colonies "for a revenue," and America "had, except the commercial restraint, every characteristic mark of a free people in all her internal concerns."

C. In spite of these restrictions the colonial policy of Great Britain was more generous than that of any other European country, and the harshness of these commercial regulations had been mitigated

(1) By the monopoly of trade with England in certain articles enjoyed by the colonists.

(2) English capital had been used for the development of colonial trade, and had proved "a hot bed to them."

(3) Contraband trade with the French and Spanish colonies (especially in lumber and cattle) had yielded great profits to the New England merchants, who had thus been enabled to obtain the money necessary to discharge their debts to English traders.

α. Walpole and succeeding ministers had connived at this smuggling in spite of the heavy loss of customs duties and the injury to British trade which it caused. They treated the colonies with a "wise and salutary neglect."

β. Grenville, a man of "small, sharp mind," determined

1. To stop the smuggling, the reports of which had been neglected by his predecessors. Hence the statement that we lost America because Grenville read the colonial despatches.
2. To levy internal taxes to defray the cost of defending the colonies against the French.

II. The Right to Tax.

A. The view of the Colonists and Pitt.

(1) "No taxation without representation," but this view recognised a distinction between "internal" taxes raised "for a revenue" and the old "external" taxes regulating trade. It denied the right of Parliament to levy internal, but submitted to the levy of external taxes. The colonists therefore

α. Accepted Grenville's regulations *re* smuggling, **1764** (page 605), but

β. Opposed the Stamp Act **1765**, and the duty on glass, paper, paints and tea imposed in **1767**.

(2) The colonists and Pitt feared the extension of the absolute power of the King. Hence the opposition of the colonists to the Quebec Act (page 608), providing for the appointment of colonial officials by the Crown, and Pitt's speech :—

"I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of men so dead to all the feelings

of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest."

(3) But Chatham was a strong Imperialist, and opposed the grant of Independence, which would weaken the Empire.

B. Rockingham and Burke.

The doctrine of Political Expediency

(1) Asserted that the sovereign right of Parliament included full right of taxation as well as legislation, and stated this in the Declaratory Act **1766**.

(2) But opposed the strict assertion of rights, which, though legal, might prove oppressive, and repealed the Stamp Act because, though legal, it was inexpedient and, when added to the external taxes on trade, would have imposed on the colonists "perfect uncompensated slavery."

(3) After Saratoga, Rockingham advocated the recognition of the independence of America in order to leave England free to fight the French.

C. The King advocated the strict enforcement of legal right, maintained, like Rockingham, that Parliament had absolute right of taxation and legislation, and, unlike Rockingham, that this right ought to be exercised.

(1) He therefore opposed the repeal of the Stamp Act—the "fatal compliance of **1766**."

(2) He favoured a resolute policy, and said that after the Congress of Philadelphia "blows must decide" the question.

(3) North, inclined to conciliatory measures, was overruled by the King.

(4) The King's action is now generally condemned; but it must be remembered that the majority of the nation strongly supported the King, including Oxford, Cambridge, the merchants, and Liverpool (but not London or Bristol).

III. **General Notes.**

A. Separation was inevitable.

(1) The growth of a spirit of independence due to the political Puritanism of the New England colonies led to the assertion of "no taxation without representation." But representation was physically impossible. "Three thousand miles of ocean lie between you and them."

(2) The removal of the danger from France by the Peace of Paris broke the chief bond of union.

(3) The lack of any central authority controlling individual colonies, made it impossible to leave to each state the decision of the amount of its contribution to the British Exchequer as North advocated in **1775.**

(4) The burden of the commercial restrictions when contraband trading was stopped was too heavy.

B. The English Parliament and people failed to understand the position.

(1) They insisted unduly on their legal rights, but the question was most difficult.

(2) When military operations became necessary they underestimated the difficulties arising from the size of the country, "which fought for the colonists even more than their armies." The Government did not leave a free hand to the generals in America.

C. A small party of extremists, strongest in Massachusetts, led by Patrick Henry of Virginia and John Adams of Massachusetts, took the lead. Their extreme views led to misrepresentation of the British position, to violence, and a somewhat unreasonable and factious policy.

The supporters of independence were in a minority at first, but gradually gained power, and the loyalists were often treated with much barbarity.

eferences:

A. *The Political History of England, 1760–1801*, Hunt. Chap. VII.
Burke's *Select Works*, Clarendon Press, Vol. I, pp. 126–9, 177, 180–1, 230–1.
The American Revolution, Trevelyan. Chap. I. (Longmans.)
Chatham. *Twelve English Statesmen*. Chap. XII.

B. Macaulay's *Essays*. Stamp Act, pp. 771–2.
Rockingham, p. 776.

EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE AMERICAN WAR

A. The Peace of Paris by removing the danger of French attacks from Canada and Louisiana made the Colonies, which had been compelled to rely upon the military power of Great Britain for defence against the French, less dependent upon the mother country.

B. The National Debt, owing to Pitt's extravagant war policy, had grown to £140,000,000. Of this a portion was due to the heavy cost of protecting the English colonies in America against the continual attacks of the French in Canada and Louisiana, in the recent wars.

C. **1764**. Grenville (Chancellor of the Exchequer) naturally wished to diminish this debt, and not unreasonably expected the colonists to meet part of the cost of the Seven Years' War and of British garrisons still defending the colonies. He therefore

(1) Strengthened the regulations against smuggling. This cut off the contraband trade which had enabled them to endure the Navigation Acts, and inflicted considerable hardship on the New England merchants.

(2) Passed the Stamp Act to "raise a revenue" of £100,000 a year from the sale of stamps on legal documents, **1765**

D. Strong opposition arose in the colonies to the Stamp Act, an "internal tax" as opposed to "external" (customs). Opposition to "taxation for a revenue" and "taxation without representation."

(1) Riots in Boston, stamps burned, damage to British trade by the refusal of Americans to import English goods.

(2) The Assembly of Virginia.

α. Denied the right of the British Parliament to tax the colonies without their consent. This was wrong, for Parliament is a sovereign assembly and taxation is an attribute of sovereignty.

β. Demanded that the Stamp Act should be repealed.

(3) The Congress of New York, attended by deputies from nine out of thirteen colonies.

α. Recognised their allegiance to the Crown, and acknowledged the superintendence of Parliament in commercial questions, but

β. Asserted "the undoubted right of Englishmen that no taxes should be imposed on them but with their consent."

E. **1766.** Rockingham passed the Declaratory Act (declaring the absolute supremacy of the British Parliament) in spite of Pitt's opposition, and repealed the Stamp Act in spite of the King, who strongly objected to this "fatal compliance." He reduced unpopular taxes and thus made smuggling unprofitable, and increased the revenue. The Declaratory Act was an attempt to save the dignity of Parliament, but, as it involved the "right to tax," it utterly failed to conciliate the colonists.

F. **1767.** Charles Townshend put duties on tea, paper, glass, and painters' colours. The resulting revenue, £40,000, was to be used for the cost of the government and defence of the colonies.

(1) Dissolution of the Assembly of Massachusetts for refusing to comply.

(2) Revival of an old statute of Henry VIII authorising criminals to be brought for trial to England (not enforced).

G. **1770.** March. The Boston massacre (three colonists killed in an encounter with British soldiers) caused great indignation in Massachusetts, although the soldiers, who had fired under great provocation, were acquitted by a New England jury.

March. Repeal of all taxes save 3d. per pound on tea —retained by North by the King's wishes, though worth only £300 a year, owing to a rebate which allowed the Americans to buy their tea cheaper than England. Continued objection of the colonists because this duty, though small, involved the "right to tax."

1773. Private letters of Hutchinson, Governor of Massachusetts, containing adverse criticisms on colonists and advising repressive measures, were obtained by Franklin dishonourably and published in America.

H. **1773.** North, in order to help the East India Company, then in financial difficulties, owing to a war with Hyder Ali in **1767** and **1768**, and a famine in Bengal in **1770**, allowed them to export tea to America free of English duty, but liable only to the small colonial duty. Thus the Company would get rid of their surplus stock, and the colonists would get their tea cheaper.

(2) December 16th. The "Boston Tea-party." Three hundred and forty chests of Indian tea were emptied into the harbour by young colonists disguised as Red Indians.

(3) The Government therefore

1774. *α.* Passed the Boston Port Act, closing the port, and removing the Custom House to Salem.

β. Passed the Massachusetts Government Bill, annulling the charter and making it a Crown Colony.

I. The Quebec Act extended the borders of Canada, granted religious toleration, provided trial according to the French law in civil, and English in criminal, cases. The nomination of the assembly retained by the Crown. This measure was wise and just, and ensured the fidelity of Canada. The colonists objected because

(1) The expansion of the northern colonies was limited;

(2) Roman Catholics received toleration;

(3) The absolute power of the Crown was retained.

J. **1774.** Congress at Philadelphia.

(1) Due largely to the fear that other charters would, like that of Massachusetts, be cancelled.

(2) Attended by representatives of all the colonies except Georgia.

(3) There was a strong loyalist party which professed no desire for independence, but owing to the skilful policy of John Adams and Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, and Patrick Henry of Virginia, the Congress

α. Denied the right of the English Parliament to tax for a revenue.

β. Condemned the Penal Acts passed against Massachusetts.

The Assembly in Massachusetts was dissolved, but the delegates met in a "Provincial Congress"; a committee of defence was formed and "minute men," liable to serve at a minute's notice, were enrolled.

K. **1775.** Attempts at conciliation by Chatham and the merchants of London and Bristol.

Parliament showed a real desire for peace by accepting North's resolution to forgo taxes (except for purposes of trade) in case of any colony voluntarily paying a fair share of the cost of its defence and government. This resolution was reasonable, but came too late.

THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

I. **First Period to Saratoga.**

A. **1775.** Boston.

(1) Gage's troops, who had seized some stores at Concord, were defeated at Lexington.

At the Second Congress at Philadelphia

α. The name of "The United Colonies" was adopted.

β. The action of Arnold, who had raised troops and captured Ticonderoga, was approved. This amounted to a declaration of war.

γ. George Washington was appointed Commander-in-Chief.

1. He had to make his army and keep it together. The American troops were weakened by the jealousy of different militia regiments, by lack of uniform dress and of equipment, by lack of discipline and deficiency of powder. But the American cause was aided by the size of the country, which made conquest difficult and effective occupation impossible, by the distance between England and the United Colonies which made it most difficult to send reinforcements to the British. As the war progressed, the military skill of the Americans greatly increased.

2. His remarkable self-control, honesty, simple dignity, and military skill were admirable qualifications for his difficult task.

(2) June 17th. British victory at Bunker's Hill.[1]

The Americans besieged Boston.

Gage foolishly made a frontal attack on an entrenched enemy, and failed to use his ships to attack their flank. The Americans fought most bravely and the British lost eight hundred men, but drove the colonists from their position.

The British army was strengthened by the addition of men brought from Hesse and Brunswick.

(3) Gage's successor, Howe, evacuated Boston.

(4) The colonists gained confidence from Lexington and Bunker's Hill and the evacuation of Boston.

B. The Invasion of Canada.

(1) The success of Arnold at Ticonderoga, and the expectation that the Canadians would be willing to revolt, encouraged the colonists to invade Canada.

(2) Montreal was captured by Montgomery, but he was slain December 31st, **1775**, at Quebec, which was saved by Sir Guy Carleton, who was supported by the Canadians owing to the Quebec Act (page 608).

[The Olive Branch Petition, **1775**, was an appeal from Congress to George III to avoid war. It was rejected nominally because, as George said, "Congress had no legal existence." It threw the blame of continuing the war on the English ministry, but the hostile attitude of the Congress rendered it almost impossible for the ministry to accept the Petition.]

C. The South.

(1) **1776**. Virginia was alienated by Lord Dunmore, who burnt Norfolk and offered to liberate slaves.

(2) Clinton failed to take Charleston, and his attempt united the Southerners, many of whom had been well disposed towards Great Britain.

July 4th, **1776**. The Declaration of Independence. Lord Howe, brother of General Howe, had authority

[1] The battle is usually known as "Bunker's Hill," the name of the whole ridge commanding Boston. It took place on Breed's Hill, a portion of the ridge which the Americans had fortified to command Boston.

to grant pardon to any rebels who submitted, and owing to the injury caused to trade in New England by the war, to the weakness of Washington's army owing to illness and desertion, there seemed some chance of reconciliation. But the republican and democratic party, influenced largely by the writings of Tom Paine, secured the lead and issued the Declaration of Independence, asserting the Independence of the Colonies, and renouncing all political connection with Great Britain.

D. New York.

(1) **1776.** August 27th. Howe easily routed Washington at Brooklyn and captured Long Island, but failed to prevent the escape of Washington's army in the fog. He made New York, which was strongly Royalist, his centre, thus securing an excellent base with easy access from the sea, which as yet was commanded by British ships.

(2) Howe most foolishly wasted four weeks in New York instead of pursuing Washington, whose army was disorderly and undisciplined and could not have resisted an immediate and vigorous attack.

(3) Washington, by victories at Trenton (December 25th, **1776**) and Princeton (January 3rd, **1777**), recovered New Jersey.

E. Saratoga.

(1) Howe delayed active operations until June (thus giving the Americans time to organise their army), and then an attempt was made to put into execution a new plan of campaign. Burgoyne was to march from Canada along Lake Champlain (capturing Ticonderoga and Crown Point) and to join a force from New York under Clinton on the Hudson, thus ensuring the connection of New York and Canada, and cutting off the New England States from the rest of the colonies Howe was to attack Philadelphia.

(2) The plan failed because

1777. α. Although Howe, after defeating Washington at Brandywine, captured Philadelphia, his army wasted the winter there in dissipation instead of attacking Washington's army (which was in great straits at Valley Forge) and then joining Burgoyne.

β. Clinton, who was in command at New York, had too few troops to leave the place and join Burgoyne.

γ. Burgoyne captured Ticonderoga, but through the lack of supplies, the failure of expected reinforcements from New York, the apathy of local loyalists, and the desertion of the Indians, was compelled to submit to Gates at Saratoga. October 17th, 1777.

The surrender at Saratoga the turning-point of the war.

F. (1) In this first period the home Government failed to appreciate the danger and to send adequate troops, but retained the command of the sea.

(2) Gage and Howe proved most incompetent, while the American army steadily improved under the direction of Washington. But this army was in need of stores and badly disciplined, and the Americans, who possessed no fleet, would probably have been compelled to surrender but for the support of the French, who, owing to the defeat of the British at Saratoga, made an alliance with the colonists (February 6th, 1778) in the hope of regaining the colonial empire France had lost in the Seven Years' War.

(3) The support of the French made reconciliation impossible.

Feb. 1778. North had proposed that no direct taxes should be levied upon the colonists, and that commissioners should be sent to America to effect a reconciliation.

April 7th, **1778**. Chatham, who strongly resented the action of France, while anxious to make peace with the colonies, objected to a grant of independence and protested against the "dismemberment of this ancient monarchy."

May 11th. Death of Chatham, following an apoplectic seizure in the House of Lords on April 7th.

II. **Second Period. Britain opposed to Europe and America.**

A. Opponents of Britain in Europe.

(1) **France.**

The French alliance was invaluable to the colonists.

α. The French fleet checked the British, and French ports offered refuge to American privateers, e.g. Paul Jones.

β. French officers (e.g. Lafayette) drilled the Americans, who received money and arms from France.

(2) Spain.

1779. Spain declared war on Britain owing to the Family Compact and the desire to regain Gibraltar.

(3) Holland.

1780. Great Britain declared war on Holland, which supplied naval stores and afforded harbours of refuge to the American privateers in the Dutch West Indies.

(4) **1780. Russia.**

The difficulties of Britain were increased by the formation of the Armed Neutrality (including Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Prussia, France, Spain, and Russia) at the instigation of the Empress Katharine. These countries resolutely opposed the British claim to search neutral vessels, and asserted that neutral ships make neutral cargoes, and that blockades, to be recognised, must be effective.

B. Britain lost command of the sea, which she had maintained since the Battle of La Hogue (page 515).

(1) The British fleet was in a bad condition owing to insubordination, to embezzlement and waste of public money voted for the maintenance of the navy, to

lack of stores, ships and men (in spite of vigorous impressment, which was costly and unpopular).

(2) The navy was badly used. It did not blockade French ports, and thus prevent French fleets from sailing to America.

(3) The weakness of the navy was the main reason for the capitulation of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

C. **1778.** The British evacuated Philadelphia, thus losing control over most of the middle States, and retired to New York.

D. **1780.** Major André.

General Arnold, owing to his bad treatment by the Congress, had promised to surrender to Clinton, Howe's successor, West Point Fort, commanding the Hudson (the chief means of communication between New York and Canada). Negotiations were carried out through Major André, Adjutant-General of Clinton's army, who was captured in civilian dress in the American lines, with papers from Arnold concealed in his boots. In spite of the strongest representations in his favour he was hanged (not shot, as he begged) as a spy by Washington's orders. His punishment was not unjust, as he was captured in disguise in the enemy's lines while engaged in abetting the treachery of one of their officers, and in view of the difficulty of maintaining discipline in the American army, Washington felt compelled to inflict the punishment André had incurred.

E. **1780.** Success of the British in Carolina.

(1) The Southern States were more friendly disposed to Great Britain than the Northern, and it was hoped that a campaign in Carolina would re-establish the British authority, and enable a twofold attack to be made upon Virginia from Carolina and New York.

(2) Clinton captured Charleston, and Cornwallis gained victories at Camden and Guildford (**1781**), but his forces were so small that he determined (as it was impossible to get reinforcements by sea) to rejoin

Clinton. He reached Yorktown, but Washington, knowing that financial embarrassment in France made the continuance of the French fleet in American waters impossible, resolved on immediate action in co-operation with De Grasse, the French Admiral.

[**1780.** Great victory of Rodney over the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent.]

F. **1781.** The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Cornwallis was compelled to surrender because Britain had lost command of the sea, and therefore

(1) Clinton could not effect a junction by sea with Cornwallis;

(2) Cornwallis could not escape by sea;

(3) The British could not prevent De Grasse from co-operating with Washington in the blockade of Yorktown, **1781.**

[**1781.** Grave danger was caused to the British possessions in India by the attack of Hyder Ali of Mysore, in alliance with the French and the Mahrattas. He had overrun the Carnatic in **1780**, but the British power was saved by the capture of Gwalior by Popham in **1780**, and the complete defeat of Hyder Ali by Eyre Coote at Porto Novo, July 1st, **1781.**]

III. **Third Period. The naval struggle between Great Britain and her European rivals.**

After the capitulation of Yorktown, operations in America became less important than the naval operations between Great Britain and her Continental opponents.

A. British reverses.

(1) **1782.** The French captured all the British possessions in the West Indian Islands except Jamaica, Barbados, and Antigua.

(2) February. Minorca captured by the French and Spanish.

B. British successes.

(1) April 12th. Naval victory of Rodney over De Grasse off Ile des Saints, near Dominica. The "Victory of

the Saints." The adoption of the new tactics of "breaking the line," instead of engaging ship with ship along the line, enabled Rodney to direct his attack against the weakest part of the enemy's line and to throw the opposing fleet into confusion. The French fleet was annihilated.

(2) September 13th, **1782**. The successful resistance of General Eliott (Lord Heathfield) to the Spanish attack on Gibraltar, which had lasted since **1779**. He used red-hot cannon balls during the attack from September 8th to 13th. Relief of Gibraltar by Lord Howe, October, **1782**, and end of the siege February 6th, **1783**.

C. The Treaty of Versailles.

(1) All sides were ready for peace. The American civilian troops were tired of war and disgusted with the quarrels of their leaders. France and Spain were in a state of financial exhaustion.

(2) **1783**. The Treaty of Versailles.

α. Recognition of the United States. The Mississippi and the Great Lakes to be the western boundary.

β. Spain got Minorca and Florida.

γ. France got St. Lucia, Tobago, Senegal, and some small stations in India.

δ. Great Britain kept the Bahamas, and secured the long-disputed right of cutting logwood in Honduras.

ε. Holland agreed to a mutual restoration of conquests.

(3) Criticism.

A. The peace was unpopular in England owing to the loss of the American colonies and the increase of £100,000,000 in the National Debt, due to the war.

B. But the victory of Rodney and the defence of Gibraltar had saved Great Britain from possible conquest, and enabled her to make peace on honourable terms with France and Spain.

C. Although the colonies were lost, Great Britain learned valuable lessons from the war, and in due time a wiser and more considerate colonial policy was adopted.

D. But the Treaty of Versailles did not protect the American loyalists, who were very badly treated, and many of whom lost their property. Many settled in New Brunswick and along the valley of the St. Lawrence.

eferences:

A. *The Political History of England, 1760–1791*, Hunt. Chaps. VIII.–XI.

The Influence of Sea Power upon History, Mahan. Chap. XIV.

C. *In the Valley*, by Frederick. (Heinemann.)
Cardigan, by Chambers. (Constable.)
Richard Carvel, by Churchill. (Macmillan.)
A Great Treason, by Hoppus. (Macmillan.)
The Sun of Saratoga, by Altsheler. (Appleton.)

INDIA

[See note on the War of the Austrian Succession, page 577.]

India, half the size of Europe, had two dominant and opposed ligions, and many entirely different races.

The Moguls[1] had ruled most of India, but the Mogul Empire oke up on the death of Aurungzebe in 1707 and some of his bordinates became independent.

The Nizam of Haiderabad ruled the Deccan, and his lieutenant, e Nawab, ruled the Carnatic.

The Nawabs of Bengal and Oudh ruled the Ganges valley.

Dupleix had aimed, not at conquest, but at the extension of ench influence by intriguing with the native states, and had t up an ally of France in Haiderabad.

Clive.

A. First period. The maintenance of British influence.

The struggle between England and France was for predominant influence (not for conquest) in Southern India.

[1] Mongols.

By the defence of Arcot **1751**, and the relief of Trichinopoli **1752**, Clive established a British ally, Mahomet Ali, in the Carnatic. The English successes were aided by

α. The apathy of the French Government, which did not support Dupleix;

β. British control of the sea;

γ. The recall of Dupleix.

1753. Clive returned to England.

B. Second period. The beginning of the British rule.

1755. Clive returned to India as Governor of Fort St. David.

June 20th, **1756.** The action of Suraj-ud-Dauleh, who caused the death of 123 out of 146 English whom he shut up in the Black Hole, led to the conquest of Bengal, i.e. a change of policy. A plot was formed to make Mir Jaffir Nawab. Omichund, his agent, was deceived by Clive's forgery of Admiral Watson's name.

1757. Plassey. "With the loss of twenty-two soldiers killed and fifty wounded, he had scattered an army of nearly 60,000 men, and subdued an area greater and more populous than Great Britain."

Plassey was the beginning of British rule in India. Mir Jaffir was made Nawab of Bengal, which became a dependency of the East India Company.

1759. Clive defeated the Dutch at Chinsura.

1760. The French influence in the south was finally broken by the victory of Sir Eyre Coote at Wandewash (page 587).

1760. Clive returned to England.

C. During Clive's absence.

(1) Rising of Mir Cossim, son-in-law of Mir Jaffir (whom he had superseded), who made an alliance with the Nawab of Oudh, and massacred the British.

1764. Great victory of Munro over Cossim and Oudh at Buxar.

(2) Gross corruption and misgovernment of officials, who had engaged in private trade and accepted presents from the natives to augment their small salaries. This was possibly one reason for Mir Cossim's rising.

D. Clive's third period. The reform of the Government.

1765. Clive returned to India and effected great reforms.

(1) Restored Oudh to Sujah Dowlah (except Corah and Allahabad, which were given to the Mogul), and made Mahomet Reza Khan head of the finances.

(2) Stopped "double batta," i.e. double pay of soldiers.

(3) Stopped private trading of officials.

(4) Increased salaries—using the salt tax for this purpose.

(5) Crushed mutiny among the soldiers and disaffection among the civilians.

He returned home poorer than he went, having done splendid work and roused the enmity of the corrupt officials, owing to his reforms.

E. **1773.** Tried before a committee of the House of Commons, nominally for his treatment of Omichund and for accepting money from Mir Jaffir, but really for the reforms of **1765–1766.** He acknowledged accepting presents from Mir Jaffir, but on thinking of the additional amount he could have obtained, expressed astonishment "at my own moderation." The committee censured him, but added "that Robert, Lord Clive, did render great and meritorious services to his country."

Suicide of Clive **1774**.

F. Character of Clive.

(1) A born soldier. Achieved great success in spite of lack of military training.

(2) An able statesman and diplomatist, but he used Oriental methods in dealing with Orientals. "He considered Oriental politics as a game in which nothing was unfair."

(3) His work.

α. "From his first visit dates the renown of English arms in the East."

β. From his second visit dates British political ascendency in India.

γ. From his third visit dates purity of administration.

II. **Lord North's Regulating Act, 1773.**

A. Owing to high dividends, expensive wars with Hyder Ali, pensions to natives, and famine in Bengal, the East India Company was in danger of bankruptcy. There was strong objection at home to the great power exercised by a trading company, but Burke, on principle, opposed interference with its royal charter. North, however, carried the Regulating Act, which was meant to "keep the East India Company directly responsible, but to give Parliament a supervisory control."

B. The Regulating Act.

(1) To relieve the company's financial embarrassment a loan was made by the Government, and permission granted to export tea to America free from English duty (page 607).

(2) The Governor of Bengal was to become Governor-General of India, with a Council of four.

(3) A court of supreme jurisdiction was established.

(4) The Crown to approve of political, military, and financial arrangements.

α. No provision was made against difficulties that might arise from the numerical superiority of the Council over the Governor-General.

β. There was no connection between the Council and the court of justice.

III. **Warren Hastings.**

Appointed first Governor-General. His position was very difficult owing to the interference of directors at home, the demand for high dividends from India which was a poor country, divisions in the Council, distress in India, and the cost of wars. He tried to form subsidiary treaties with native princes, especially with those of Oudh and Berar, and thus to prevent the Mahrattas from overrunning the whole of India and taking the place which the Mogul emperors had held. His great object was to make Britain the dominant power in India.

A. As Governor of Bengal.

(1) **1772.** Abolished the dual system, established by Clive, and arranged that English officials should direct internal, as well as external, policy. Mahomet Reza Khan was deprived of the direction of the finances.

(2) Reduced the allowance paid to the Nawab.

(3) Reduced the tribute paid to the Mogul Emperor by the East India Company.

(4) Took Corah and Allahabad from the Emperor and sold them to the Nawab of Oudh for £500,000.

(5) **1774.** Lent British troops to the Nawab of Oudh, to crush the Rohillas, for £400,000.

α. Thus strengthened Oudh, the barrier state of Bengal, at a time when the Afghans, who were making overtures to the Mahrattas, constituted a danger to the British supremacy.

β. But Hastings made a great mistake in making British troops mere instruments of the Nawab, whose ruthless cruelties to the Rohillas, whom the British had conquered, justly roused great indignation in England.

(6) "In less than two years after he assumed the government he had, without imposing any additional burden on the people, added about £450,000 to the annual income of the East India Company, besides gaining £1,000,000 in ready money."

B. As Governor-General of India.

(1) Heavy expenses had been incurred owing to wars.

α. The Mahrattas—a great confederacy in Central India (Peishwa of Poona, Scindia at Gwalior, Holkar at Indore, Guicowar of Guzerat at Baroda, and the Rajah of Berar at Nagpur).

1777. The shelter given in Bombay to Rao Ragoba, an exiled Mahratta, led to an alliance between the Mahrattas and the French.

1778. Defeat of the British at Wurgaum near Poonah.

1780. Goddard defeated Scindia and Holkar, and Popham captured Gwalior.

1780. β. Hyder Ali of Mysore attacked Madras because

(1) The British were engaged in the Mahratta war;

(2) He hoped for French assistance;

(3) He had heard of the news of the British failure in America.

He captured Arcot. Hastings suspended the Governor of Madras, and sent Eyre Coote, who

1781. Defeated Hyder Ali at Porto Novo and Pollilore.

(2) Financial measures to meet the cost.

α. Deposition and seizure of the treasure of Cheyte Singh, Nawab of Benares. Cheyte Singh was contumacious, but the punishment was too severe.

β. A million was extorted from the Begums of Oudh, who were supposed to have urged Cheyte Singh to opposition. Torture of their attendants.

Hastings was not directly responsible for the cruelty, but he ought not to have been mixed up in it.

(3) Execution for forgery of Nuncomar, who had helped Hastings' enemies by bringing charges against him.

α. Macaulay's account of Hastings' action in this matter is quite unjust.

β. Nuncomar was properly tried in accordance with British law, but forgery was regarded as a small crime by the Hindoos.

γ. Hastings had nothing to do with the punishment and sentence.

δ. But Hastings' position was strengthened by the overthrow and execution of a man of such importance as Nuncomar.

ϵ. The subsequent grant of a salary from the East India Company to Sir Elijah Impey ensured proper co-ordination between the Government and the law courts, and thus removed a serious fault in the Regulating Act.

(4) Growing feeling in England against Hastings. The Proprietors refused to recall him at the request of the House of Commons. He returned from India in **1785**, and was impeached on February 13th, **1788**. The case against him was conducted with great eloquence and violence by Burke and Sheridan. The House of Commons rejected the charge of making unjust war on the Rohillas, but, following Pitt's lead, accepted the charges regarding Cheyte Singh and the Begums of Oudh. After seven years' trial Hastings was acquitted on April 23rd, **1795**. His trial taught men "that Asiatics have rights and that Europeans have obligations."

C. Character and importance of Hastings.

(1) He made Bengal a secure possession, Oudh a friendly dependency, maintained English power in the south, and checked the Mahrattas.

(2) He was a great organiser and administrator, and gave firm government to Bengal. Every public office in Bengal when he left was his own creation.

(3) He had an intimate knowledge of the people of India, and was "the first foreign ruler who succeeded in gaining the confidence of the hereditary priests of India." He had a thorough knowledge of Persian and Arabic.

(4) He was deficient in respect for the rights of others, and in sympathy for the sufferings of others. He was a man of lax moral principles, but he was a great ruler who served England well.

References:

A. *History of the Four Georges*, McCarthy. Chaps. LVIII, LIX.
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Macaulay's *Essays* on Clive and Warren Hastings.
The Expansion of England, by Seeley. Course II, Lectures II. and III. (Macmillan.)

C. *With Clive in India*, by Henty. (Blackie.)
Ralph Darnell, by Taylor. (Kegan Paul.)

FOX'S INDIA BILL 1783

A. The territory, power, and wealth of the East India Company had greatly increased, but it was obvious that the government of India could no longer be left to a trading company, whose main object was not the welfare of its subjects, but the financial advantage of its shareholders. Parliament was naturally jealous of the extensive authority of the Company, and in **1781** two Parliamentary committees had condemned the government of India and demanded the recall of Hastings. The directors refused to recall Hastings. Fox brought in his India Bill to remedy the acknowledged abuses.

B. Fox's Bill.

(1) Seven specified commissioners to have the management of the Company for four years. The Crown to fill vacancies, and after four years to appoint commissioners.

(2) Parliament to choose a subordinate board from the "proprietors" to regulate commerce.

(3) Other clauses abolished monopolies, the acceptance of presents, and the loan of British troops to native princes.

C. Criticism.

(1) The Bill was a good one, but raised fierce opposition.

(2) The original commissioners were Fox's friends, and the Bill would confer on his party enormous patronage which, it was thought, they would use to maintain

their power in Parliament. Fox was caricatured as "King of Bengal" and "Carlo Khan."

(3) There was strong objection to the violation of the Company's charter, which had been renewed in 1781, and the transference of so much power to the Crown. Burke supported the Bill owing to the alleged sufferings of the Hindoos under Hastings, but the merchants objected to the interference with chartered rights.

(4) The King hated the Coalition Ministry, and resented the loss of royal patronage involved in the Bill. In a most unconstitutional manner he opposed his own ministers and ensured the rejection of the Bill in the House of Lords by declaring through Temple that any one voting for the Bill was "not only not his friend, but would be considered by him as his enemy."

The rejection of the Bill was followed by the resignation of the Coalition and the acceptance of office by Pitt, who brought in another India Bill the next year.

PITT'S INDIA BILL 1784

A. The Bill.

(1) A Board of Control, consisting of a Secretary of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and four Privy Councillors appointed to control the political government of India.

(2) A Committee of Secrecy of three directors to transmit to India the secret orders of the Board of Control.

(3) The directors to control the commercial policy and to retain their patronage, but the Crown to retain a veto on the appointment of the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief.

(4) The Governor-General to be supreme over other governors, to be bound by the decisions of his

council of three as a rule, but to have a free hand in crises and to be allowed considerable discretion in regard to the orders of the directors.

(5) A court was established in England to try offences committed in India.

B. Criticism.

The dual government thus established was not a permanent settlement, but it continued until 1858 in spite of

α. Difficulties arising from lack of connection between the exercise of patronage and the political government;

β. Difficulties arising from differences between the directors and the Board of Control;

γ. The great authority allowed to the Governor-General.

ENGLISH INDUSTRY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

I. Conditions of English Industry prior to the Industrial Revolution.

A. Mediæval industry.

Industry in the Middle Ages was restricted.

(1) The Roman Catholic Church opposed usury as unscriptural, and thus restricted the profitable employment of capital.

(2) The feudal and manorial systems tended to perpetuate arrangements which promoted agriculture rather than manufactures.

(3) Industry in towns was greatly hampered by the restrictions of the guilds.

B. English industry in the seventeenth century.

(1) The "Mercantile Theory" of trade was generally accepted according to which money constituted wealth.

(2) It was considered to be the duty of the State to regulate trade, and the State aimed at protecting English industries by bounties and regulations (e.g. by the Navigation Acts), and at ensuring a surplus of exports over imports, the difference being paid in cash. It was thought that the wealth of the country was thus increased.

C. Growth of English trade, **1700–1750.**

(1) Causes.

α. The number of merchants and skilled Huguenot artisans driven from France by the religious persecution of Louis XIV.

β. The final settlement of the Hanoverian succession ensured the stability of the national credit.

γ. Walpole's peace policy greatly promoted trade.

δ. The wars with France and Spain were largely wars of commerce, and an extensive trade sprang up with the new colonies.

(2) **The silk trade.**

The development of the silk trade (especially in Spitalfields) was due to the Huguenot refugees.

(3) **The iron trade.**

α. Up to about **1750** charcoal was used for smelting iron and Sussex was the chief centre of the iron trade owing to the ample supply of wood afforded by the forests of the Weald. The use of coal instead of charcoal and the improvement of the blast furnace led to a great increase in iron smelting, which gradually centred round the coalfields. "Up to **1760** there was no Black Country."

1760. β. Foundation of the Carron Ironworks in Stirlingshire.[1]

[1] The name of "carronades" was given to a kind of ordnance cast at Carron.

(4) Pottery.

1762. Josiah Wedgwood first made Wedgwood ware at Etruria.

D. The domestic system.

The manufacture of woollen goods had long been a domestic industry carried on largely in farmhouses. Every farmer was a manufacturer, every farmhouse a factory. The surplus not required for family use was sold to travelling "packmen" or at fairs. Under this system [1]

α. There was no need of much capital, the loom being the only "machinery";

β. Production was limited;

γ. Distribution was simple;

δ. There was little division of labour;

ε. The relations between employer and employed (who often lived in the farmhouse) were intimate and friendly;

ζ. Trade was steady.

II. **The Causes of the Industrial Revolution.**

A. Improvement in means of communication.

(1) The roads, up to about **1760**, the main means of communication, were very bad. Only those which followed the old Roman roads had good foundations, and ruts were sometimes four feet deep.

(2) Canals.[2]

1759. Brindley, engineer to the Duke of Bridgewater, "the father of canal navigation" in England, commenced the Bridgewater Canal.

1766. Brindley commenced the Grand Trunk Canal.

1790. Grand Junction Canal commenced.

[(3) Later improvements.

α. Roads.

1802–1820. Telford constructed 920 miles of good roads with 1200 bridges.

[1] The wool was often spun by the "spinsters" of the family.

[2] The labourers engaged in this work were called "navigators." Hence our "navvies."

c. 1815. Macadam greatly improved the surface of roads by using granite chippings.

β. Trams.

About 1800. Employment by Outram[1] for general traffic of cars running on rails, which had been long used in mines.

γ. 1825. The Stockton and Darlington Railway opened for passengers.

(4) Effects.

Internal trade increased very rapidly, owing to the greater facilities for distributing merchandise. Labour became mobile, and moved more easily to the best markets. Hitherto "Human beings" had been "of all baggage the most difficult to be transferred" (Adam Smith).

B. Mechanical inventions.

(1) Spinning machines.

1767. Invention of Hargreaves' spinning jenny,[2] a hand machine, originally working eight spindles.

1769. Invention of Arkwright's spinning machine, driven by water power.

1779. Completion of Crompton's mule, which spun a finer and stronger yarn than its predecessors and made the manufacture of muslin possible.

(2) Steam.

1782. Improvement by Watt of Newcomen's steam engine, followed by the use of steam as a motive power in cotton and woollen mills.

(3) Effects.

α. Vast increase in the number of spindles worked and amount produced. "The shuttle drops from the fingers of the weaver, and falls into iron hands that ply it faster."

β. Growing importance of the capitalist, owing to the increasing cost of machinery.

[1] The word "tram" probably comes not from "Outram," as often stated, but from the Provincial English "tram," a beam.

[2] The name spinning "jenny" is derived not from the name of the inventor's wife, but from gin (*L. ingenium*), a machine.

C. Banking.

The extension of the system of credit banking greatly facilitated business transactions.

D. Increased demand for manufactured goods due to growth of population at home and the expansion of the colonies after the Peace of Paris.

E. The Teaching of Adam Smith.

Adam Smith, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University, published, **1776**, the *Wealth of Nations*, in which he advanced new theories of trade which affected the Industrial Revolution.

(1) He maintained the necessity of Free Trade at home and abroad, unhampered by Government regulations, and was thus the founder of the "Laissez Faire" school of economists.

(2) He insisted on the importance of the division of labour.

(3) His opinions were accepted by William Pitt.

III. **The Course of the Industrial Revolution.**

A. The rise of the small capitalist owning a number of looms worked in a factory. The beginning of the "Factory System."

B. The utilisation of water power in factories. The "river stage."

C. The utilisation of steam and the transference of factories to towns. The "city stage."

IV. **The Results of the Industrial Revolution.**

A. Political results.

It enabled England

(1) Rapidly to recover from the loss of the American colonies;

(2) To become so wealthy that she was able to stand the heavy strain of the French Wars, **1793–1815**, and to save Europe from Napoleon.

B. Trade increased enormously, and especially the manufacture of cotton and woollen goods, and England became a manufacturing rather than an agricultural country.

C. Results on population.

(1) Owing partly to the increased demand for labour, population greatly increased. The population of England was 5,000,000 in **1700**, 6,000,000 in **1750**, and 9,000,000 in **1800**.

(2) There was a great increase in the size of the manufacturing towns, owing to the immigration of labourers from country districts, and this has led to some of the most important political and social problems, e.g. the extension of the franchise and overcrowding.

(3) The centre of population gradually changed from the South to the North, and with the increase of population the North exercised a far greater influence on English politics.

D. The extension of the *laissez-faire* system, by which all State interference with trade was deprecated, led to some bad results, the worst being the system of apprenticeship by which children of seven or eight were compelled to work sometimes fourteen hours a day under most cruel conditions. This led in the nineteenth century to a revival of State interference shown in the Factory Acts, by which the conditions of labour were greatly improved.

E. The growth of the Factory System weakened the close friendly relations between master and men which had marked the domestic system and led to the beginning of the struggles between capital and labour.

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THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

I. **Agriculture before the Revolution.**

A. The Common Field System was used in three-fifths of the cultivated land.

(1) The members of the village community held in common the arable land, which was divided into three (sometimes two) fields, one of which lay fallow, one grew wheat, and the other barley each year. Each field was divided into narrow strips allotted to the villagers.

(2) The meadow land was held in common, except from about Lady Day to hay harvest.

(3) Each villager had rights of pasture on the waste lying outside the cultivated land.

B. Each village community was isolated owing to the bad roads, self-sufficing, making its own implements and household utensils, spinning its own wool, and making its own clothes.

C. This system, which had remained practically unaltered since the Norman Conquest, was utterly wasteful.

(1) The grain crops were miserable, as it was impossible to secure the assent of the whole community to new methods of tillage, and the ignorance of or prejudice against the cultivation of root crops and artificial grasses made it impossible to raise good stock.

(2) The separation of the strips allotted to each man (in order to ensure a fair division of good and bad land) entailed great waste of time and labour.

(3) There was little inducement to clean or manure land which another would occupy the next season.

(4) There were continual quarrels as to boundaries and trespass.

D. A great part of England was utterly uncultivated, e.g. a great heather-covered waste stretched for 150 miles from North Derbyshire to Northumberland, and there were vast areas of forest.

I. The Agricultural Revolution.

The increased demand for food, due to the growing population, made new methods imperative. The object of farming became profit, previously the object had been subsistence.

A. Farming became more scientific, new methods replaced the old.

(1) "Turnip Townshend" (page 572) introduced the cultivation of turnips and clover, and the rotation of crops, which

α. Obviated the necessity of fallow land, and added a third to the cultivable area of England;

β. Provided winter food for stock, and the increase in stock meant increased manure for the fields.

(2) The fertility of the soil was increased by improved methods of manuring and drainage, by the marling of light lands, by the use of better implements.

(3) Robert Bakewell, a Leicestershire farmer (**1725–1795**), greatly improved sheep-breeding, and his "New Leicesters" were remarkable for weight rather than size, which had been the great object of his predecessors. The "Durham Shorthorns" of Charles Colling showed the value of Bakewell's principles when applied to the raising of cattle.

B. Enclosures.

The failure of the Common Field System to meet the increased demand for agricultural produce led to the enclosure of common land. This policy was supported by Arthur Young (appointed Secretary to the new Agricultural Board, **1793**), whose account of his tours of observation in England, beginning **1767**, stimulated the Agricultural Revolution. From **1760–1800** about 1500 Enclosure Acts were passed by Parliament and about three million acres were enclosed.

C. Corn Laws.

In spite of improved methods of cultivation and enclosures England, by **1790**, owing to the enormous increase in population (page 632), failed to produce sufficient corn to meet home needs, except in good years, and ceased to be a corn exporting country.

(1) **1773.** A Corn Law allowed the free importation of corn when the price realised 48/- per quarter, and forbade exportation when it fell to 44/-.

(2) **1791.** A Corn Law prohibited importation when the price was below 50/-. An attempt to protect English corn growers.

III. **Results of the Agricultural Revolution.**

A. The gradual disappearance of the old Common Field System and a vast increase in production and in the value of good farms, e.g.—in thirty years the annual rent of one farm increased from £180 to £800.

B. The increased importance of the capitalist in Agriculture. This was due to the cost of new methods, the expense of large farms, formed by enclosure or the amalgamation of small ones. Owing to the French wars and other causes, there were violent fluctuations in the price of corn, which rose to 127/- a quarter in 1800. This and other causes made farming a highly speculative industry, and capital was needed to meet the new conditions.

C. The decay of the yeomen (i.e. small farmers owning their farms).

(1) Owing to the increased value of land, many sold their property at a high price and migrated to the towns.

(2) Those who retained their farms could not afford to introduce new methods, were impoverished by the decay of domestic manufactures, and often ruined by fluctuations in the price of corn. They gradually sank into the position of labourers.

D. The degradation of the labourers.

(1) Enclosure Acts rarely gave compensation for the old rights of common pasture, and of cutting fodder and

bedding, which had been of great value to the lower classes.

(2) Wages did not rise with prices, and dear corn meant starvation to labourers, who found it difficult to leave their parishes for places where work was more plentiful owing to the stringent laws of "Settlement."

(3) 1795. Owing to the terrible distress, the Speenhamland (Berks) magistrates decided to grant capitation allowances to labourers and their families to supplement their insufficient wages.

α. This, originally intended for a temporary measure, became permanent.

β. It led to a great increase in the rates, and this helped to crush the yeomen.

γ. "It kept wages from rising, encouraged thriftless marriages and dissolute living, discouraged industry and efficient work, destroyed self-respect, and pauperised the poor" (Hunt).

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A. *Social England*, Cassell. Vol. V, pp. 130–45, 403–8, 617–25.

THE METHODIST REVIVAL

The Decay of Religion in the Early Part of the Eighteenth Century.

A. Causes.

(1) The Whig bishops, appointed for political reasons, frequently neglected their dioceses.[1] They were on bad terms with the better-class country clergy, who were generally Tories, and often Jacobites. The humbler clergy were wretchedly poor and little better than dependents on their patrons.

[1] A bishop of Llandaff lived by Lake Windermere and visited his diocese only once.

(2) There was a neglect of spiritual teaching in the Established Church and among the Nonconformists.

(3) Scepticism and atheism became fashionable (e.g. Bolingbroke).

(4) Walpole's policy aimed at material prosperity and lowered national ideals.

B. There was a general laxity of moral tone.

(1) Drunkenness increased greatly.

α. The greater consumption of port owing to the Methuen Treaty (page 533) led to an increase in drunkenness among the upper classes.

β. The introduction of gin in the early part of the century had the same effect on the lower classes, and retailers told their customers they could "get drunk for 1d., dead drunk for 2d., and have clean straw to lie on for nothing." By **1750** there were 17,000 gin shops in London.

(2) Immorality and gambling were general among the upper classes. The private character of many of the leading men of the time was bad, and their example had a bad effect on society.

(3) The penal code was "ferocious," and prescribed capital punishment for trivial offences, e.g. for a theft of more than twelve pence from the pocket.

II. The "Methodists" at Oxford.

1727. John Wesley (fellow of Lincoln), his brother Charles Wesley, and George Whitfield (son of a Gloucester innkeeper and servitor of Pembroke) formed for mutual edification by religious exercises a society whose members, from the methodical and orderly arrangement of their lives, were called Methodists. Whitfield was the greatest preacher of the age, and his "field preaching" spread the new ideas. He was a strong Calvinist, and in **1741** separated himself from Wesley (who rejected the doctrine of election) and founded the "Calvinistic Methodists."

John Wesley, 1703–1791.

Son of the Rector of Epworth (Lincs.), educated at Charterhouse and Oxford, founded the Methodists at Oxford. After acting as a missionary in Georgia he returned to England, and in **1738** the Methodists moved to London. The movement spread, and, in spite of the opposition of Anglicans owing to the extravagance of some of its supporters, to the use of extempore preaching, and the employment of lay preachers, it gained a great hold on the lower and lower-middle (not the upper) classes. Its success was due to John Wesley, although the hymns of Charles "the sweet singer" had great effect.

A. He was conservative in his methods.

(1) He did not separate himself from the Anglican Church. He was himself an ordained clergyman, and towards the end of his life said, "I live and die a member of the Church of England."

(2) He at first objected to "field preaching," and built many chapels to obviate the need of open-air preaching. But he became (although inferior to Whitfield) a great field preacher, preaching all over England with remarkable success, especially in Cornwall.

(3) He at first hesitated to use laymen as preachers, but subsequently made "local preachers" an important part of his system.

B. He was a great organiser.

"His genius for government was not inferior to that of Richelieu." The opposition of the Anglican clergy made co-operation with them impossible, and he organised his society on independent and democratic lines.

(1) The country was divided into circuits, ministers "travelling" from circuit to circuit every three years.

(2) **1784.** Meeting of the first annual "Conference."

(3) Wesleyan services.

α. Wesley adopted from the Moravians the Class Meeting.[1]

β. He instituted the Covenant Service,[2] and the Watchnight Service held during the last hour of each year.

C. His religious teaching.

(1) He wished to make religion "heartfelt," and to convert men from their sins (especially the lower classes whom the Anglican Church utterly failed to reach).

(2) His preaching was homely, logical, and thoughtful. It often led to emotional outbursts on the part of his congregation.

IV. **The Results of Wesley's Work.**

A. A great revival of Puritanism, a marked improvement in conduct, a growing respect for religion.

B. The formation of a new denomination. The Wesleyan Methodists formally left the Anglican Church in **1795.**

C. The growth of Evangelical teaching within the Anglican Church, which threw off its lethargy and became a great influence for good.

Cowper, the great Evangelical poet, shows in his *Olney Hymns* the religious devotion, and in *The Task* the humanitarian ideas, of this school of religious thought.

D. The Evangelical Anglicans distinguished themselves by their unselfish efforts to remove the evils of the time.

(1) **1780.** Robert Raikes, of Gloucester, established the first Sunday School.

(2) Hannah More championed the cause of the agricultural labourer.

(3) John Howard (**1726–1790**) reformed the prisons.

(4) Thomas Clarkson (**1761–1846**) and William Wilberforce (**1759–1833**) founded the Society for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, **1787.**

[1] A weekly meeting for mutual help under the direction of a senior member of the Society.

[2] An annual dedication service.

ferences :

A. *History of the Four Georges*, McCarthy. Chap. xxx.
Encyclopædia Britannica, "John Wesley."

B. *Wesley his own Biographer*, by C. H. Kelly. Pages 192, 571, 614, 616.

C. *Hetty Wesley*, by Quiller-Couch. (Harper.)
The Messenger, by Frankfort Moore.

THE GORDON RIOTS 1780

A. Sir George Savile's Catholic Relief Bill.

The stringent laws against Roman Catholics were "a disgrace to humanity," but the general feeling of the nation was opposed to repeal. Parliament was more tolerant than the nation generally and in **1778** passed a Relief Bill introduced by Sir George Savile which provided

α. That Roman Catholics who abjured the temporal authority of the Pope could purchase and inherit land ;

β. That Roman Catholic priests should not be imprisoned for the exercise of their religion.

B. Scotland.

1779. Abandonment of a similar measure for Scotland owing to violent Protestant riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow and general opposition.

C. The Gordon Riots.

Protestant fanatics in England, led by Lord George Gordon, formed a Protestant Association for the repeal of the English Act.

June 2nd, **1780.** Attempt of a London mob of about 60,000 men, led by Gordon, to force an entry into the House of Commons. Destruction of the Roman Catholic chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian embassies, and, owing to the failure of the magistrates to enforce order,

of other Roman Catholic chapels and some houses, including Savile's. Newgate broken open. Sack of the house and destruction of the valuable library of Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, a supporter of Relief. Attacks on the Bank of England. Holborn distillery wrecked. Thirty-six fires broke out. Vigorous action of George III, who issued orders in Council to put down the rising by military force, which the magistrates had feared to employ. Probably 500 rioters perished in the rising. Twenty-one were executed. Lord George Gordon was acquitted of a charge of high treason and soon after embraced the Jewish faith and died in Newgate, to which he had been committed for libel.

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A. *History of the Four Georges*, McCarthy. Chap. LV.

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NOTES
ON
BRITISH HISTORY
PART IV

By WILLIAM EDWARDS, M.A.
HEADMASTER OF THE MIDDLESBROUGH HIGH SCHOOL

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NOTES

ON

BRITISH HISTORY

BY

WILLIAM EDWARDS, M.A.

HEADMASTER OF THE MIDDLESBROUGH HIGH SCHOOL

PART IV

FROM THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

TO THE

DEATH OF QUEEN VICTORIA, 1783 TO 1901

RIVINGTONS

34 *KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN*

LONDON

1910

PREFACE

is found impossible in most English schools to devote re than two periods a week to the study of History, and chers find considerable difficulty in doing thoroughly in time allotted the work required for public examinations. is difficulty is increased in the case of those who attempt to l with local records, with the development of civilisation l literature, and with contemporary European history.

The difficulty arises largely because in textbooks the ronological order is usually followed, and events and vements of considerable duration are treated not as oles, but as portions of the reigns over which they end. The adequate treatment of such subjects involves l teaching, and either the dictation of notes in school the copying of notes by the scholar out of school. The mer plan unduly encroaches upon the short time avail- e for actual teaching, the latter trespasses upon leisure e already seriously limited by home work.

These notes have been compiled in order to supplement information given in the textbook and to lessen the ount of time devoted in school to the mere giving of es. An attempt has been made to treat each subject y (this has necessitated a certain amount of repetition), oring out clearly the leading principles involved and to

indicate the exact part played by the actors. The notes are supplemented by references; those under heading A being to the standard histories and biographies which may be found in any well-equipped public library; those under B to short passages of prose or poetry suitable for reading aloud to the class and not included under A; those under C to historical novels and tales suitable for the scholar's private reading. But it is not intended entirely to obviate the writing of notes by the scholars, and there are some obvious omissions which must be rectified in class, while it is clearly impossible to give in a book like this any information on local history, the study of which adds greatly to the reality and interest of the general subject. No plans or maps have been included, and it is suggested that these should be copied into the scholar's notebook and that they should not be merely consulted in a text-book or atlas as occasion arises.

The notes comply, to a considerable extent, with the suggestions as to the teaching of History contained in the recent circular of the Board of Education. They deal with the leading events of contemporary European History, with the development of the Constitution, and with industry and agriculture. They may be used as headings for essays, and the references "A" will afford further material for the "practice in original composition" upon which the circular lays stress. An attempt has been made to select the most important questions and to indicate their chief features by means of the main headings. At the same time the sub-headings give fuller information for those who wish to study the subject in greater detail.

The History of the Nineteenth Century is receiving much
ention in schools, partly because examining bodies have
luded it in their syllabuses, partly because of its intrinsic
portance as a necessary qualification for good citizenship.
is realised that senior scholars ought to gain a knowledge
recent British History and some acquaintance with that
other countries, and that these subjects, which admit of
y different opinions, are valuable means of developing
ical thought. But it is essential that the teacher should
pt a neutral attitude, should try to present fairly all
es of a question, and should encourage his hearers to
m their own judgments.

These notes are intended mainly for the use of scholars
paring for History Scholarships at the Universities, for
Oxford and Cambridge Higher Local, Higher Certificate,
l Senior Local Examinations, for the Honours and Senior
tificates of the Central Welsh Board, Civil Service
aminations, the Irish Intermediate, the Scottish Leaving
tificates, the First Class of the College of Preceptors,
Civil Service, the Matriculation, Intermediate, and
pil Teacher Examinations. It is obvious that much
the information given will be beyond the capacity of
didates for Junior Examinations, but it is hoped that
author's *Junior British History Notes* may prove useful
these.

n a number of schools it is not possible to find room on
staff for a specialist in History, and it is hoped that
se notes, which are the result of considerable experience
teaching, may be found suggestive and helpful to form
sters taking the subject whose main interest lies in other

parts of their work. While these Notes have been compile mainly for use in schools, they may prove useful to thos who, while not engaged in teaching, are interested i recent history.

Any suggestions for the correction and improvement o this work would be welcomed. A few slips in Parts I, I and III are noted in the list of Errata given on page 105

The author gratefully acknowledges the very kind hel received from Rev. Alfred B. Beavan, M.A., of Greyfriar Leamington, who has read the proofs of Part IV and offere much valuable criticism.

W. Edwards.

CORRIGENDA

FOR NOTES ON BRITISH HISTORY, PART IV

Page 647. *For* "Ireland in the Seventeenth Century" *read* "Eighteenth Century."

Page 652. (3). *From* "Execution of King and Queen" *delete* "and Queen."

Page 828. A (3), β. *For* "North East Frontier" *read* "North West."

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NOTES ON BRITISH HISTORY

PART IV

THE POLICY OF WILLIAM PITT UP TO 1789

General Conditions.

A. The American Revolution had doubled the National Debt, but had exercised a sobering effect on politics. A better tone appeared in the Opposition to the Coalition of Fox and North. The failure in America did not ruin England owing to

B. The Industrial Revolution (page 626), which led to enormous increase in the wealth of capitalists and in the revenue of the country. [The labourers at first were very badly off; their sufferings led to great extension of Poor Law relief.]

C. The influence of Adam Smith, whose *Wealth of Nations*, which appeared in 1776, deeply influenced Pitt. Politics and commerce were profoundly affected by his two important theories.

(1) The "Laissez faire" theory: the Government to make as few trade regulations as possible.

(2) The theory that not bullion but anything having an exchange value constituted wealth.

Pitt's Victory over the Coalition.

A. Pitt was the representative of the King and the Constitution against the unpopular Fox-North Coalition, which aimed at dominating the King, but did not fully represent the ideas of the country.

β. Rearranged taxation.

1. He lowered the duties on spirits a tea, of which only half the amou consumed had hitherto paid duty, a passed a Hovering Act, extending t authority of Customs officers twe miles from the coast. Smuggling th became less profitable and more dang ous, and, as the decreased cost stimula demand, the revenue from these dut increased considerably.

2. He, like Walpole, appreciated the va of Excise duties, and successfully i posed duties on various articles.

γ. Instituted a Sinking Fund, setting aside £1,000,0 a year to accumulate at compound interest, a to be used to pay off the National Debt.

1. This measure did much to keep up pu confidence.

2. But later he unwisely maintained Sinking Fund at a time when he h to borrow money at higher rates interest to meet war expenses.

The results of Pitt's financial policy were very go He effected considerable economy, promoted comme and restored national credit. As a result Engl became the paymaster of Europe in the wars w France, and Pitt's finance, together with the incre in wealth due to the Industrial Revolution, materi helped to overthrow Napoleon.

(3) Pitt, like Walpole, did not repeal the Test and Corp tion Acts. No great hardship was inflicted on N conformists, owing to the annual Indemnity Act, a distinct grievance remained.

(4) The Regency Bill, 1789.

November, 1788. The King became insane. Fox maintained that the Prince of Wales, who had taken charge of the King's person, had an absolute right to the Regency, and hoped that if the Prince became Regent he would dismiss Pitt and place the Whigs in office. Pitt, while recognising that the Prince would become Regent, denied that he "had any right whatever" to the Regency, which must be bestowed by grant of Parliament.

January 31st, 1789. The Prince accepted the Regency on the conditions of the Government, which

α. Forbade the Regent to bestow peerages except on members of the Royal Family;

β. Limited his patronage to "His Majesty's pleasure";

γ. Gave to the Queen the charge of the King's person.

The Regency Bill, including these conditions, passed the Commons, but was rendered unnecessary by

March 10th, 1789, the complete recovery of the King, owing to Dr. Willis' treatment.

Pitt had acted with great ability and had greatly strengthened his position by asserting the rights of Parliament against Fox's championship of prerogative.

(5) Pitt sympathised with Wilberforce in his opposition to slavery and supported restrictions and resolutions condemning the trade, but owing to the opposition of West India merchants of London, Liverpool and Bristol he did not abolish the slave trade or colonial slavery.

D. Ireland, 1785.

The Irish Parliament was corrupt and rejected reform. The Protestant landowners were supreme, the Roman

Catholic peasantry poor, and the secret societies form
to oppose these evils became very dangerous.

To improve the trade of Ireland, Pitt (1785) carried
Bill establishing Free Trade between England and I
land, but many restrictions were inserted owing to t
selfish policy of English merchants and farmers (feari
the competition of Irish cattle and manufactures), a
the British Parliament kept control of commercial leg
lation. Therefore the Irish Parliament rejected the B

E. Pitt's foreign policy to 1789.

His general aim was to check Russia (aiming at t
conquest of Poland, extension of her power in t
Baltic, conquest of Turkey, and extension of her pow
in the Black Sea) and the House of Bourbon.

(1) Holland.

Holland, owing to the influence of a strong ar
Orange French party, was friendly towards Fra
and hostile to England. England and Prussia—(Fr
erick William II was the brother-in-law of the Pri
of Orange the Stadtholder)—restored (1787) the Pri
of Orange and broke the French influence. Pitt th
renewed the friendship with Prussia broken by B
in 1763.

(2) 1788. The Triple Alliance.

Pitt formed a Triple Alliance between Engla
Prussia, and Holland—a most important and succe
ful movement, which saved Sweden and check
Russian aggression in the Baltic.

(3) He induced Leopold of Austria to make peace w
Turkey.

(4) He compelled Spain to give compensation for the
struction of a British colony at Nootka Sound, V
couver, in 1790.

The French Revolutionary Government suppor
England in this owing to the influence of Mirabeau

(5) He failed to make the Empress Katharine give up Ochakov on the Black Sea, because the English were not interested in the Eastern Question and feared that a quarrel with Russia would mean the loss of the Baltic trade.

Pitt thus restored the prestige of England, which had been impaired by the American War, and showed a statesmanlike appreciation of the importance of the Eastern Question. He was the first great English statesman to attempt to check the Russian advance towards Constantinople.

References:

Twelve English Statesmen: Pitt, chaps. III.–IV.

IRELAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The Condition of Ireland.

A. The Roman Catholics, the great majority of the population, had no share in political power.

B. The Irish Nonconformists suffered great disabilities.

C. The whole government of the country was in the hands of the Episcopalian aristocracy, who controlled the Lower House of Parliament and were members of the Upper, and this Protestant party strongly resented the dependence of the Irish Parliament on that of Great Britain. Ireland was thus governed by a "caste formed by a religious minority," who compelled the Catholics to pay tithes to the Protestant Episcopal Church.

D. The peasantry, who cared little for Catholic emancipation and less for parliamentary reform, suffered greatly, especially in the south and west, owing to exorbitant rents and absentee landlords, and their hopeless poverty caused grave discontent.

E. The Irish trade was hampered for the benefit of th English, e.g. the export of Irish cattle to England wa forbidden.

F. The example of the United States and the French Revolu tion roused the Irish to resistance.

Thus there were in Ireland "a corrupt aristocracy, ferocious commonalty, a distracted Government, a divide people."

II. **Attempts to improve the Condition of Ireland.**

A. **1782.** The legislative independence of Ireland gained b Grattan and the "Protestant Volunteers," who had bee originally enrolled to defend Ireland against an expecte French invasion. This strengthened the position of th Protestant aristocracy.

1785. Failure of Pitt's attempt to improve Irish commerc by the establishment of Free Trade between England an Ireland (page 646).

B. Formation of the "United Irishmen," including bot Protestants and Catholics, by Fitzgerald and Wolf Tone, to secure parliamentary reform owing to the gros corruption of the Irish Parliament. This society, whic was greatly affected by the French Revolution, graduall became Separatist and tended to become revolutionary.

C. **1793.** Roman Catholics received the parliamentary vot but not the right of sitting in Parliament.

D. **1795.** Earl Fitzwilliam, the Lord Lieutenant, "th Messenger of Peace from England," tried to bring abou Catholic emancipation, but failed. He had made th Roman Catholics hope for a new system, and his failu greatly aggravated the discontent.

III. **The Rebellion.**

A. December, **1796.** Owing to the negotiations of the Unite Irishmen a French expedition, under Hoche, was sent t Bantry Bay, but a storm prevented the French fro landing. If it had landed it would have endangered th

supremacy of England, and the knowledge that help might be expected from France led to a serious rising in

B. **1798.** Ulster.

The rising was easily suppressed, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the leader of the United Irishmen, having previously been captured, **1798.** Great atrocities were committed by "Orange"[1] soldiers searching for arms, hence

C. A Catholic rebellion broke out in Wexford.

A Roman Catholic camp was formed at Vinegar Hill. Father John Murphy led the rebels, and both sides displayed great bravery and gross cruelty. The camp was captured by General Lake on June 21st, **1798.**

D. **1798.** Connaught.

General Humbert brought help from France. He landed at Killala and defeated the militia at "Castlebar Races," but surrendered to Cornwallis, the Lord Lieutenant, at Ballinasloe.

E. Owing to the gross cruelty of the Roman Catholics and the proof of the uselessness of the French, Ulster became, and has always remained, loyal.

V. **The Union.**

Cornwallis sternly punished the leaders of the rebellion, but showed leniency to the peasants. He saw that Catholic emancipation and the union of the Parliaments of England and Ireland were necessary for a settlement of the country and for the removal of the danger of interference from France.

A. The danger from the separation of the Parliaments (which made the King, as head of the executive, the only bond of union) had been shown in **1785,** when the Irish

[1] The "Orangemen," the militant Protestant party, took their name from illiam of Orange, and strongly opposed the weakening of the Protestant cendancy and Catholic emancipation.

Parliament threw out Pitt's commercial treaty, and als
in 1789, when, in opposition to the English Parliament
they recognised the right of the Prince of Wales to b
Regent.

B. Catholic emancipation was also necessary to allay Catholi
discontent, but if Catholic emancipation were granted
the union of the Parliaments was necessary to preven
the tyranny of the Papist democracy, and to end th
corruption of the Irish Parliament. Pitt adopted thes
views.

C. The Act of Union 1800.

(1) Provisions.

α. That the Parliaments of Great Britain and Irelan
should be united, and that Ireland should b
represented in the British Parliament by fou
bishops, sitting in rotation, and twenty-eigh
temporal peers, elected for life, in the Hous
of Lords, and by one hundred members in th
Commons.

β. That Free Trade should be established betwee
the two countries.

γ. The Established Churches of Great Britain an
Ireland to be united and preserved for ever.

(2) The Union was carried out by bribery, conducted b
Castlereagh. Eighty-four "pocket" boroughs were r
cognised as property, and £15,000 paid for each. Ov
£1,000,000 was spent in bribes, and titles we
lavishly bestowed on the supporters of the measur
The means—"force and fraud"—by which the Unio
was effected were disgraceful, but no other mean
would have been successful.

D. The Roman Catholics, who could have prevented the Unio
supported it because they expected that the Union wou
be followed by emancipation, by provision for Roma
Catholic clergy, and by a revision of tithes.

(1) Pitt wished to bring in a measure for Roman Catholic emancipation, but resigned office owing to the opposition of George III, who considered such a measure contrary to his coronation oath. Pitt promised the King not to bring forward the question again. This promise was wrong, because it sacrificed Ireland to George III's personal feelings.

(2) Pitt thus failed to carry out his whole scheme, and has had the misfortune to be judged in the matter "by the petty fragment of a large policy which he did not live to carry out."

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History of England, Bright. Vol. III, pp. 1199–1219. (Longmans.)

C. *Kilgorman*, by Reed. (Nelson.)
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Corrageen, by Orpen. (Methuen.)
Croppies Lie Down, by Buckley. (Duckworth.)

PITT'S POLICY 1791–1802

The French Revolution and England.

A. The French Revolution had very important effects. Pitt, partly through fear that a war with France would increase the danger of Russian aggression in the East, at first did not desire to interfere and wished to remain "spectators of the strange scene in France." He tried to keep Holland neutral, and, owing to his desire for peace, failed to make adequate provision for war. Later he was forced into war owing to the aggression of the French.

(1) **1792.** November 16th. The abolition by the French of the rights (guaranteed by the Treaty of Westphalia) of the Dutch to the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt.

α. England was bound in honour to support her new ally Holland.

β. The establishment of French rule in the Netherlands would be most dangerous to England.

γ. The due observance of treaties was essential for the peace of Europe, and the claim of the French that they possessed a law of nature which abrogated treaties could not be admitted.

(2) **1792.** November 19th. By the Edict of Fraternity the Convention offered assistance to nations which would rise against their rulers and declared "all Governments are our enemies, all people our friends."

(3) **1793.** January 21st. Execution of the King and Queen.

1793. February 1st. War was declared by France on England in response to the protest of Pitt, supported by George III, a firm believer in monarchy and by the majority of the nation, who had been roused by the writings of Burke.

B. Burke opposed the French Revolution, and said in the *Reflections on the French Revolution*, published in 1790: "The French have proved themselves the ablest architects of ruin who have hitherto existed in the world." He prophesied military despotism in France, and feared the extension of revolutionary theories to England. He therefore supported Pitt's harsh measures at home (page 653) and broke with Fox. But Burke failed to appreciate the real need of social and political reform in France and the gravity of the financial crisis. Thirty thousand copies of the book were soon sold, and

turned England against the Revolution. Other leading Whigs, led by Portland, also joined Pitt, and the old Whig party was thus ruined.

C. Fox, with a remnant of the Whigs, heartily welcomed the French Revolution. On hearing of the fall of the Bastille he said: "How much is this the greatest event that has ever happened in the world, and how much the best!" He opposed the measures adopted by Pitt to prevent the spread of revolutionary doctrines in England. The views of the "New Whigs" were ably expressed by Sir James Mackintosh in his *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, published in 1791, as a reply to Burke's *Reflections*.

II. **Pitt's Domestic Policy 1791–1802.** "The French Revolution made Pitt a Tory."

A. Pitt interfered with the liberty of the subject. The spread, by emissaries of France, of republican principles in England (where a bad harvest, trade depression, and the high price of wheat had aroused great discontent among the lower classes) and the formation of clubs, such as "The Friends of the People" and "The London Corresponding Society," led Pitt, fearing a revolution in England, to pass laws which greatly interfered with the liberty of the subject. In Scotland the harshness of the laws was aggravated by judicial sentences of doubtful legality, notably in the case of Muir, condemned to fourteen years' transportation, **1793**.

(1) **1793**. The Aliens Act, to prevent Jacobin agents from coming to England.

(2) **1794**. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

(3) **1795**. The Treasonable Practices Act.

α. Extended the crime of treason to speaking and writing, even if no overt act of treason followed.

β. Made it a misdemeanour to bring the King or Government into contempt.

(4) **1795.** The Seditious Meetings Bill.

α. Public meetings of more than fifty persons to b licensed by a magistrate.

β. Magistrates to have the right of dispersing publi meetings.

(5) There was probably no need for these measures (th last two of which were not put into operation), as th English republicans were more noisy than dangerous But Pitt, Parliament and most of the nation though that the country was in imminent danger, and a wea policy might have had most serious consequences.

B. Pitt opposed reform, fearing lest it would lead to revol tion.

(1) He opposed Fox's attempt to repeal the Test Act.

(2) He opposed proposals for parliamentary reform mad by Charles Grey[1] in **1797.**

C. Finance.

(1) A vast amount of specie had been withdrawn from th Bank of England owing to the cost of war and sub sidies for allies.

(2) Several country banks had failed owing to the with drawal of deposits by clients who believed that French invasion was likely.

(3) **1797.** To avert an expected run on the Bank of En land cash payments were suspended, i.e. banknot were no longer payable in gold on presentation.

α. This act saved the Bank of England from th effects of panic. An examination showed tha the Bank was sound, and public confiden was restored.

[1] Earl Grey from 1807.

[1821. May 1st.

β. Cash payments resumed on Peel's motion.

γ. The original suspension was justified, but probably should not have lasted so long.]

D. The Canada Act, 1791.

Divided Canada into Upper (i.e. English) and Lower (i.e. French) Canada, and gave to each province a Legislative Council appointed by the Crown and a Representative Assembly elected by freeholders and £10 leaseholders for ten years.

The Act recognised the racial difference between the English of Western and the French of Eastern Canada.

α. Fox opposed the Bill because it maintained the right of the Sovereign to grant hereditary titles and reserved certain Crown lands for the support of the Protestant clergy. He used the opportunity to commend the French Revolution.

β. Burke supported the Bill, and the difference of opinion as to the Revolution between him and Fox now terminated their friendship. Burke issued his *Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs* to vindicate his position.

E. Fox's Libel Bill, 1792.

Pitt supported the Bill introduced by Fox which, in cases of libel, enabled the jury to determine not only the fact of publication, but also whether the matter published was libellous.

References:

A. *Twelve English Statesmen: Pitt*, chap. VII.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

I. **Causes.**

A. The despotic power of the King.

(1) The royal power was absolutely supreme. The count
was the royal domain. The power of the nobles ha
been finally crushed by the suppression of the Fronde
1652. The States-General, a Parliament containin
representatives of all classes except the peasantr
had not met since **1614.** The Government was
centralised despotism in which everything was do
by the authority of the King's Council. The Ki
was the State.

(2) This power had been exercised for the aggrandiseme
of the King and not for the welfare of the peopl
Under this system redress of grievances was utte
impossible.

B. The privileged classes.

(1) The nobles retained many of their old feudal righ
which pressed heavily on the poor, often gain
exemption from taxes, and monopolised the chi
appointments in Church and State.

(2) The higher clergy owned one-fifth of the countr
evaded taxation, and controlled the Press.

(3) Many of the upper middle classes held Governme
appointments and obtained exemption from taxes a
military service, and the survival of the trade guil
in the towns favoured the masters at the expense
the artisans.

C. The grievances of the lowest classes.

Taxation, largely evaded by their social superiors, f
heavily upon the lowest classes, especially on t

peasantry, who found the Corvée,[1] the Taille,[2] the Gabelle,[3] the old feudal dues and the heavy Customs duties intolerable burdens. Out of every hundred francs he earned the peasant kept only eighteen for himself.

D. The teaching of Voltaire and Rousseau.

(1) The scathing criticism of Voltaire showed up the faults of Church and State under the *ancien régime*.

(2) Rousseau, in his *Social Contract*, asserted that "man was born free and is everywhere in chains," and urged that the sovereign people, to whom supremacy rightly belonged, should resume its authority. The *Social Contract* "supplied the text and lit the fire of revolution."

E. Financial embarrassment was the immediate cause.

Louis XIV spent £30,000,000 in building Versailles, Louis XV squandered £3,000,000 on one of his favourites, the assistance given to the United States added to the deficit under Louis XVI, who summoned the States-General as a last resource, hoping they would find some means to avert national bankruptcy.

The Course of the Revolution.

A. The Constitutionalists, June, 1789, to June, 1791.

(1) May, 1789. Meeting of the States-General. The representatives of the people, refused admission to the Assembly by the nobles and clergy, declared themselves the "National Assembly," met on the tennis-court at Versailles and took the "Tennis Court Oath" to secure constitutional government, June 20th.

(2) July 14. Destruction of the Bastille by the Paris mob.

[1] The duty of repairing the high roads.
[2] A heavy property tax.
[3] A tax on salt.

(3) October 6. The King and Queen brought Versailles by the women of Paris. The Nati Assembly followed.

(4) During this period the Constitutionalists led by M beau, the Deputy of Aix, tried to establish a cons tional monarchy, but failed.

α. Louis XVI, a strong supporter of the Ro Catholic Church and the royal authority fused to come to an agreement with a p which had made the Church dependent on State and aimed at limiting the power of Crown. His unsuccessful flight to Varen June 20th, **1791**, increased the oppositio the Monarchy.

β. The Paris mob, maddened by hunger an hatred of Marie Antoinette, "L'Autrichien was growing more powerful and refuse agree to any plans that aimed at preser the Monarchy.

B. The Girondins, October, **1791**, to June, **1793**.

(1) The Girondins[1] aimed at establishing a democ republic.

(2) Fearing foreign intervention on behalf of Louis X they resolved "to tell Europe that if cabinets en kings in a war against peoples, we will engage pe in a war against kings."

April 20, **1792**. War declared against Leo of Austria. Failure of French attack on the Aus Netherlands.

July 24, **1792**. Prussia, in alliance with Au declared war on France.

August 27, **1792**. The allies captured Longwy

September 2, **1792**. The allies captured Ver but retreated after the "cannonade of Val (Sept. 20).

[1] So called because the Deputies from the Gironde led the party.

October, 1792. The French conquered Savoy and Nice.

November 6, 1792. The French defeated the Austrians at Jemappes.

November 16, 1792. The French pronounced the abolition of the treaty rights of the Dutch to control the navigation of the Scheldt.

November 19, 1792. By the Edict of Fraternity the French offered armed assistance to any countries wishing to overthrow their kings.

The refusal to recognise the obligations of treaties and the offer to assist rebellion constituted a grave danger to Europe.

January 21, 1793. Execution of Louis XVI.

February 1, 1793. War declared against Great Britain and Holland.

(3) The fall of the Girondins.

The Girondins fell because—

a. They lacked organisation ;

β. In spite of benevolent theories they failed to remedy the evils of the times.

γ. Although they objected to excesses, they lacked the power to control the Paris mob, which

August 10, 1792, attacked the Tuileries, massacred the Swiss Guards, and

September 2-6, 1792, partly owing to the successes of the allies at Longwy and Verdun and the consequent fear of an advance on Paris, massacred 1000 prisoners—"The September Massacres."

October 16, 1793. Execution of Marie Antoinette.

October 31. Execution of Vergniaud, Brissot, and other Girondins.

C. The Jacobins, June, 1793, to July, 1794.

(1) The Jacobins, led by Marat and Robespierre, we disciples of Rousseau and preached the doctrine of t sovereignty of the people. They owed their pow to their excellent organisation, to their influence wi the artillerymen of Paris, to their control of t Commune or town council of Paris and their suprema in the Committee of Public Safety.

(2) Their government, the Reign of Terror, was ferociou and in seven weeks 1368 people were guillotined the Place de la Révolution.[1]

In December, 1793, a rebellion in La Vendée w put down with great severity.

(3) They tried to suppress the Christian religion a enthroned a Goddess of Reason in Notre Dame.

(4) Their gross cruelty and persistent interference with t rights and property of individuals in the interests the sovereign people led to reaction.

July 13. 1793. Assassination of Marat by Charlo Corday.

July 28, 1794. Execution of Robespierre a abolition of the Commune.

D. The Directory and Consulate.

After the fall of Robespierre the National Conventi (September 20th, 1792, to October 26th, 1795), althou unpopular, continued to govern France. The "insurr tion of Vendémiaire," October 5th, 1795, was put do by Bonaparte, owing to his artillery, and the Conventi having appointed five Directors (to act as the executi and a new Legislature, was dissolved.

The Directory made peace with Austria at Cam Formio, 1797, continued the war against England a

[1] Since renamed "La Place de la Concorde."

was supported by Bonaparte. It gave place (1799) to the Consulate, in which Bonaparte became First Consul. In 1804 the enthusiastic support of the army enabled him to proclaim himself Emperor of the French as Napoleon I.

Thus the Revolution, which had asserted the cause of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, led to the establishment of military despotism.

III. The Results of the Revolution.

A. The assertion of the principle of nationality.

The removal of the old class privileges, the abolition of the provinces which had divided the country, the common danger from foreign foes (who were roused by the assertion of the principles of the Revolution), promoted the growth of French nationality. The aggression of the French led to united action and to the growth of nationality in Spain, Portugal, and Prussia, and although the principle of nationality was not accepted at the Congress of Vienna, it played a great part in later European history, especially in the case of Germany and Italy.

B. The assertion of the "sovereignty of the people."

The eighteenth century was the century of "benevolent despots" like Frederick the Great and the Emperor Joseph II, who tried to rule for the good of their subjects. The Revolution asserted the new principle that the people should rule themselves, and the development of popular government was one of the leading features of the nineteenth century.

C. The assertion of individual liberty.

Although the Jacobins and Napoleon interfered with the liberty of the individual, that liberty was extended owing to the removal of restrictions such as the feudal services and guild regulations and the abolition of old

social distinctions. It was greatly extended after th fall of Napoleon, and its development is shown by—

α. The extension of the freedom of the Pres especially in France;

β. The abolition of serfdom in France, Centra Europe, and Prussia.

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The Red Cap of Liberty, by Meade. (Nisbet.)

THE WAR WITH FRANCE TO THE DEATH OF PITT (1793–1806)

I. The First Coalition.

A. Pitt, although anxious to maintain peace and not w qualified for a war minister, was compelled to fig owing to the declaration of war by France. "At moment of acute commercial and industrial crisis t most pacific and commercial of ministers found hims confronted with a war of the very first magnitude." F

aim was to combine Europe against the common enemy, the French Republic, which had adopted a policy of aggression against all the Governments of Europe. He used the enormous wealth of England to subsidise her allies, who bore the brunt of the struggle on the Continent while the English navy maintained the supremacy of the seas.

1792. The French had defeated the Austrians at Jemappes and conquered the Austrian Netherlands.

1793. Formation of the First Coalition—England, Prussia, Austria, Spain, Holland.

B. 1793.

(1) Successes of the allies.

March 18. The Austrians regained Flanders by a victory at Neerwinden.

August 28. Lord Hood occupied Toulon.

(2) Successes of the French.

October 16. The Austrians were defeated at Wattignies.

December 19. Toulon recaptured by the French. Bonaparte first distinguished himself as a military officer.

December. The revolt in La Vendée was crushed.

C. 1794.

(1) British naval successes.

Lord Howe defeated the Brest fleet off Ushant June 1, "the glorious first of June." Martinique, St. Lucia, and Tobago captured.

(2) French victories on land.

June 26. The Austrians driven from the Netherlands by the French victory at Fleurus.

D. 1795.

(1) The Coalition weakened by the withdrawal of Holland (conquered by France), of Prussia and Spain, which concluded the Treaties of Basle with the Republic.

(2) July 20. The Royalist *émigrés* who, with Pitt assistance, made a descent at Quiberon Bay, wer utterly routed by Hoche.

E. 1796.

(1) Owing to the exhaustion of Austria, financial depre sion at home, and the belief that the Director established at the end of the Reign of Terror, woul be willing to come to terms, Pitt made overtures fo peace through Lord Malmesbury.

(2) The Directory, hoping to strengthen its position b military successes, determined to continue the wa against Austria and Great Britain.

α. Successes of Bonaparte over the Austrians i Italy at Lodi (May 10th), Castiglione (Augu 5th), and Arcola (November 16th). Expulsio of the Austrians from Lombardy.

β. Failure of Hoche's expedition to Ireland (pag 648).

γ. Capture by Great Britain of Demerara, Ceylo Malacca.

δ. Spain declared war against Great Britain.

F. 1797.

(1) England seemed in grave danger.

α. She was threatened with attack by the Frenc Spanish, and Dutch fleets.

January 14. β. The Austrians were routed by Bonaparte Rivoli.

γ. There was great dissatisfaction in the navy.

1. The sailors of the Channel Fleet at Spi head mutinied, owing to their inad quate pay (which had remained u altered since the reign of Charles II

bad food, the unfair division of prize money, the harshness of their officers, and excessive flogging. Their reasonable demands were granted, and Lord Howe, "Black Dick," induced them to return to duty without proceeding to any acts of violence.

2. The sailors of the fleet at the Nore mutinied owing to dissatisfaction with the Articles of War, and demanded a voice in the selection of officers. This was a violent and criminal movement led by a dissolute and insubordinate sailor named Richard Parker. Two loyal frigates were fired upon and the Thames blockaded. But the Government remained firm and the mutineers surrendered. Parker and a few others were hanged, but most of the mutineers were pardoned, the Government wisely adopting a merciful course.

δ. The hostility of the war party in France led the Directory to reject further offers of peace made by Pitt through Malmesbury.

(2) Two naval victories saved England.

ebruary 14. *a.* Jervis (subsequently created Earl St. Vincent) routed the Spanish fleets off Cape St. Vincent.

1. This victory prevented the junction of the French and Spanish fleets, which were intended to cover an invasion of England.

2. It raised the spirits of Englishmen and helped them to face the financial crisis (page 654), the mutinies in the navy and the peace of Campo Formio.

October 11. β. Duncan (subsequently created Viscount Dun
can), who during the mutiny had, by the skilfu
use of two ships, tricked the Dutch fleet int
remaining in the Texel when England was de
fenceless, routed the Dutch at Camperdow
with the fleet of the Nore.

1. This victory prevented the junction o
the French and Dutch fleets, an
averted a possible invasion.

2. It proved the underlying loyalty even o
the late mutineers.

3. It diminished the danger of French inte
ference in Ireland.

(3) The end of the First Coalition.

Their defeat at Rivoli and the submission of th
Pope to Bonaparte led the Austrians to make wit
France the Armistice of Leoben, followed (Octob
17th) by the Treaty of Campo Formio, by whic
France received the Austrian Netherlands and Austr
Venice.

Britain was now left to face France alone, and th
Directory again made preparations for invasion.

II. The Second Coalition, 1798.

A. The proposed invasion of England.

"The army of England" was stationed in the se
ports of N.W. France, and transports collected to carr
them across to England. Bonaparte saw that th
supremacy of the English fleet made this scheme im
practicable, but determined to weaken Britain's coloni
empire by combining with native rulers, especially Tipp
Sahib (page 776), in an attack on British India. He pro
ably had hopes of establishing a great Oriental empire.

B. Operations in Ireland.

A force under Humbert was sent to co-operate with the Irish rebels, but surrendered to Cornwallis, September 9th (page 649).

C. The attack on India.

(1) Bonaparte captured Malta, routed the Mamelukes,[1] and thus secured Egypt, "the key to the East."

(2) August 1. Nelson (subsequently created Baron Nelson of the Nile) annihilated the French fleet at the battle of the Nile[2] in Aboukir Bay.

This victory (α) saved India (the directors of the East India Company gave Nelson £10,000 as an acknowledgment of his services), and was followed, May 4th, **1799**, by the capture of Seringapatam, where Tippoo Sahib was killed.

β. Made Great Britain supreme in the Mediterranean.

γ. Shut up Bonaparte's army in Egypt.

(3) Bonaparte determined to conquer Syria, hoping to use it as a base either

α. For an attack on Constantinople and a flank attack on Eastern Europe, or

β. For a further expedition against India.

He routed the Turks at Mount Tabor, but failed to capture Acre, which was gallantly defended for sixty-five days—March 16th–May 20th, **1799**—by Sir Sidney Smith.

[1] A caste of warriors of Circassian origin who had become masters of Egypt.

[2] The anagram "Honor est a Nilo," formed from the words "Horatio Nelson," is one of the happiest examples of the kind.

D. The formation of the Second Coalition.

(1) The victory of the Nile was the direct cause of th Second Coalition formed by Pitt, December, 179 which was due partly to the national feeling arouse by French aggression, and was maintained by Britis subsidies. It included Russia (the Emperor Paul r sented Bonaparte's seizure of Malta), Ferdinand Naples (resenting the conquest of his territory on th mainland by the French and the formation of th Parthenopean Republic), Turkey (fearing the desig of Bonaparte on Constantinople), and Austria, a Prussia.

(2) The Coalition at first was successful, partly owing Bonaparte's absence in Egypt.

1799.

α. March 25. The Austrian Archduke Charl defeated the French near Lake Constance a drove them across the Rhine.

β. The Russian general Suvorov, supported by th Austrians, routed the French at the battles the Trebbia (June 19th) and Novi (Augu 15th) and drove them out of Italy.

γ. An English force gained some successes in Ho land and captured the remains of the Dut fleet.

A threefold attack on France was arrang by the Duke of York from Holland, by th Austrians through Savoy, and through Switz land by Suvorov, who, in September, 179 led his army across the St. Gothard Pass—o of the great marches of history.

(3) The weakening of the Coalition.

1799. September 26.

α. Massena routed a new Russo-Austrian army Zurich and Suvorov evacuated Switzerland.

October.

β. Failure of the Duke of York, who evacuated Holland.

October 9.

γ. Bonaparte, leaving his army in Egypt (where it was defeated, March 21st, 1801, by Sir Ralph Abercromby at Alexandria and compelled to evacuate Egypt), returned to France, and by the *coup d'état* of Brumaire (November 9th) overthrew the Directory and became First Consul.

E. The break-up of the Second Coalition.

(1) The withdrawal of Austria.

1800. June 14.

α. Bonaparte routed the Austrians at Marengo and regained Northern Italy.

December 3.

β. Moreau routed the Austrians at Hohenlinden. The Austrians, now utterly crushed, made—

1801. February 9.

γ. The Peace of Lunéville with France.

1. All territory on the left bank of the Rhine ceded to France.

2. The Cisalpine, Batavian, and Helvetian republics recognised by Austria.

1801. March 14th. Pitt resigned office owing to the King's opposition to Catholic Emancipation.

(2) The withdrawal of Russia.

The Czar Paul, who greatly admired Bonaparte and strongly resented the British claim to search neutral vessels for contraband of war, withdrew from the Coalition and, partly at the instigation of Bonaparte who wished to break the naval power of Britain, revived, with Sweden and Denmark (May, 1800), the Armed Neutrality of 1780 (page 613). The danger to Britain was averted—

1801. March 23.

α. By the assassination of the Czar Paul, wh successor, Alexander, was more favourably d posed towards Great Britain.

1801. April 2.

β. By the defeat of the Danes at Copenhagen, wh Nelson put his telescope to his blind eye a so "could not see the signal" to cease fir given by his superior officer, Sir Hyde Park

1801. June.

γ. By a treaty of peace between Great Britain a Russia, which defined the right of search a provided that blockades to be respected must efficient.

(3) The Peace of Amiens, March, **1802.**

Both France and Britain were ready for pea Great Britain had checked Bonaparte's designs in I land, Egypt, and India. The British navy had b brilliantly successful, and commerce had increa sixty per cent since **1792**, but the National Debt l doubled. Wheat had risen to 120s. per quarter, a the poor lacked bread. Pitt said: "The question peace or war is not in itself so formidable as t of the scarcity with which it is combined." Gr Britain was now isolated. The French were discoura by their failure in Egypt, by the break-up of Armed Neutrality, and by the loss of their colonies

The Treaty of Amiens provided—

α. That Great Britain should give up all her c quests except Ceylon and Trinidad.

β. That Malta should be given back to the Knig of St. John.

γ. That the French should evacuate Rome a Naples.

δ. That Great Britain should recognise the Fre Republic.

The peace, concluded by Addington and approved by Pitt, though disadvantageous to Great Britain which made great sacrifices, was popular. "A peace which all men are glad of, but no man can be proud of" (Sheridan). But it proved only an armistice, as Britain refused to recognise the Batavian, Helvetic, and Cisalpine republics, and the ambition of Bonaparte led to an early resumption of hostilities.

III. **The Third Coalition.**

A. The declaration of war.

(1) Continued aggressions of Bonaparte.

α. He annexed Piedmont, occupied Switzerland, refused to evacuate Holland.

β. He refused to make a commercial treaty with Great Britain, and hampered British trade in Holland.

γ. He was apparently contemplating a further attack on Egypt.

(2) Great Britain did not observe the Treaty of Amiens.

α. Malta was retained to ensure command of the Mediterranean, and to defend Egypt if necessary.

β. Alexandria and the French towns in India were retained.

(3) Bonaparte despised the weak ministry of Addington and resented—

α. The shelter afforded in England to French *émigrés*.

β. The attacks made on him by English newspapers.

(4) Great Britain declared war May 18, 1803.

The two previous wars had been waged to overthrow the Republic and to restore the Monarchy in France, while the French had wished to maintain their borders and to spread republican principles. Europe had

greatly benefited by the overthrow of feudal privileg and the growth of democratic feeling which resulte from French victories. Bonaparte now aimed at subj gating Europe to France, and at crushing nationalit His fall was ultimately due to the outburst of nation feeling he provoked.

The renewal of the war in 1803 caused the failu of Bonaparte's attempt to form a French coloni empire in America, India, and Australia (page 678 saved Egypt and possibly Turkey from conquest; s cured for Great Britain Malta, the Cape, Mauritiu destroyed the French and Spanish fleets; strengthen the Tories in England.

B. Failure of Bonaparte's schemes in Ireland and India.

(1) **1803.** July 23.

Robert Emmet's rising in Dublin easily suppressed

(2) The defeat of the Mahrattas at Assaye (1803) a Argaum (1803) prevented successful French int ference in India.

1804. May.

Pitt returned to office at the head of a To ministry, the King's opposition preventing him fro including Fox in a comprehensive administratio and Grenville refusing to take office without Fox.

1804. May 18.

Bonaparte proclaimed himself Emperor of the Fren as Napoleon I.

C. The proposed invasion of England.

The scheme was bound to fail. Napoleon und estimated the power of Great Britain. The conjuncti of wind and tide necessary for successful transport w most improbable. Success depended upon the defe of the British navy, which proved too strong f Napoleon's fleet, and even if the French had evad Nelson and actually landed their retreat would ha been cut off.

(1) "The army of England," 150,000 men, was encamped at Boulogne, where a fleet of transports was collected to "force the wet ditch of the Channel."

(2) The French and Spanish fleets were to unite and to convoy the transports to England after Nelson had been enticed to Egypt or the West Indies.

(3) The British Government increased the fleet and army and 300,000 volunteers were enrolled.

(4) The successful blockade of Brest by Admiral Cornwallis greatly hampered the French.

(5) Nelson blockaded Villeneuve in Toulon, but the latter escaped and sailed to the West Indies followed by Nelson, whom he evaded, returning at once to Europe.

(6) **1805.** July 22. Villeneuve defeated off Finisterre by Sir Robert Calder. He then put in to Cadiz to refit instead of uniting with the Brest fleet, as Napoleon had ordered. This gave Nelson time to return and ruined the plan of Napoleon, who led the "Army of England" against the Austrians, hoping by victory in the east to make up for failure in the west.

(7) **1805.** October 21. Villeneuve, unjustly accused of cowardice by Napoleon, left Cadiz to seek Nelson and was utterly routed at Trafalgar.

α. Nelson drew up his ships in two columns, adopted Rodney's tactics (page 615), and broke the French line in two places. Death of Nelson.

β. The victory saved England from invasion, annihilated the French fleet, and secured for the British navy the command of the sea.

D. The formation of the Third Coalition.

(1) **1804.** Bonaparte had aroused great indignation by kidnapping the Duc d'Enghien in Baden (neutral territory) and executing him for asserted complicity in a plot against him.

(2) **1805.** April. Russia and Great Britain made a tre to drive the French out of Switzerland and Hollan

(3) **1805,** August. Austria joined the Coalition owing the annexation of Genoa by the French and coronation of Napoleon as king of Italy.

(4) **Sweden joined the alliance.**

(5) Frederick William III of Prussia refused to join Coalition, and betrayed the cause of Germany thro fear of opposing Napoleon, from whom he hoped receive Hanover.

E. **The break-up of the Coalition.**

(1) **1805.** October 20. An Austrian army of 30,000 m Mack surrendered at Ulm. Consequent capitula of Vienna to Napoleon.

(2) **1805.** December 2. A combined army of Russi and Austrians routed at Austerlitz.[1]

(3) **1805.** December 15. Haugwitz, the Prussian minis made the treaty of Schönbrunn, by which France Prussia (to which Hanover was granted) made offensive and defensive alliance.

(4) **1805.** December 26. Treaty of Presburg. The weak ing of Austria.

α. Austria ceded Venetia to the French kingdom Italy.

β. The Electors of Würtemberg and Bavaria w made kings independent of Austria.

1806. July. The States on the Lower Rhine Upper Danube were formed into the Confed tion of the Rhine dependent on France.

[1] The story that many fugitives crossing the frozen surface of Lake nitz were drowned owing to the plunging fire of Napoleon's artillery, w broke the ice, is disproved by Rose (*Life of Napoleon*, Vol. II. p. 50

F. Death of Pitt, January 23rd, 1806.

"Austerlitz killed Pitt." His death was hastened by the failure of the Third Coalition, due to Napoleon's military successes and the cowardly policy of Prussia. "Roll up that map,[1] it will not be wanted these ten years."

. **Criticism of Pitt's War Policy.**

A. He aimed at combining the rulers of Europe against the common enemy and maintaining a balance of power. He made no use of the principle of nationality which ultimately proved fatal to Napoleon. He used the wealth England had gained through the recent development of manufactures and extension of commerce to subsidise his allies to fight the French on land and used the British fleet to conquer French colonies and to protect Great Britain.

B. In spite of some victories the military operations of the Coalitions were not ultimately successful. The failure of the British expeditions was due largely to the importance attached to rank, which frequently led to the appointment of incompetent generals to command the army (e.g. the Duke of York).

C. The British navy had been reorganised owing to disputes with Spain and Russia before the French Revolution (page 646). Merit and not rank secured active commands (*e.g.* Nelson), and the naval victories of Great Britain were due not to superiority of numbers but to the skill of her admirals and seamen. The blockade of the French ports in 1805 was of supreme importance. "Those far-distant, storm-beaten ships upon which the Grand Army never looked, stood between it and the dominion of the world."

[1] Of Europe.

D. The political conditions of Europe made common act difficult.

(1) The rulers of different countries failed to appreciate time the danger arising from France.

(2) The objects of the rulers of Austria, Prussia, a Russia were largely selfish.

α. Austria wished to secure Piedmont and to obt parts of Bavaria and Poland.

β. Prussia wished to secure Hanover.

γ. Russia wanted Poland.

(3) It was not until Napoleon had roused the opposit of nations rather than rulers that his power checked.

References (see also page 687):

A. *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution Empire*, by Mahan, Vol. II, pp. 197, etc.
Twelve English Statesmen: Pitt, chap. IX.

B. *Heroes of the Nations, Napoleon*, by Morris, pp. 139–41

C. *A Friend of Nelson*, by Hutchinson. (Longmans.)
Springhaven, by Blackmore. (Sampson Low.)

THE LIFE OF NAPOLEON BONAPART TO 1812

A. August 15, 1769. Born at Ajaccio. Owed much to clever mother, "Madame Mère."

1793. His skilful direction of the French artil led to the recapture of Toulon.

B. 1795. Put down the insurrection of Vendémiaire wit "whiff of grapeshot" and saved the Directory.

C. 1796–7. By the victories of Lodi, 1796 (followed by the capture of Milan), and Rivoli, 1797 (followed by the capture of Mantua), he broke the power of Austria, which, by the Treaty of Campo Formio, obtained Venice, ceded the Austrian Netherlands to France, and recognised the Cisalpine Republic.

D. May, 1798–October, 1799. Bonaparte's Egyptian campaign undertaken in the hope of attacking India.

1798. The Mamelukes routed at the battle of the Pyramids. Capture of Cairo. Nelson's victory at the Nile shut up Bonaparte in Egypt.

1799. Bonaparte invaded Syria, to face a Turkish army which had been sent to recapture Egypt, failed to capture Acre, which was defended by the Turks and Sir Sidney Smith, "the man who made me miss my destiny." He turned to Egypt, defeated the Turks at Aboukir, and, August 22nd, sailed from Alexandria, leaving Kléber in command of his army.

E. During Bonaparte's absence.

(1) November, 1798. Capture of Naples and erection of the Parthenopean Republic by the French.

(2) The Second Coalition had been formed.

(3) March, 1799. The Austrians had defeated the French army of the Rhine near Lake Constance.

(4) June–August, 1799. Suvorov had defeated the French on the Trebbia and at Novi, and driven them out of Northern Italy, but his invasion of Switzerland failed.

(5) France was torn by Royalist revolts, religious schism, financial disaster, and commercial ruin.

F. Bonaparte restored the fortunes of France.

(1) November, 1799. The Directory fell. By the *co*
d'état of Brumaire Bonaparte dissolved the Legislatu
and subsequently became the first of the thr
Consuls of the newly established Consulate. I
made a concordat with the Church, issued the Co
Napoleon, reorganised local government, improv
education, and, with the help of Gaudin, restored t
financial position.

(2) May, 1800. Bonaparte crossed the Great St. Berna
and regained Northern Italy by his brilliant victo
over the Austrians at Marengo.

(3) December 3, 1800. Moreau routed the Austrians
Hohenlinden.

(4) February 9, 1801. By the Peace of Lunéville t
left bank of the Rhine was ceded to France.

G. Bonaparte's attempt to restore the French colonial empi
His attempt was due partly to his love of conque
partly to jealousy of England, and partly to his w
to secure "political and intellectual safety-valves"
France.

(1) 1802. He made the Peace of Amiens (page 6
partly to obtain leisure for this object.

(2) 1802. Failure of his attempt to establish Fre
authority in St. Domingo, although the patriot To
saint l'Ouverture was captured.

(3) 1803. Bonaparte had obtained Louisiana from Spa
but owing to strong opposition in America to
establishment of French power on the Mississippi
sold it to the United States for 60,000,000 francs.

(4) 1803. Failure of an attempt to weaken the Engl
power in India by an alliance with the Mahrattas.

(5) **1800–3.** Unsuccessful attempt to establish French authority in Australia.

1804. May 18th. Bonaparte proclaimed himself the Emperor Napoleon I.

II. **1805.** War renewed with Great Britain.

The proposed invasion averted at Trafalgar.

I. The humbling of Austria, **1805.**

(1) Austria had joined the Third Coalition mainly because Napoleon had annexed Genoa.

(2) The army of England, diverted from Boulogne, captured Mack's army at Ulm and routed the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz.

(3) December 26. By the Treaty of Pressburg Austria ceded Venetia to Italy (Napoleon had assumed the title of King of Italy, March, **1805**), Tyrol to Bavaria. Napoleon recognised the Electors of Bavaria and Wurtemberg as kings, independent of Austria, and exacted a war contribution of 40,000,000 francs.

These harsh terms were unwise. Moderate treatment might have broken the bond between Austria and Great Britain, and secured her hearty support against Russia.

J. The establishment of the Continental System.

The opposition of Great Britain had roused Napoleon's fierce resentment, and having failed to destroy her navy, he determined to close the ports of Europe against her, and thus to attack a "nation of shopkeepers" through her commerce. "The sea must be subdued by the land." It was therefore necessary to get control of the coast-line of Europe, especially of Italy, Holland, and Prussia.

(1) **1806.** Joseph Bonaparte made king of Naples, whence the Bourbons had been driven.

July 4, **1806.** Sir John Stuart defeated the French at Maida and saved Sicily.

(2) **1806.** Louis Bonaparte made king of Holland.

(3) July 12, **1806.** Formation of the Confederation o the Rhine under the protection of Napoleon, includin the kingdoms of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and th Grand Duchy of Baden. Many petty German state hitherto nominally independent, put under th authority of the sixteen members of the Confeder tion.

August, **1806.** End of the Holy Roman Empire.

These changes tended ultimately to promote th union of Germany by diminishing the number o separate states.

(4) The fall of Prussia, **1806.**

Frederick William III was subservient to Nap leon, and the neutrality of Prussia during th Austrian campaign had been ensured by the cession o Hanover, December, **1805.** After the death of Pit January 23rd, **1806,** Fox, the Foreign Secretary in th "Ministry of All the Talents," opened negotiations fo peace with Napoleon, who offered to restore Hanov to Great Britain. Great indignation was felt at th in Prussia, and the national party, supported by th noble Queen Louisa, demanded the evacuation o Germany by the French troops. Napoleon refuse and the execution by martial law of Palm, a booksell of Nuremberg, August 25th, further exasperated th Prussian King who, although not supported b Russia, Austria, or England, determined to resi Napoleon.

October 14, **1806.** The Prussians routed at Jen and Auerstadt.

October 27, **1806.** Napoleon entered Berlin.

(5) The Berlin and Milan Decrees.

November 21, **1806.** France, Italy, Spain, Switze land, Holland, and the Confederation of the Rhi

were forbidden to trade with Great Britain, which was declared to be in a state of blockade. European ports from the Vistula to the Adriatic were shut against British trade. All British goods to be confiscated.

January 7, **1807.** An Order in Council forbade neutral ships on pain of confiscation to trade with the ports of France or of countries observing the Berlin Decree.

January, **1807.** Napoleon seized English goods in the Hanse towns.

March, **1807.** England blockaded the North German coast.

November, **1807.** Further Orders in Council declared the ports of France and her allies in a state of blockade, and forbade the purchase of ships by neutrals from belligerents.

December, **1807.** The Milan Decree declared every vessel trading with Britain or a British colony liable to seizure.

(6) The Peace of Tilsit, July 7, **1807.**

The Grenville ministry had wasted its energies in unsuccessful expeditions to the Dardanelles, to Buenos Ayres, and to Alexandria. It failed to seize the opportunity of checking Napoleon by giving effective aid to Russia.

Napoleon now advanced against Russia, and after a drawn battle at Eylau, February 8th, routed the Russians at Friedland, June 14th. The Czar, Alexander I, enraged at the failure of Great Britain to help him and by the seizure of Russian merchantmen under the Order in Council, and completely won over by the fascination of Napoleon, agreed to the Peace of Tilsit.

α. Alexander agreed to recognise Jerome Bonaparte as king of Westphalia (this further weakened Prussia), assented, although unwillingly, to the cession of the Duchy of Warsaw to Saxony and recognised Joseph as king of Naples.

β. Secret articles bound Alexander to enforce the Continental System in Russia, and to compel Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal to declare war against Great Britain.

September 2, **1807**. Bombardment of Copenhagen and seizure of the Danish fleet by Great Britain which was at peace with Denmark, to prevent it from being used by Russia or France.

This "act of great injustice" was due to military necessity and led to an alliance between Denmark and France. It was justified by the Secret Articles of the Treaty of Tilsit, of which Canning had been informed, and hampered Napoleon by depriving him of the Danish fleet.

(7) Results of Napoleon's policy.

(*a*) His attempt to crush Britain had made him master of Western Europe, and at Tilsit he probably reached the height of his power. But his success no longer, as in **1800**, "promoted the best interests of France." After Austerlitz none of Napoleon's wars had the approval of France.

(*b*) It was impossible rigidly to enforce the Continental System.

α. Napoleon was quite unable to cope with the British navy.

β. The goods of Britain and her colonies included many of the necessaries of life, and an extensive system of smuggling was organised

especially through Heligoland, captured by Britain **1807**. Holland, where Louis Bonaparte refused to enforce the decrees, and Sicily (page 679) supplied British goods to Continental consumers though at a greatly increased price. Napoleon's soldiers at Eylau wore overcoats from Leeds and shoes from Northampton.

γ. Napoleon failed to prevent the transport of corn from the Continent to England.

(*c*) Her navy, the development of her manufactures, her command of colonial markets and her contraband trade with Europe enabled Britain to withstand Napoleon, and the ruin of neutral commerce strengthened her mercantile marine. But she suffered greatly from this great commercial war which led—

α. To acute distress in England (in **1810** the average price of wheat was 103s. a quarter);

β. To the war with the United States (page 692).

(*d*) The Continental System led ultimately to the fall of Napoleon.

α. The suffering it entailed on the Continental consumers aroused great indignation.

β. His attempt to compel Portugal to accept the Berlin Decrees was one of the causes of the Peninsular War, **1807–14** (page 687).

γ. Alexander I strongly resented the injury to Russian trade resulting from this policy, and his failure to enforce the system was one reason for Napoleon's expedition to Moscow, **1812**.

K. The Peninsular War (page 687).

L. The second conquest of Austria, **1809.**

(1) Owing to the Peninsular War, Napoleon's treatmen of Prussia, the revolt of the Tyrol under Hofe against Bavaria, and the injury to her commerc caused by the Continental System, Austria declare war against France and made peace with England.

(2) Napoleon returned from Spain, was repulsed by th Austrians at Aspern, skilfully extricated his arm from a most dangerous position at Lobau, and route the Archduke Charles at Wagram, July 6, **180** But the loss of many veteran soldiers in this campaig seriously weakened Napoleon's military forces.

(3) October 14, **1809.** The Treaty of Vienna or Schö brunn.

α. Austria gave up the Illyrian coast includi Trieste to France.

β. Austrian Poland was added to the Duchy Warsaw, which had been granted to the Ki of Saxony.

γ. Russia received part of Austrian Galicia.

Austria now adopted the Continental System again England, and deserted Hofer, the Tyrolese patrio who was captured and executed by order of Napole (Feb., **1810**).

(4) The Walcheren Expedition, July–December, **1809.**

As a diversion in favour of Austria, Castlereag July, **1809**, sent an army of 40,000, commanded b the incompetent Earl of Chatham and escorted b a fleet of 245 vessels commanded by Admiral S Richard Strachan, to attack Antwerp, a dangero commercial rival of London, which was too weak t resist a vigorous attack. Operations were hampere by quarrels between the commanders, and, owing t

the delay caused by Chatham's successful attack on Flushing, Antwerp was fortified and guarded by the French fleet which the English had foolishly failed to intercept. Owing to the damp, to lack of drinking-water and of proper accommodation, 11,000 out of the 40,000 troops were stricken with fever by September. The army returned home, leaving 15,000 men to hold the swampy island of Walcheren. After losing many more men the remainder left Walcheren December 24.

(5) December, **1809**. Napoleon desiring an heir to succeed him divorced Josephine, and after failing to secure the hand of a sister of Alexander I married Marie Louise, daughter of the Emperor of Austria, April 2, **1810**. This marriage strengthened Napoleon's position and complicated European politics by ensuring an alliance between France and Austria.

M. The Russian Campaign, **1812**.

(1) Causes.

In spite of the Treaty of Tilsit, **1807** and a friendly meeting at Erfurt, September, **1808**, Alexander was suspicious of Napoleon.

(*a*) Alexander wished Prussia to remain as a buffer state against the French and did not approve of the action of Napoleon who, in accordance with the desire to crush Prussia which he had shown after Jena, had compelled Frederick William III to limit his army and maintained French garrisons in some of the chief towns of Prussia.

(*b*) Ill-feeling had been caused by the failure of the negotiations for the marriage of Napoleon to Alexander's sister and by Napoleon's speedy marriage to Marie Louise.

(*c*) Alexander strongly resented the grant of the Duchy of Warsaw to Saxony, and feared that Napoleon meant to make Poland independent of Russia.

(*d*) **1810.** Napoleon seized Oldenburg, although the Duke had married Alexander's sister.

(*e*) December, **1810.** Owing to the great injury to Russian trade Alexander abandoned the Continental System and, encouraged by the example of Wellington at Torres-Vedras, determined to adopt a defensive policy.

(2) The advance into Russia and the retreat.

Napoleon's "Grand Army" consisted of 600,000 men supported by contingents from Austria and Prussia. He crossed the Niemen June 23–25, **1812**, and marched towards Moscow. His army had to "live upon the country" and found great difficulty in obtaining supplies in a country naturally unfertile and now devastated by its inhabitants.

September 7, **1812.** French victory at Borodino "the bloodiest fight of the century," when each side lost about 40,000 men.

September 14, **1812.** The French entered Moscow.

September 14–20, **1812.** The burning of Moscow due either to the deliberate act of the Russians or to the carelessness of drunken plunderers or to both.

October 18, **1812.** Napoleon, disappointed that the occupation of Moscow had not compelled the surrender of Alexander, evacuated Moscow. The Russian cavalry compelled him to return along the devastated line of his advance. Owing to lack of provisions, the incessant attacks of the Russians, the bitter cold, and the loss of 12,000 men drowned in the Beresina, out of 600,000 men who had crossed the Niemen in June "only 20,000 famished, frost-bitten unarmed spectres" recrossed it in December.

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THE PENINSULAR WAR, 1808-14

Causes.

A. Napoleon wished to conquer the Peninsula.

(1) Portugal, an old commercial ally of England, refused to accept the Berlin Decrees, and was occupied by the French.

(2) June, **1808**. Napoleon's brother Joseph appointed king of Spain on the forced resignation of Charles IV and his son Ferdinand, who had fallen into Napoleon's power. "France was now overriding peoples." Great national rising in Spain against French domination, and the expulsion of Joseph from Madrid, July, **1808**. The first appearance of national resistance to Napoleon (the resistance of Spain and Portugal) showed that "a whole people is more powerful than disciplined armies." The defeat of the French at Baylen by the Spaniards on July 19, and the expulsion of Joseph greatly impaired the prestige of the French and encouraged the Spaniards to resist them.

B. Great Britain decided to support Portugal. This was change in British policy, which had been hitherto nava and colonial. But the French had now no colonies lef and Great Britain adopted a policy of operations o land.

C. The Peninsular War was very important because weakened Napoleon's operations elsewhere, and checke his designs against British commerce. It was "a veri able ulcer, the original source of all his misfortunes."

II. **The Saving of Portugal.**

A. Wellesley saw that Portugal could easily be defended, w an excellent base, and could be reached easily by se His first object was to drive the French from Portugal

B. **1808.** Wellesley defeated the French at Roriça a Vimiero, but his superior officer, Sir Hew Dalrympl made the Convention of Cintra, August 30, by whic the defeated French were allowed to evacuate Portug with all their spoils. The Convention was too favo able to the French, but it secured Portugal, which prov invaluable to Wellesley as a base of operations and safe retreat.

C. **1808.** Napoleon, enraged by the Convention of Cintr himself invaded Spain, entered Madrid, replaced Josep on the throne, and then moved against Sir John Moor who had superseded Dalrymple. Napoleon was co pelled to return to France, leaving Soult to pursue Moor Moore conducted a brilliant retreat, defeated Soult Corunna, where he was killed, January 16, **1809.** Moo had saved Lisbon from attack by Napoleon and pos poned the French conquest of Southern Spain.

D (1) **1809.** Wellesley returned to Portugal and defeated th French at Talavera, for which he was created Viscou Wellington.

(2) Wellington fell back on Portugal owing to reinforcements under Massena being sent by Napoleon after his victory at Wagram.

September 27, **1810.** Defeat of Massena at Busaco.

(3) The lines of Torres-Vedras (a triple line of fortifications from Lisbon to the sea, fifty miles long, strengthened by 150 forts) saved Portugal. Massena, recognising their strength, retreated, and this retreat proved the turning point of the war. The British Government, which had hitherto been somewhat remiss, henceforth gave Wellington steady and strong support.

E. **1811.** Wellington defeated Massena at Fuentes d'Onoro May 5, and Beresford defeated Soult at Albuera May 16, and captured Almeida, the last fortress in Portugal held by the French, thus finally clearing Portugal of the French, and securing a base of attack on the long lines of the French, which extended from Madrid to Bayonne.

II. The Advance into Spain.

A. The first attempt.

1812. Wellington captured Ciudad Rodrigo January 19 and Badajoz April 6. These successes (sullied by shameful excesses on the part of the victorious soldiers) rendered Wellington's advance into Spain possible. He defeated Marmont at Salamanca July 22, **1812,** and entered Madrid. He thus cleared South and Central Spain of the French, but, after having failed to capture Burgos, had to retreat on Portugal before the superior numbers of the enemy. This advance into Spain was a mistake, and the discipline of the army greatly deteriorated on the retreat.

Napoleon's power was now greatly weakened.

a. Russia had turned against him because of lo
of trade through the Berlin Decrees, and b
cause Alexander was jealous of the marria
of Napoleon with an Austrian princess.

β. In Prussia there was a national uprising, i
spired by Stein, against Napoleon.

γ. The retreat from Moscow.

B. **1813.** The successful advance.

(1) This was rendered possible owing to the possession
Almeida, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Badajoz, and eas
because of the withdrawal of many French (vetera
troops from Spain for Russia, and their replaceme
by conscripts. Liverpool (Prime Minister, June, 181
gave more efficient aid to Wellington, who was a
helped by the great improvement in the Portugue
army.

(2) June 21, **1813.** Wellington defeated Joseph
Vittoria.

The battle of Vittoria—

a. Cleared Central Spain of the French.

β. Encouraged the Austrians to oppose Napole
(page 698).

(3) August 31, **1813.** Wellington's lieutenant, Graha
captured St. Sebastian by storm.

October 31, **1813.** Pampeluna surrendered af
heroic resistance.

These successes facilitated his advance into Fran

(4) Soult was sent back by Napoleon to oppose Wellingt
, but was defeated at the battles of the Pyren
(July, **1813**) and driven back to France.

V. **The Invasion of France.**

Wellington followed Soult into France and won the battles of Nivelle, November 10, 1813; Nive, December 9–13; and Orthez, February 27, 1814.

April 10, 1814. Wellington defeated Soult at Toulouse after a desperate encounter, in which the victors lost more than the vanquished.

. **The Conditions of the War.**

A. The French—

(1) Required enormous armies for communications, to hold conquests and to replace losses. They found the war "a running sore."

(2) Suffered greatly from guerilla warfare, for which the country was well adapted.

(3) Quarrels between Soult and Massena weakened their cause.

(4) It was impossible for the French to "live on the country" owing to its poverty.

(5) Their enormous baggage trains impeded the army.

B. The British.

(1) The mountains of Portugal formed an excellent base.

(2) The command of the sea made it easy to send reinforcements and supplies.

(3) Their shooting was much better than that of the French, and the British soldiers proved far more steady than the French in battle.

(4) The Spanish regulars proved at first unreliable, especially at Talavera and Salamanca, but after 1812 there was a great improvement in the Spanish and Portuguese armies owing to better discipline. The guerilla troops greatly harassed the French.

(5) Perceval, **1809–12**, did not strongly support Wellington, who was greatly hampered by lack of stores although the Tories favoured the war. But Liverpool (**1812**) gave good support, and this made success easier to attain.

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THE WAR WITH AMERICA, 1812–1

I. **Causes.**

A. Trade disputes.

(1) American trade with Europe had been greatly injur by Napoleon's Decrees and the Orders in Coun especially by—

α. The Order of November, **1807**, which authoris the seizure of any American vessel whi while sailing to a European port closed British vessels, failed first to touch at a Brit port, and

β. By the Milan Decree of December, **1807**, whi ordered the seizure of any American ves obeying this Order.

(2) There were two parties in America. The Federalists of the north desired to maintain friendship with Britain, the Mistress of the Seas, and some advocated secession from the United States and union with Canada.

The Republicans of the south were hostile to England and hoped to conquer Canada.

(3) President Jefferson opposed war, but advocated retaliatory laws.

1807. An Embargo Act forbade American ships to sail from American to foreign ports. This act was modified by—

1809. A Non-Intercourse Act, which forbade intercourse with Great Britain, France, and their dependencies, but allowed trade with other European ports. These laws—

α. Led to a commercial crisis in England owing to the rise in price of American goods;

β. Promoted the development of manufactures in New England;

γ. Ruined many southern planters, who could not sell their surplus stock of tobacco.

B. The question of impressment.

(1) The British claimed the right of searching American ships for deserters.

(2) The Americans readily granted papers of naturalisation to aliens, and frequently encouraged British sailors to desert and take service in the American navy.

The British refused to recognise such naturalisation, and maintained that British subjects owed "inalienable obedience" to their country.

(3) Owing to the vigorous assertion of British claim (notably in **1807**, when three American citizens an one English deserter were taken by force from a American ship), several thousand American subject had been impressed for service on British ships.

C. The Americans thought that the British gave countenance if not actual aid, to the Shawnee chief Tecumthe, wh had stirred up rebellion in the north-west.

D. The attitude of British statesmen to America aggravate the ill-feeling. Canning, in **1812**, said that "generall speaking, they [the Americans] were not a people w should be proud to acknowledge as our relations," an one of the British envoys, Jackson, aggravated th dispute by his lack of tact and consideration.

II. **The War.**

A. On land.

(1) The great lakes. Lake Erie.

1812. The Americans attempted to attack Upper Canad from the two ends of Lake Erie, but were defeate by the British and Tecumthe at Detroit in August and by the British at Queenstown in October.

1813. A victory of Commodore Perry secured Lake Eri for the Americans.

Lake Ontario.

1813. The Americans captured Toronto and burnt th Parliament House, but an attack on Montreal failed.

1814. July. General Drummond defeated the American at Lundy's Lane, near Niagara.

(2) Washington.

Major-General Ross, whose force had been strengthened by the addition of some Peninsular veterans, defeated the Americans at Bladensburg, captured Washington, and burnt the public buildings.

α. This act was regarded as a retaliation for the burning of the Parliament House at Toronto and of Canadian private property.

β. It was apparently justified by the strict rules of war, but was generally regarded as a piece of vandalism.

1814. Ross was killed in an unsuccessful attack on Baltimore.

(3) New Orleans.

1815. January (after the Treaty of Ghent had been signed). Failure of a mismanaged attack by Peninsular soldiers on New Orleans, which was skilfully defended by Andrew Jackson, afterwards President. Death of the British general, Sir Edward Pakenham (Wellington's brother-in-law).

B. At sea. No great naval battle, but many duels between individual ships.

(1) Contrary to expectation, the Americans gained many naval successes, partly owing to superior shooting, partly because American frigates were more heavily armed and timbered than British.

1812. August. Capture of the British frigate *Guerrière* by the American *Constitution*.

(2) In consequence of repeated losses the British strengthened their frigates, improved their shooting, and chose better crews.

1813. June 1. The British frigate *Shannon*, Captain Broke, owing to superior gunnery and a gallant feat of boarding, captured in fifteen minutes the *Chesapeake*, Captain Lawrence. Subsequent operations were less important and fairly even in result.

(3) Great damage was done to British merchantmen eve in British waters by American privateers; 160 British ships were taken by the Americans, who cap tured a dispatch boat in the Straits of Dover an gained many successes off the coast of Ireland.

III. **The Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814—**

Made peace, but settled none of the points at issue The commercial disputes were settled by the fall o Napoleon. The frontier boundaries were left for futur settlement.

[1846. The Oregon Treaty fixed the forty-ninth parallel a the boundary between the United States and Canada.]

IV. **General Notes.**

A. Great Britain did not wish to fight, but was forced int war partly owing to ineffective diplomacy. The urgen need of checking Napoleon distracted the attention o British statesmen from the American War, and partl accounts for the inefficiency of their arrangements.

B. The war endangered the cause of freedom in Europe b setting "one free people against another free people i the interest of Napoleon, the real enemy of them both.

C. The war showed the great risks run by a commercial stat from privateers, even when the opposing navy was kep in check, and greatly embittered the ill-feeling betwee England and the United States.

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THE TREATIES OF PARIS AND THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

The Battle of Leipzig, 1813.

A. Napoleon's authority had been weakened.

(1) His prestige had been impaired by the Russian campaign of **1812**, and Wellington's successes had shown that the French army was not invincible.

(2) Napoleon in **1812** and **1813** had lost three-quarters of a million of men by death, wounds, or capture, and the newly enrolled conscripts were far inferior to the veterans they replaced.

(3) The conviction that Napoleon was fighting for his own interests rather than those of France made the French less ready to support him.

B. Europe had united against Napoleon.

(1) Alexander I was anxious to take vengeance for the invasion of Russia.

(2) Frederick William III had been won over by Alexander, and strongly resented the domination of Prussia by the French (**1806–12**). Prussian national feeling had been roused by the reforms of Stein (who had abolished serfdom and diminished the privileges of the nobility), of Scharnhorst (who organised the Prussian army), of William von Humboldt (who established a national system of education).

(3) Bernadotte, Crown Prince of Sweden, although one of Napoleon's marshals, joined the allies, who confirmed him in the possession of Norway, which he had seized.

(4) The King of Bavaria, who owed his position to Napoleon, on receiving from Prussia and Austria a guarantee of independence, also joined the allies, but Napoleon retained Saxony for a time.

(5) Great Britain continued the Peninsular War, and Castlereagh's firmness and liberal grants kept the allies together.

(6) Francis II, Emperor of Austria, although Napoleon had married his daughter Marie Louise, April 2, **1810**, declared war August 12, **1813**, because Napoleon refused to limit France to her "natural boundaries"—the Rhine and the Alps, and partly owing to Wellington's victory at Vittoria, June 21, **1813**.

C. The battle of Leipzig, October 16–19, **1813**.

Called the "Battle of Nations," lasted three days during which 110,000 men were killed or wounded. Napoleon was weakened by the desertion of the Saxons and overwhelmed by superior numbers. Central Europe and Holland rose against Napoleon. The allies invaded France, Napoleon was again defeated at Arcis-sur-Aube and the allies entered Paris March 31, **1814**.

II. The Provisional Treaty of Paris.

A provisional Government was formed with Talleyrand as President.

Louis XVIII,[1] brother of Louis XVI, was made king owing to the diplomacy of Talleyrand.

Napoleon abdicated and made the provisional Treaty of Paris with Austria, Prussia, and Russia, by which it was provided that—

(1) Napoleon should give up all claim to the thrones of France and Italy and receive the principality of Elba and £180,000 a year.

(2) Marie Louise should receive the Duchy of Parma.

This was a treaty with Napoleon and not with France.

[1] The title of Louis XVII was given to the Dauphin, who died a prisoner in the Temple June 10, 1795.

II. **The First Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814.**

Made by Talleyrand, acting for Louis XVIII, and the allies.

(1) France to be limited to the territories she held on January 1, 1792, with the addition of Western Savoy and portions of Alsace. No indemnity required from France.

(2) All French colonies to be restored except Mauritius, St. Lucia, and Tobago.

(3) Germany to become a Confederacy.

(4) Holland and Belgium to be united under the sovereignty of the House of Orange.

(5) Austria to receive Venice and Lombardy.

(6) Italy to be divided into independent states.

(7) The independence of Switzerland guaranteed.

(8) A European congress at Vienna to make final arrangements.

V. **The Congress of Vienna, November, 1814–June, 1815.**

A. Talleyrand's successful diplomacy.

The intention of Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria to dominate the Congress was most skilfully foiled by Talleyrand, who took advantage of the strong resentment roused by the attempts of Russia and Prussia to secure Poland and Saxony, to unite against them Great Britain (jealous of Russia), Austria (jealous of Prussia), France, and many smaller states. The danger of war between the two parties, at one time imminent, was averted, and France, although so recently defeated, played a most important part in the Congress.

B. Other difficult questions were—

(1) The settlement of Italy.

α. Metternich wished to confirm Murat, Napoleon brother-in-law, in the kingdom of Naples, i which he had succeeded Joseph Bonaparte.

β. Great Britain had promised to secure the ind pendence of Genoa.

γ. The proposal to give Parma and Piacenza t Marie Louise roused considerable opposition.

δ. The idea of the unity of Italy, supported l Murat and possibly favoured by Great Britai was strongly opposed by the majority.

(2) The Norwegians objected to union with Sweden, a Belgium objected to union with Holland.

(3) Prussia claimed Luxemburg, which would have undu strengthened her position in the west.

C. The final settlement.

(1) Prussia received Swedish Pomerania, Westphal Northern Saxony, the parts of Poland gained the two first partitions (**1772** and **1793**), and the l bank of the Rhine from Aix-la-Chapelle to Mayence

(2) Russia obtained the Duchy of Warsaw in Poland a Finland, ceded by Sweden.

(3) Italy, which Metternich declared was "only a g graphical expression," was not united.

α. Murat was shot, and the Bourbon Ferdinand regained Naples.

β. Marie Louise received Parma and Piacenza her life.

γ. Genoa was given to Sardinia.

(4) The crowns of Sweden and Norway were united, but Norway was not incorporated in Sweden.

(5) Holland and Belgium were united under the House of Orange.

(6) Luxemburg was formed into a Grand Duchy and given to the House of Orange, although not united with Holland.

(7) Switzerland became a confederation, and its independence was guaranteed by the powers.

(8) Germany was organised as a confederation of thirty-eight lay states with a permanent Diet sitting at Frankfürt under the authority of Austria. The ecclesiastical states, which had played a great part in the history of Germany, were abolished.

(9) Austria recovered Venetia and Lombardy and received the Tyrol.

(10) Great Britain kept Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope, Trinidad, St. Lucia, Tobago, Malta, Heligoland, and the protectorate of the Ionian Islands.

D. Criticism.

(1) Great Britain, which had spent £600,000,000 on the war, did not derive the advantage that her great efforts against Napoleon deserved and her influence at the Congress would have warranted. The break-up of Napoleon's empire made British subsidies no longer necessary for the opponents of France, and partly accounts for the subsequent weakening of British influence in Europe.

(2) The principle of nationality (page 661) was disregarded. The tendency towards unity in the case of Italy and Germany was checked. An attempt was made to unite Sweden and Norway and Holland and Belgium in spite of strong national differences. The history of the nineteenth century is largely the history of the failure of these arrangements.

(3) The extension of Russia to the west brought her int closer relation with European politics, and the acquis tion of Finland by Russia and of Swedish Pomeran by Prussia made these nations supreme in the Balti and greatly diminished the importance of Denmar and Sweden.

(4) The Congress of Vienna inaugurated the "system the Great Powers," which involved the diminution the influence of the secondary powers and led to—

September 26, **1815.** The Holy Alliance made Russia, Austria, and Prussia. England refused join.

α. By this treaty Christianity was declared the ba of good government, and the three sovereig undertook to act with Christian brotherho to each other.

β. But their main aim was to strengthen monarc cal power and to prevent the extension of t idea of the sovereignty of the people.

Reference:

A. *Revolutionary Europe*, by Stephens. Chaps. x. and (Rivingtons.)

THE HUNDRED DAYS AND ST. HELENA

I. The Return of Napoleon to Paris, March 20, 1815.

A. The Bourbons had "learned nothing and forgotten nothin in exile. Louis XVIII had granted a charter guarant ing representative government and individual liberty, b the people had been alienated by the favour sho to returned *émigrés*, and by the violence of the reste clergy. The entry of the allies into Paris had rou

national feeling, and the army longed for the return of Napoleon, although many of his marshals professed loyalty to Louis XVI, and Ney, on hearing he had landed, promised to bring him to Paris "in an iron cage."

B. 1 March, **1815.** Napoleon landed near Cannes. He gained the enthusiastic support of the army, including Ney, and was welcomed by the people as the only man who could save them from the hated domination of the allies. Louis XVIII fled to Ghent. Napoleon entered Paris March 20. He promised individual liberty and the freedom of the Press, and in less than three months raised 140,000 efficient soldiers and 200,000 reserves.

C. Napoleon's return united the allies, who declared that he was "abandoned to public justice," and prepared to invade France from the south-east, through Alsace and Lorraine and through the Low Countries. Napoleon determined to attack the extreme right of the allies in Belgium, where the people strongly resented their recent union with Holland (page 701).

. Ligny and Quatre Bras, June 16, 1815.

A. Wellington's army was stationed near Brussels, Blücher's near Liége. Their object was to unite their forces and to march on Paris. Napoleon wished to attack them separately, to crush them before they united, and then to capture Brussels.

B. June 16. Napoleon defeated Blücher at Ligny. Blücher retired in good order, not to Namur (about twenty-five miles from Waterloo) as Napoleon expected, but to Wavre (only about ten miles from Waterloo).

C. June 16. Mainly owing to the valour of Picton's infantry, Wellington successfully resisted Ney's furious attack at Quatre Bras and withdrew to Waterloo where, relying upon Blücher's promised aid, he resolved to fight Napoleon.

D. Napoleon's manœuvres were far superior to those of h opponents, who were taken by surprise owing to th rapidity of his approach. If all his plans had bee carried out he would probably have defeated Wellingto and captured Brussels, but—

α. Owing to unwise delay at Ligny he failed t press home the advantage he gained an to prevent the orderly retreat of the great part of Blücher's army ;

β. The position at Quatre Bras was held at first b a Dutch-Belgian force, whom Ney would hav defeated if he had attacked them earlier. H delay gave Wellington time to bring up Briti reinforcements.

γ. Owing to contradictory orders from Napole and Ney, D'Erlon's corps of 20,000 men, wh would have ensured a complete victory a Ligny or Quatre Bras, did not come in action at all on June 16.

δ. Napoleon sent Grouchy to the south-east towar Namur to pursue Blücher, who had actual retreated in a northerly direction to Wavre.

ε. June 17. Napoleon, not owing to illness (h "was in his usual health": Rose), but to h belief that there was no further danger fro Blücher, neglected to join Ney and march o Quatre Bras. Had he done so he wou probably have captured Brussels.

III. **Waterloo, June 18, 1815.**

A. The opposing forces.

(1) Wellington's army numbered 67,000, including 24,0 British troops, 6000 Brunswickers, 11,000 Han verians, and 17,000 Dutch Belgians. The last we untrustworthy, many of the British troops we

militia recruits, and racial differences impaired the cohesion of the army "in which five languages were spoken."

(2) Napoleon's army numbered 72,000, mostly experienced soldiers, and he had a great advantage in artillery and cavalry.

B. The arrangement of the troops.

(1) Wellington's front, held by infantry and guns, extended for about two miles along the crest of a slope. His right was protected by the wood and château of Hougoumont. Sixty yards in front of the centre was the farm of La Haye Sainte. The reserves were stationed behind Hougoumont, and most of the cavalry in the rear of the centre. In front of the extreme left were the hamlets of La Haye and Papelotte, and Smohain. Wellington has been blamed for not bringing into action 17,000 men whom he had sent to guard the approach to Brussels.

(2) Napoleon's front consisted of two lines of infantry, its centre resting on the farm of La Belle Alliance. Behind these came the cavalry; the Imperial Guard was posted as reserve in the rear. The village of Planchenoit lay behind the right centre.

C. The battle.

Wellington stood on the defensive. Napoleon delayed his attack until the sun dried the muddy ground sufficiently to admit of rapid manœuvres. This delay was of supreme importance, as the Prussians, whom Grouchy had failed to cut off, were hurrying to the field as fast as the very heavy country allowed.

(1) 11.30 a.m. First attack on Hougoumont, which was gallantly defended all the day against vastly superior forces by the Guards, whose success made the French left ineffective.

(2) 1.30 p.m. D'Erlon's attack on La Haye Sainte
pulsed by Picton's infantry and Ponsonby's Uni
Brigade of cavalry, including the Scots Greys w
charged shouting "Scotland for ever!" Death
Picton and Ponsonby.

This success saved the day, although the Briti
advanced too far and suffered greatly in consequen
for by this time the vanguard of the Prussians w
drawing near, and the danger to his right compell
Napoleon to withdraw some of his forces from t
main battle to check the advancing Prussians.

(3) 4.0–6.0 p.m. After a heavy cannonade Napoleon s
his cavalry, under the command of Ney, four tin
against the British centre, where the infantry, n
formed into squares, stood "rooted in the earth
The French cavalry "foamed themselves awa
against the squares, and suffered great loss owing
the repeated charges of the British cavalry.

(4) About 4.30 the Prussian vanguard, under Bül
appeared on the French right.

(5) Ney captured La Haye Sainte, thus securing a positi
within sixty yards of Wellington's centre.

(6) 8.0 p.m. Napoleon, realising the danger from t
Prussians, made a last attempt, sending the Imper
Guard in two divisions against the British right a
centre, and ordering his infantry to attack all along t
line. The attempt failed. The charge of the Brit
Guards, under Maitland, and the 52nd Regime
under Colborne, broke the Imperial Guard a
decided the victory. Wellington[1] ordered "a gene
advance in line." The thin red line drove the Fren
in confusion, and Wellington at La Belle Allian
met Blücher, whose forces pursued the defeated Fren
and completed the destruction of Napoleon's army.

[1] He did not say, "Up, Guards, and at 'em!" but "Stand up, Guar
and make ready!"

D. Criticism.

(1) Napoleon had lessened his chance of success by his failure to follow up his advantage on June 17. He did not appreciate the danger from the returning Prussians, and by using the Imperial Guard to attack the British he exposed the French rear to Blücher's forces.

(2) Napoleon ascribed his defeat to "la bravoure obstinée et indomitable des troupes Anglaises"; and the brilliant charges of Ney (who had four horses shot under him) failed owing to the dogged resistance of the British, who may rightly claim to have defeated Napoleon. But the British, who had been under fire for nine hours, were too tired to press home their advantage. The Prussians had helped the British by their attacks on the right and rear of the French, and they turned the defeat of Napoleon into a rout by the vigour of their pursuit.

(3) The battle showed an interesting difference of tactics between Napoleon, who always attacked in column, and Wellington, who preferred to attack in line

St. Helena.

Napoleon left the field of Waterloo crying, "All is lost!" and fled to Paris. The allies entered Paris July 3, and Blücher, infuriated by the humiliation of Prussia by Napoleon after Jena, wished to shoot Napoleon and blow up the bridge of Jena. Napoleon fled to Rochefort, and on the *Bellerophon* threw himself "upon the hospitality of the British nation." He was sent to St. Helena, where he died of cancer May 5, **1821.**

The treatment of Napoleon at St. Helena has aroused fierce controversy.

(1) It was obviously necessary to keep him under stri surveillance, and the alternative schemes of allowi him to settle in England or America were impossibl

(2) But Lord Rosebery declares that the unpleasantness his captivity was unduly aggravated by the lack tact and foolish suspicions of the Governor, S Hudson Lowe, by the refusal of the British Gover ment to recognise the imperial rank of "Gener Bonaparte," by "the scandalous parsimony" wi which he was treated, and the unnecessary strictne of his custody.

(3) Others, notably Dr. Rose, applaud Sir Hudson Low performance of his most difficult task, assert th repeated plans for Napoleon's escape made str custody necessary, and maintain that Napoleon w guilty of rudeness and treachery towards Lowe.

(4) The difficulty of forming an opinion is increased the extraordinary unveracity of the diaries kept Napoleon's companions.

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C. *The Shadow of the Sword*, by Buchanan. (Chatto and Windus.)
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NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

Difference between his Early and Later Policy.

A. At the beginning of his career his policy was national. He saved France from foreign foes by his victories at Lodi, **1796**, Rivoli, **1797**, Marengo, **1800**, and Austerlitz, **1805**, and used the power thus gained to reform internal abuses (especially in **1799**, page 678) and to reorganise the Government.

B. But later, possibly after the Treaty of Tilsit, **1807**, his policy did not promote the best interests of France. His determination to humble England, combined with his desire for the mastery of Europe, led him into vast schemes of conquest which drained the resources of France and injured her commerce without conferring corresponding benefits. After Austerlitz none of his wars had the approval of France.

C. His later policy, though at times brilliant, is marked by serious faults.

(1) His great success made him underestimate the forces against him. He failed to appreciate

α. The financial resources of England;

β. The strength of national resistance in Spain, Portugal, England, Russia, and, after **1812**, Prussia.

γ. The dependence of Europe upon English commerce.

(2) He showed conspicuous moderation in **1799** to the priests and to the supporters of the Bourbons, but later his tyranny "changed suffering allies into merciless enemies," e.g.—

α. His treatment of Austria after Austerlitz.

β. His policy towards Spain in **1808**;

γ. His great cruelty towards Prussia after Jena.

(3) His ambition grew with success. He wished t emulate Alexander the Great, and his overweenin self-confidence made him undertake great operatio without due consideration of the difficulties involve e.g. the Russian campaign.

II. Napoleon and the French Revolution.

A. Napoleon once asserted "I am the Revolution," and th movement, by sweeping away the old and by paving t way for military despotism, gave to Napoleon, the id of the army, an opportunity of showing his power organisation and reconstruction.

B. But in important points he was opposed to the ideas of t Revolution.

(1) The Revolution had accepted the principle nationality, but Napoleon in his desire to extend h dominions, showed himself strongly antination especially in Prussia and Spain.

(2) The excesses of the Paris mob during the Reign Terror horrified Napoleon. He thoroughly distrust "the people," whom the Revolution had unduly e alted. To him the Paris mob were *canaille* to repressed by force. He recognised the levity a feebleness of character which resulted from t rapid changes of the Revolution, and his colon policy and the revival of the gaiety of Paris und his rule were partly due to the desire to divert t attention of the populace from the problems government, with which he thought them unfit to co

(3) The Revolution was mainly destructive, and failed establish a strong efficient government in place the old regime it had swept away. Napoleon, w realised the need of stable and orderly governme was a great constructive statesman.

(4) The Revolution tended to decentralisation, and there imperilled the unity of France. Napoleon est lished an organised despotism with its centre at Pa

III. **The Reorganisation of France by Napoleon.**

A. Local government.

(1) The Revolution had aimed at decentralisation, and had "split France into forty thousand republics" (Burke), by bestowing self-government on the communes.

(2) Napoleon continued the Departments established by the Constituent Assembly, but appointed in each a Prefect with subordinate officials, sub-prefects and mayors, in the smaller areas. All these officials represented the central power, and thus the centralised despotism of the Bourbons was practically re-established.

B. Legal reforms.

(1) Napoleon restored to the State the appointment of judges, which had been made elective under the Revolution, and established Courts of Appeal.

(2) The codification of the law.

Napoleon rendered inestimable service to French jurisprudence by ensuring the compilation of the Code Napoleon, divided into four parts dealing with civil, commercial, penal, and criminal cases. The Code Napoleon—

α. Established uniformity of principles and procedure;

β. Strengthened the authority of the father over his family;

γ. Weakened the position of women;

δ. Limited the right of a testator over the disposal of his property. This provision, to which Napoleon was opposed, has had an important effect in limiting the birth-rate in France.

C. Education.

(1) Establishment of the new University of France, with general control over the education of the country.

(2) Organisation of secondary education and foundation o many *lycées*, with special provision for science.

(3) Less success followed Napoleon's attempt to organis elementary education.

The close supervision exercised by the State tende to make French education too mechanical.

D. The Concordat.

The ecclesiastical policy of the Revolution had le to fierce opposition between Church and State. Th Pope objected to the civil constitution of the clergy and, owing to discussions between different parties an general disorder, the Church had become a danger an scandal to the nation. Napoleon, anxious for orde made in **1802** the Concordat with Pope Pius VII, b which—

(1) Roman Catholicism was accepted as the religion France, which came into full communion with Rome

(2) The supremacy of the State was asserted over th Church, especially in the nomination of bishops.

(3) Religious liberty was granted to other sects.

This arrangement—

α. Shows the great difference between Napoleo and the Revolution;

β. Healed the schism between orthodox and "co stitutional" priests;

γ. Secured for Napoleon the support of the Papac

E. The Legion of Honour was established to encourage mer among civilians.

IV. **Napoleon as a General.**

A. He believed firmly in what he called "the divine side war," i.e. in the use of intellect as distinct from me material force. He possessed in a remarkable degr "the gift of strategic imagination."

B. His plans were bold, but not, in his earlier period, impossible for a man of his practical ability, e.g. the campaign of Marengo, **1800**.

C. His power of striking hard and swiftly at the decisive point was of great value in view of the lack of cohesion among the forces of the Coalitions.

α. **1805**. The capitulation of Mack at Ulm ensured the failure of simultaneous expeditions in Holland and Italy.

β. **1805**. The victory at Austerlitz was due to Napoleon's vigorous and well-timed attack on the centre of the Austrian army, which had been weakened by the withdrawal of a large force which was attempting to turn Napoleon's right flank.

γ. **1815**. His decision to attack Wellington and Blücher instead of awaiting the general advance of the allies was wise; his rapid advance gained him a distinct advantage. His failure was due largely to lack of effective co-operation on the part of his generals.

D. He generally made a skilful use of advantages of position, especially—

α. Of the line of the Adige in **1797**, but

β. His choice of the line of the Elbe in **1813** was bad, because it was easy for the allies with their superior numbers to turn this position.

E. His policy of making his army "live on the country" enabled him to reduce the amount of his baggage and facilitated rapid movement. But it failed in poor countries, such as Spain and Russia.

F. In military matters he displayed great power of organisation and a remarkable knowledge of detail, e.g. in the equipment of the army of England, **1804**.

V. **Personal Characteristics.**

A. His personality was overwhelming, and he exercised remarkable fascination over those he met, e.g. over hi soldiers, in spite of the callousness with which h squandered their lives, over Alexander I, especially a Tilsit, **1807**, and over the crew of the *Bellerophon*.

B. But he had little capacity for friendship, and in the hou of need was deserted by all (including his wife), excep the few devoted adherents who accompanied him t St. Helena.

C. He said, "I am not a man like other men," and though that religious and moral restrictions did not bind hin Although in his will he professed adherence to th Apostolic Roman Church, he was probably a materialis without belief in Christ. His private life was shame lessly immoral.

D. But he was a man of outstanding and many-sided ability "He carried human faculty to the farthest point which we have accurate knowledge" (Morris).

References:

A. *The Life of Napoleon I*, by Holland Rose. Chap. XLI (Bell and Sons.)

Heroes of the Nations: Napoleon, by Morris. Chap. XI (Putnam.)

Napoleon: The Last Phase, by Lord Rosebery. Chap. XV (Humphreys.)

C. *My Uncle Bernac.*

THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND, 1815-2

I. **The Royal Family.**

The King's insanity kept him in the backgroun The Royal Family were deservedly unpopular.

(1) The Prince Regent (George IV, 1820–30), although "the first gentleman in Europe," was most unpopular owing to his gross immorality, his extravagance, and his stubborn opposition to progress.

(2) The Prince Regent's only child, Princess Charlotte, married Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg (King of the Belgians, 1830–1865), but died November 6, 1817.

(3) As there were no legitimate grandchildren of George III, four royal marriages were announced in 1818.

α. The Princess Elizabeth married the Landgrave of Hesse Homburg.

β. The Duke of Clarence (afterwards William IV) married Adelaide of Saxe Meiningen.

γ. The Duke of Cambridge married Augusta of Hesse.

δ. The Duke of Kent married Victoria of Saxe-Coburg, sister of Prince Leopold.

The unpopularity of the Royal Family was shown by the reluctance of the Commons to grant marriage allowances.

α. £10,000 a year was asked for the Duke of Clarence, but the Commons voted only £6000, which he refused to accept.

β. Strong, although unavailing, opposition was offered to the grant of £6000 for the dukes of Cambridge and Kent respectively.

γ. The Commons refused to give the additional grant requested for the Duke of Cumberland.

(4) The Princess of Wales (Caroline) became Queen 1820.

The Prince Regent had married Caroline of Brunswick. After her separation from him her most indiscreet conduct caused grave scandal. She lived abroad from 1814–20.

1820. The ministers refused to agree to the King' demand for a divorce unless the Queen returned t England, but ordered that she was not to be receive at foreign courts, and that her name should be re moved from the Liturgy.

1820. June. In spite of the advice of Henr Brougham, her Attorney-General, she returned t England, and was received with enthusiasm by th people who hated the King. She refused to liv abroad unless her name was inserted in the Praye Book and she was received with royal honours a foreign courts.

1820. 8 July. Liverpool introduced a Bill of Pain and Penalties, depriving her of her title and di solving her marriage. The Bill, strongly supporte by Eldon, was carried by only nine votes in th Lords and therefore dropped. These proceedings wo public sympathy for the Queen, and London wa illuminated for three nights after the withdrawal o the Bill.

The Commons, largely owing to Brougham, vote her an annuity of £50,000, but her foolish attempt t force her way into Westminster Abbey at the King coronation 19 July, **1821**, alienated public sympathy.

1821. 7 August. Death of Queen Caroline.

II. The Tory Ministry of Lord Liverpool, 1812–27.

A. Liverpool and his colleagues had strongly supporte Wellington and actively opposed Napoleon, whose fa was largely due to their efforts.

B. After the fall of Napoleon they refused to join the Ho Alliance (page 702), but acquiesced in the restorati of the unpopular Bourbons in France, and in the grow of the power of Russia, thus promoting the cause

absolutism. The Aliens Act of **1818**, by which the Government reserved the right of expelling aliens, and the Foreign Enlistment Act of **1819**, to prevent British subjects from volunteering for service abroad, were due to their sympathy with foreign rulers.

C. Their desire to continue half the Income Tax, levied as a war tax, in time of peace, and to maintain an army of 150,000 men, presumably for further interference on the Continent if necessary, aroused great opposition.

D. In domestic politics the ministry was conservative[1] and reactionary, especially Castlereagh, the Foreign Secretary (succeeded in **1822** by Canning, whose policy was more liberal), Eldon, the Lord Chancellor, and Sidmouth (formerly Addington), the Home Secretary. They failed to deal with the "Condition of England" question (the condition of the poorest classes), the Poor Law, Parliamentary and Social Reform, Education, and the reorganisation of the finances. The Whigs, who did not obtain office until **1830**, therefore adopted the policy of Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform.

E. Although Prime Minister, Liverpool did not prominently identify himself with any of the chief problems of the day, and he was overshadowed by Castlereagh in the early and by Canning in the later period of his administration. But he was a man of great tact, gained the confidence of his supporters, and for nearly fifteen years his personal influence kept together a ministry some of the members of which were divided by serious differences of opinion and by personal antipathy. His disablement by illness deprived the ministry of its bond of union.

II. Causes of Distress and Discontent.

From various reasons England suffered more from **1815–21** than during the Napoleonic wars.

[1] The term Conservative was not employed as a party name until 1831.

A. Political.

Parliament did not represent the nation. Seats were not distributed according to population, there was no uniform qualification for the franchise, "pocket" boroughs gave to their owners undue influence in the Commons, and bribery was general.

B. Financial.

(1) Owing to the war the National Debt had increased to £800,000,000, and the interest of this was a heavy charge on the country.

(2) The people objected to the cost of maintaining a large army in time of peace, and to the retention of half of the Property Tax.

1816. In spite of the opposition of the Government Brougham carried a motion for the repeal of the Property Tax (which was reimposed as Income Tax in **1842**).

(3) Largely owing to the extravagance of the Prince of Wales the Civil List had greatly increased, and amounted to nearly £1,500,000 in **1815**.

(4) The necessity of spending large sums on the war had led to great extravagance in the administration of the finances, even in time of peace, and Vansittart proved an incompetent Chancellor of the Exchequer repealing without sufficient reason in **1816** the profitable malt tax, and proposing to add to the burden of debt by raising £11,500,000 by loan instead of by temporarily suspending the Sinking Fund.

(5) Much money was squandered in unnecessary pensions.

(6) Trade was hampered by the "delusive paper currency," the Bank of England notes being at a discount.

C. Agricultural.

The fall of Napoleon marked the end of the period of agricultural prosperity, which had been somewhat fictitious.

(1) Bad harvests and the Continental System led to a rise in prices, and the average price of wheat from **1808–13** was 108s. per quarter. The supply of labour was ample, and the low wages which resulted were further diminished by the absurd Poor Law, which gave relief to able-bodied paupers in proportion to the size of their families. Thus the advantage of the rise in prices went to the farmers and landlords, while the "poor man's bread was made dear in order that the rich man's rental might be high."

(2) **1813.** A good harvest caused a fall in prices, which ruined many yeomen farmers and caused the failure of many country banks. Owing to this and to the fear of Continental competition

(3) **1815.** A Corn Law was passed to protect the landed class, prohibiting the importation of corn until the price reached 80s. a quarter.

(4) **1815.** A severe winter was followed by a bad harvest in **1816.** This led to a rise in the price of wheat, which rose from 52s. 6d. per quarter in January, **1816,** to 111s. 6d. in June, **1817.**

D. Commercial.

During the war British export trade had increased in spite of the Continental System; Britain secured the carrying trade of the world, and the colonial empire grew.

(1) But after the war British trade suffered because—

α. Continental purchasers were greatly impoverished by the war;

β. Manufactures on the Continent were re-established.

(2) The displacement of labour by machinery continued.

E. Many men could not find work.

The large number of men unemployed owing t agricultural depression and the use of machinery wa increased by disbanded soldiers and sailors. In fou years 121,000 seamen were discharged. A number o officers found employment in the colonies or foreig service (e.g. Lord Cochrane in the service of Chi and Brazil), but there was great distress among office and men.

IV. **The Leaders of Opposition.**

A. Sir Francis Burdett and Lord John Russell led the Refor party in the Commons.

B. William Cobbett (**1762–1835**), the leading journalist o the time, originally a ploughman, published in **1802** th *Weekly Political Register*, which, when in **1816** i price was reduced to 2d., obtained a circulation o 50,000 weekly. He opposed the use of force, looke to Parliament for redress of grievances, and advocate annual parliaments and universal suffrage. Largel owing to his influence, many "Hampden societies" wer founded to secure these objects.

C. "Orator" Hunt, a Wiltshire farmer, was a prominen speaker.

D. Thomas Spence, bookseller, advocated the nationalisatio of land as a means of alleviating distress.

E. Thistlewood was the leader of the "physical force" part whose violence gravely discredited the attempts o moderate men to secure the redress of grievances b lawful means.

V. **Riots, Disaffection, and Repression.**

A. The destruction of machinery.

(1) The Luddites (named after an imbecile, Ned Lud who in a fit of passion broke two stocking frames) **1811** broke stocking frames and burnt factories

Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, and occasionally murdered those who resisted.

1812 The breaking of machinery was made a capital offence, and twelve Luddites were hanged at York.

(2) Luddism died down for a time partly owing to the good harvest of **1813**, but revived after the bad one of **1816**. Destruction of new implements and machinery by agricultural labourers in the eastern counties.

1816. May. Seizure of Littleport, in Cambridgeshire, by rioters, who were dispersed by military force.

B. The Spa Fields Riot, December 2, **1816**.

Due to the "Spenceans" and extremists led by Thistlewood. Their object was to seize the Tower and set up a Committee of Public Safety. Pillage of gunsmiths' shops. The Lord Mayor, Matthew Wood, bravely resisted, and dispersed the rioters at the Royal Exchange.

C. The attack on the Regent, January 28, **1817**.

A London crowd mobbed the Regent on his return from opening Parliament, and broke his carriage windows.

Parliament wrongly regarded these riots as proofs of the imminent danger of a revolution, which they declared to be the object of the Hampden clubs, which aimed only at parliamentary reform.

(1) March 3, **1817**. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act until July 1.

(2) March 27, **1817**. Lord Sidmouth, by circular, ordered Lords-Lieutenant to apprehend and to hold to bail persons accused of publishing blasphemous and seditious libels.

α. This was an infringement of the liberty of th Press, and was contrary to the spirit of Fox' Libel Act, **1792**, which strictly reserved to th jury the right of deciding the fact and characte of a libel.

β. The attempt failed, and only one conviction wa secured.

γ. In spite of the efforts of Lord Chief Justic Ellenborough to secure a conviction, the jur on December 18 and 19 acquitted Wm. Hon of three charges of blasphemous libel for pul lishing parodies on—

1. The Lord's Prayer, Commandments, an Catechism;
2. The Litany;
3. The Athanasian Creed.

The failure of these charges greatly discredited th Government.

D. The march of the Blanketeers, March, **1817**.

A peaceful march of some hundreds of Lancashi men, carrying blankets to keep themselves warm, t petition the Regent for relief. The Blanketeers got n further than Macclesfield.

E. The Derbyshire insurrection, June, **1817**.

Stirred up by "Captain" Brandreth, partly owing t the influence of "Oliver the Spy," a Government agen and partly owing to the hope of union with th "northern clouds" of agitators from Yorkshire an Lancashire. The movement was very easily suppresse by a small military force near Nottingham.

F. The Manchester or Peterloo Massacre, August 16, **1819**.

The cause of political reform (although discredite owing to its unfair identification with the extrem measures of the "physical force" party) was growin

stronger. Although it had been declared illegal, a meeting was held in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, to follow the example of Birmingham, by choosing a "legislatorial representative." The crowd, variously estimated from 50,000 to 100,000, carried sticks but no arms, but showed by their orderly movements that they had been drilled. The magistrates most foolishly sent a body of yeomanry to arrest the "Radical,"[1] Orator Hunt, on the platform in the middle of the throng, and then, thinking the yeomanry were in danger, ordered four troops of the 15th Hussars to charge the dense crowd. Five or six were killed, about seventy conveyed to hospital, and the injured lay in "several mounds." The indignation caused was aggravated by the approval expressed by the Government and Regent of the action of the magistrates. Hunt was convicted of misdemeanour and not of high treason for his share in the meeting.

G. The Six Acts.

Owing to the Peterloo Massacre, the Government, believing that "every meeting for Radical Reform is an overt act of treasonable conspiracy against the King and the Government," passed the Six Acts for which Castlereagh and Sidmouth were chiefly responsible. These were—

(1) "To prevent delay in the administration of justice in cases of misdemeanour." Defendants lost the right of objecting to the framing of the accusation, but were not liable to prosecution after twelve months.

(2) "For the prevention and punishment of blasphemous and seditious libels." Copies of libels to be seized. Publishers liable to imprisonment or transportation.

(3) "To prevent the training of persons in the use of arms and the practice of military evolutions."

[1] The term Radical was now applied to parliamentary reformers, owing to ir desire for radical (L. *radix* = a root) changes.

(4) "To authorise justices of the peace in certain disturbe counties to seize and detain arms."

(5) "To subject certain publications to the duties of stamp upon newspapers."

(6) "For the prevention of the assembling of seditiou meetings."

α. Six days' notice to a justice of the peace necessa for all meetings of more than fifty person The justice to change time and place of meeti at his discretion.

β. Lecture-rooms and reading-rooms to be liab to inspection.

γ. Meetings tending to cause contempt of the Ki or Government declared unlawful and liable summary dispersion.

Criticism.

(1) Act VI was a very serious limitation of the liberty the subject to meet publicly, but its operation w limited to five years.

(2) Act II was not rigorously enforced and was repeal in 1830.

(3) Acts III and IV were not harsh in view of the di orders of the times.

(4) Act V applied to pamphlets the restrictions of new papers.

The general tendency of the Acts was thorough reactionary but they proved successful, and the Ca Street Conspiracy seemed to justify them.

As a rule they were not harshly enforced, and, wi the improvement of the economic conditions of t country, disorder decreased.

H. The Cato Street Conspiracy, February, 1820.

A plot formed by Arthur Thistlewood, a strong supporter of the extreme reformers, to assassinate the ministers at a dinner party at Lord Harrowby's house in Grosvenor Square and then to seize the Bank and the Tower. An informer, Edwards, revealed the plot to the police. Failure of a badly arranged attempt to seize the conspirators in a stable in Cato Street. A constable was stabbed. Thistlewood escaped, but was subsequently captured and executed with four others. Five conspirators were transported.

I. General.

(1) The Government utterly failed to recognise that, owing to lack of work for a large proportion of labourers and to the high price of bread, there was acute distress among the lowest classes. Their opposition to "revolutionary" doctrines led them to use severe measures to check disorders which were largely due to hunger.

(2) Their fear of mob violence made the Government resist any reform, in particular the lawful attempt of the middle classes to secure parliamentary reform. They threw out in 1818 and 1819 the motions of Sir Francis Burdett and Lord John Russell for this object.

I. Some good measures.

A. Factory Acts.

One of the worst results of the Industrial Revolution (page 626) had been the treatment of apprentices, who were badly housed, overworked, underfed.

(1) **1802.** Sir Robert Peel[1] carried the first of the Factory Acts, The Health and Morals Act, which provided that apprentices—

α. Should work not more than twelve hours a day;

β. Should do no night work;

[1] Father of the famous statesman.

γ. Should be taught reading, writing, and arit
metic;

δ. Should live under more wholesome and dece
conditions.

(2) **1819.** The Cotton Mills Act provided—
That no children under nine years of age shou
work in mills.

B. Education.

1816–18. A select committee, due to Brougham, d
much good by inquiring into the conditions of educatio

C. The Currency.

Cash payments in exchange for Bank of Engla
notes had been suspended in **1797.** Bank of Engla
notes, which in **1810** were 13½ per cent below par owi
to a diminution in the supply of gold, rose in val
partly owing to the distrust of private notes due
many bank failures in **1814.** It was decided on t
recommendation of a committee, of which Peel w
chairman, that from February 1, **1820**, the Bank shou
give gold for notes, and that cash payments should
resumed on May 1, **1823.** They were actually resum
on May 1, **1821.**

Thus a gold standard was established, but some i
convenience was caused by the fall of prices that follow
the new arrangements.

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B. Shelley's "Masque of Anarchy."

C. *The Manchester Man*, by Banks. (Heywood.)

CASTLEREAGH

I. The Union of the English and Irish Parliaments.

A. Castlereagh was Secretary for Ireland in the later years of William Pitt's first ministry, and arranged the bribery of the Irish borough owners, without whose support the union could not have been effected.

B. He regarded Catholic Emancipation as necessary for the success of the Union, and steadily supported the efforts to secure it.

II. Secretary for War and the Colonies.

He held this office in Pitt's second ministry in **1805**, and in Portland's ministry, **1807–9**.

A. **1807.** He reorganised the army, using the old militia as the basis of his new arrangement.

B. **1808.** He secured the appointment of Wellesley as commander of the British expedition to Portugal.

C. **1808.** He failed to send adequate reinforcements to Sir John Moore owing to his overestimate of the numbers and efficiency of the Spanish troops.

D. **1809.** He was largely responsible for the Walcheren expedition, which, if successful, would have strengthened Austria by diverting Napoleon's attention.

(1) The choice of Antwerp as the point of attack was wise.

It was badly defended, and the capture of Antwerp would have dealt a serious blow at the naval power of Napoleon and ruined a dangerous commercial rival of London.

(2) The failure of the expedition was due to delay in dispatching it, and to the foolish choice of a commander. Castlereagh was largely responsible for these errors.

III. **Foreign Secretary, 1812–22.**

A. **1814.** He refused to consider any peace "which does no confine France within her ancient limits," and thi refusal strengthened the opposition of the allies t Napoleon at a very critical time.

B. The Congress of Vienna, **1814–1815.**

He was the representative of Great Britain at th Congress of Vienna until February, **1815**, when Welling ton succeeded him.

(1) He wished to secure peace, to check the dangerou power of Russia, therefore—

(2) He joined Austria and France in their union agains Russia and Prussia, and agreed to support thei resistance by force if necessary.

α. Russia was therefore compelled to give up par of Poland.

β. Prussia was therefore compelled to give u part of Saxony.

(3) But his general policy was not "Liberal."

α. He did not favour the independence of Polan or Genoa.

β. He did not support the idea of the unity o Germany or Italy.

C. The government of Europe by Congress.

(1) Castlereagh favoured the idea of the settlement o Europe by Congresses of the Powers (to some exten the original of the later "Concert of Europe").

1815. He definitely agreed to the frequent meeting of such congresses. Partly for this reason, partl owing to his aristocratic sympathies, he did not offe such decided opposition to the plans of the Emperor of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, as did his successor, Canning.

(2) But he favoured the principle of non-intervention.

1815. He refused to join the Holy Alliance (page 702), which he called "a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense."

1819. He protested against the Carlsbad Decrees by which Metternich tried to promote the supremacy of Austria in Germany and to limit the independence of individual states.

1820. He strongly protested against the right of intervention by the powers in the affairs of other states, which was asserted at the Congress of Troppau. At the same time he weakened his position and incurred much unpopularity in England by expressing disapproval of the revolt of the constitutional party in Naples.

Circumstances favoured Metternich, and the revolts in Naples and Piedmont were crushed by Austrian intervention.

1821. He opposed the intervention of France in Spain.

D. Castlereagh and England.

He had little sympathy with the lowest classes, supported the policy of repression adopted by the Liverpool ministry, and shares with Sidmouth the responsibility for the Six Acts (page 723).

V. General.

A. In spite of his incoherent and ungrammatical style of speech he gained the confidence of the House of Commons, largely owing to the great part he played in the pacification of Europe in **1815**.

B. His reactionary policy at home, the incorrect suspicion that he favoured absolutism abroad, and his active opposition to the claims of Queen Caroline made him so unpopular in England at the end of his life that the London mob cheered his funeral.

C. But although he accepted the old anti-popular Toryisi which soon gave place to the more moderate Conservatis of Peel, he supported Catholic Emancipation at hon and the rights of the weaker nations of Europe abroad

BRITISH TRADE, 1821–6

I. Huskisson's Free Trade Policy.

William Huskisson was M.P. for Liverpool, had serv under Pitt, whose financial policy he followed. I became President of the Board of Trade 1823.

A. June, 1823. Reciprocity of Duties Bill.

This Bill broke down the restrictions on forei vessels imposed by the Navigation Acts of 1651 a 1660 (page 415).

(1) Great Britain and America had agreed by the Trea of Ghent, 1814 (page 696), to abolish restrictions each other's trade.

(2) Prussia, Portugal, and the Netherlands had adopt retaliatory duties, and thus injured British trade.

(3) Huskisson's Bill put on the same terms British shi and those of foreign countries agreeing to reciproci of trade. At the same time restrictions were ke upon the ships of countries refusing these terms.

British shipowners feared that their interests wou suffer, and protested, but British shipping increas forty-five per cent within twenty-one years.

B. Decrease of duties on silk and wool.

Silk.

(1) 1823. Failure of Huskisson's proposal to abolish t fixing of the wages of Spitalfields weavers by t magistrates, due to the protests of the journeym but carried in 1824.

(2) **1824.** The duty on raw silk reduced from 5s. 7½d. (4s. on Indian silk) to 3d. per lb. on Indian silk, and 4d. per lb. on other silk.

1824. Foreign manufactured silk (hitherto practically excluded by heavy duties) to be admitted after July, **1826**, at a duty of thirty per cent of the value.

Wool.

(1) **1823.** Failure of Huskisson's proposal to lower import duty on raw foreign wool and export duties on manufactured wool. The farmers opposed the former, the manufacturers the latter.

(2) **1824.** The import duty on raw foreign wool (imposed by Vansittart in **1819**) lowered from 6d. to 1d. or ½d. per lb., according to quality.

Manufactured wool to be exported at a similar rate.

These measures were followed by a great development of the silk and wool trades, owing partly to the resulting cheapness and adequate supply of raw material.

C. The remission of taxation, **1823–6.**

The reduction of the National Debt enabled Robinson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer,[1] who was strongly influenced by Huskisson, to abolish the hearth and window tax, and to reduce duties on silk, wool, iron, spirits, wines, coffee, and sugar. He thus benefited the poorer classes, the manufacturers, and consumers generally.

I. **The Financial Panic of 1825.**

A. Wealth had grown rapidly, money was very cheap, paper money was issued in large amount, and banks readily discounted bills.

[1] Afterwards Lord Goderich.

B. In consequence there was a great increase in wild specula tion, especially in trade with the newly enfranchise Spanish colonies in South America. Many bubbl companies were formed, e.g. to export warming-pans an skates to tropical countries, to send Scotch milkmaids t milk the wild cattle of Buenos Ayres.

C. The bubble burst, and sixty or seventy banks (Pole an Co., of London, the chief, in December, 1825) faile within seven weeks.

D. The panic was allayed by the wise measures of th Government.

(1) Gold was rapidly coined, and thus the Bank England was enabled to redeem its notes on deman

(2) The issue of small notes by private banks was fo bidden.

(3) The Bank of England was allowed to open branches large towns.

(4) The restriction on the number of partners in priva banks, hitherto limited to six, was removed, and th led to greater security and a considerable increase joint-stock banks.

(5) The Bank of England agreed to advance £3,000,00 on the security of merchants' goods.

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GEORGE CANNING, 1770-1827

I. His Life from 1770–1822.

A. Born August 11, 1770. Warmly attached to his mothe who became an actress.

B. 1793. Entered Parliament as a strong supporter of Pitt war policy.

C. **1797–8.** Was the real director, though not the nominal editor, of the *Anti-Jacobin*, which, though largely composed of personal attacks on Pitt's opponents, asserted the principles of the Established Church of England against the liberty and licence of the French Revolution.

D. **1803–4.** A strong opponent of Addington, against whom many of his political squibs were directed. The most famous was—

> "Pitt is to Addington
> As London is to Paddington."

E. **1804.** Treasurer of the Navy in Pitt's second administration.

F. **1807–9.** Foreign Secretary in Portland's Cabinet. He was a strong opponent of Napoleon.

(1) September, **1807.** On hearing, probably through the treachery of a Russian or French officer—not, as has been suggested, from Talleyrand—of the determination of Napoleon to secure the Danish fleet, he authorised its seizure. This seizure of a neutral fleet, although obviously contrary to the Law of Nations, probably justified by the necessity of the time (page 682).

(2) He strongly opposed Napoleon's Continental System, and was responsible for the Second Order in Council, November, **1807** (page 681), requiring all vessels trading with the Continent to touch first at a British port.

(3) He saw the need of concentrating the British forces in the Peninsula instead of wasting them in desultory attacks, and determined to help Spain. He wished to annul the Convention of Cintra on the ground that we had no right to allow the French to keep the plunder taken from our allies. He apparently overestimated the fighting power of the Spaniards, and in

consequence probably unduly limited the forces sen to Wellesley.

September 21, **1809.** The famous duel betwee Castlereagh, Secretary for War and the Colonies, an Canning, in which Canning was wounded in th thigh. The duel was due to—

The somewhat underhand attempt of Canning t secure the removal of Castlereagh from th ministry owing to disapproval of his policy especially of—

His share in the disastrous Walchere expedition.

G. **1809–16.** He held no cabinet post partly owing to hi quarrel with Castlereagh, partly because he was dis appointed that Perceval (**1809**) and Liverpool (**1812** secured the Premiership, which he desired, and h therefore refused a less important post. During thi period—

(1) He strongly supported the cause of Roman Catholi Emancipation.;

1812. He induced the Commons to undertake t consider the Catholic claims, but the Lords rejected similar proposal by one vote.

(2) **1814.** British ambassador to Lisbon. Absent fro England seventeen months.

(3) During his absence Castlereagh greatly increased hi reputation by his active resistance to Napoleon an his conduct as British plenipotentiary at Vienna.

H. **1816–21.** President of the Board of Control in Liverpool "Ministry of Mediocrities," the influence of which i the Commons was greatly strengthened by his power of oratory and debate.

(1) He gave Lord Hastings, the Governor-General, strong support in his campaign against the Pindaris, although not entirely approving of the extension of British authority in India.

(2) He acquiesced in Sidmouth's repressive policy.

(3) **1820.** He protested against the introduction of a divorce clause into the Bill of Pains and Penalties against Queen Caroline and against the exclusion of her name from the Liturgy. He went abroad to avoid taking part in her trial, and resigned office (**1821**) as a protest against the way in which she was treated.

. Foreign Secretary, 1822–7.

1822. Canning accepted the post of Governor-General of India in succession to Hastings, but succeeded Castlereagh (Marquis of Londonderry **1821–2**, Foreign Secretary since **1812**), who committed suicide August 12, **1822.** While he did not think it expedient that slavery should be abolished immediately, he carried in the Commons resolutions that the slaves should be prepared for freedom and that they should be better treated.

I. Prime Minister, April, 1827, to August, 1827.

On the disablement by illness of Liverpool Canning became Prime Minister, and the Tory party at once split up. Wellington, Peel and Eldon, who, unlike Canning, opposed Catholic Emancipation and the repeal of the Corn Laws, left the ministry. The Marquis of Lansdowne joined it, and other Whigs, such as Brougham and Burdett, supported Canning.

Canning, now in very bad health, was so violently attacked by the extreme Tories, especially by Londonderry and Newcastle and by Earl Grey, the leader of the Whigs, that his widow denounced them as his murderers.

The rejection of a Corn Bill by the Lords at the instigation of Wellington added to his difficulties.

August 8, **1827.** Death of Canning.

IV. **The Importance of Canning.**

A. As a Foreign Minister.

(1) He was a patriot, and his great object was to promo the interests of England and to keep peace. I wanted England to avoid Continental complicatio and wished "for Europe to read England." He w thus "more insular than European."

(2) He adopted the policy of Castlereagh towards t Holy Alliance, and strongly opposed its reactiona policy. At Verona the Emperors Alexander I a Francis II and King Frederick William III—"T three gentlemen of Verona" (Brougham)—desired re-establish absolute government and to crush co stitutional development in Europe, and they propos that the powers of Europe should combine to enfo these aims.

Canning maintained that each country sho manage its own affairs without external interferen and strongly objected to "government by congresse Thus his foreign policy was national rather than int national and was based on the principle of "n intervention."

(3) He did intervene in Continental politics when t interests of England required intervention, but was not the champion of Liberalism abroad.

α. He tried to protect Spain from foreign int ference, but recognised the independence the Spanish colonies.

β. He supported the monarchy in Portugal, b promoted British trade by making a commerc treaty with Brazil, which had revolted fr Portugal.

γ. He refused to place the Greeks under the p tection of Britain, but intervened in th quarrel with Turkey, partly through fear t if Russia intervened alone British interests the Near East would suffer.

B. As Prime Minister.

He was not a consistent member of either party. Like the Whigs he supported the commercial measures of Huskisson and Catholic Emancipation, but he strongly opposed the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and parliamentary reform and supported the repressive policy of Sidmouth. He thus stood "half-way between the new and the old."

He lived at a time of transition, and some maintain that he might have formed a middle party of moderate Tories and Whigs.

(1) His great ability as a practical statesman, his eloquence, his skill in debate, and his striking presence made him a power in the House of Commons.

(2) But he was unduly sensitive, he lacked tact, his temper was bad, and he quarrelled with some of his chief colleagues, who showed their resentment by withholding their support when he became Prime Minister. It is therefore doubtful if he would have made a great party leader.

He was regarded by many, especially the aristocratic Whigs and the ultra-Tories, as a political adventurer of doubtful honesty.

C. Canning and the nations of Europe.

(1) Spain.

(*a*) In Europe Canning sympathised with the desire of the Spaniards for constitutional government, and at the Congress of Verona, 1822, his envoy, Wellington, succeeded in preventing all plans for common intervention and in limiting to France the right of interfering on behalf of Ferdinand VII. He failed to prevent war, but owing to his efforts the war was national, between France and Spain, and not European. The French restored Ferdinand in 1823.

(*b*) In South America Canning opposed Spain an supported the attempts of her colonies, which h regarded as separate nations, to secure independenc His action was due partly to a desire to limit th success of France. "I determined that if France he Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies; called the New World into existence to redress th balance of the Old."

1824. Canning recognised the independence of Buen Ayres, Mexico, and Colombia. In his famous spee Canning claims too much credit.

α. He had refused to allow any European power help Spain against her colonies, but—

β. The colonies had secured their independen before he recognised it.

γ. Their independence of Spain was recognised President Monroe, who, December 2, 182 had proclaimed the "Monroe doctrine," f bidding interference by European states wi America, and thus prevented Spain fro recovering her lost possessions without fightin the United States;

δ. The recognition by Canning was really due mo to commercial than political reasons.

(*c*) The French restored Ferdinand VII on Octob 1, 1823, and occupied Spain until 1828, th ensuring his absolute power. By the Pragmat Sanction he declared his daughter Isabella heiress the throne. On Ferdinand's death in 1833 h younger brother, Don Carlos, unsuccessfully claim the throne, and this claim led to the outbreak of th Carlist wars.

(2) Greece.

(*a*) **1821.** Outbreak of a national revolt again Turkey in the Morea. The Czar wished to interve

on behalf of the Greek Christians, hoping thereby to weaken Turkey. Canning wished to preserve the integrity of Turkey as a check on the growing power of Russia, and successfully objected to intervention by the powers.

(*b*) **1825.** The situation was changed by the conquest of the Morea by Ibrahim Pasha (son of Mehemet Ali of Egypt), acting for the Sultan, and by the apparent determination of the new Czar, Nicholas I, to coerce Turkey.

(*c*) **1826.** Canning, anxious to prevent Russia from intervening alone, agreed with the Czar to secure the recognition of Greece by Russia as a self-governing state under the sovereignty of Turkey. This proposal was refused by the Sultan.

(*d*) July 6, **1827.** Therefore, by the Treaty of London, Russia, Great Britain, and France undertook to secure the independence of Greece under the suzerainty of Turkey. The allied fleets to use force if necessary to compel Turkey to grant an armistice to the Greeks. Continued opposition of the Sultan and massacre of Greeks by Ibrahim.

(*e*) October 20, **1827.** The Turkish fleet annihilated at Navarino by the allied French, Russian, and British (under Admiral Codrington) fleets.

(3) Portugal.

(*a*) **1825.** Canning secured the recognition of the independence of Brazil (which since **1808** had been the centre of the Portuguese power) under Dom Pedro, son of King John VI.

(*b*) **1826.** Death of John VI. Maria de la Gloria, daughter of Dom Pedro, proclaimed queen. Owing to danger of French and Spanish intervention in

favour of her uncle, Dom Miguel, Canning sent British force to Lisbon in December, which ensure her succession.

From 1822–7 his official position compelled him to devo most of his time to foreign politics, but he support Huskisson's commercial policy (page 730).

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THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S MINISTRY, JANUARY, 1828, TO NOVEMBER, 1830

I. Foreign Policy.

A. Wellington, whose foreign policy was reactionary and a Liberal,

(1) Thought that the maintenance of the integrity Turkey was essential for English interests, and

(2) Declared in the King's Speech, January 29, 18 that the battle of Navarino was "an untoward even

(3) Therefore did not co-operate with Russia in coercion of Turkey. Russia, in pursuance of Treaty of London, attacked Turkey, and by the Tre of Adrianople, September 14, 1829, secured—

The recognition of the Danubian principalities independent states.

Wellington now agreed to recognise the independe of Greece, but his ministry fell before it recognised in September, 1832, when Otto of Bava was accepted as the first king of Greece.

B. France.

(1) **1830.** Charles X (who had succeeded his brother, Louis XVIII, September 16, **1824**) had adopted the policy of the reactionary party, and had in July, **1830**, sanctioned the arbitrary suspension of the liberty of the Press, the dissolution of the Chambers, and the alteration of the franchise, which the reactionary leader, the Prince de Polignac, suggested. The "July Revolution" broke out. Charles X fled to England, and was succeeded by Louis Philippe, the "Citizen King,"[1] who supported the Liberal as opposed to the reactionary cause.

(2) Wellington was supposed to approve of the arbitrary acts of Charles X, and the success of the "July Revolution" weakened his position by strengthening the cause of parliamentary reform in England, to which he was strongly opposed.

C. Portugal.

He did not actively oppose and was supposed to be favourably inclined to Dom Miguel, who in **1828** had seized the throne with the support of the absolutist party.

D. He objected to the separation of Belgium from Holland, **1830.**

Home Policy.

The Canningites (Huskisson, Palmerston, Dudley, Charles Grant) joined Wellington.

A. **1828.** Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts.

Nonconformists had been protected by an annual Indemnity Act for breaches of the Test and Corporation Acts, and their disabilities were nominal. But the continuance of the laws was a relic of an age of persecution, and they were repealed on the motion of Lord John Russell, in spite of the opposition of Lord Eldon and the extreme Tories.

[1] The son of Philippe Egalité, formerly Duke of Orleans.

B. The resignation of the Canningites.

Huskisson and Wellington had never been on cordia terms, and when the former supported the transferenc of a member from the corrupt borough of East Retfor to Birmingham, in opposition to Peel's official proposa and then resigned, Wellington accepted his resignation The rest (including Palmerston and Grant) followed, an the ministry became purely Tory and strongly anti Catholic.

C. Catholic Emancipation.

(1) The question had been repeatedly brought forward recent years.

1801. Resignation of Pitt owing to George III refusal to allow him to fulfil his undertaking redress the religious disabilities of the Irish Catholic in return for their support of the Union.

1807. Resignation of the Grenville ministry (th "Ministry of all the Talents") on the King's deman of a promise that they would never bring up th question of Catholic Emancipation.

1812. Canning carried in the Commons his motio for considering the question of Catholic Emancipatio in the following session, when (**1813**) Grattan's Bi was defeated by four.

1819. Grattan's motion for Emancipation, move in his greatest speech, rejected by two in the Commons

1821. A Roman Catholic Relief Bill passed th Commons, but was rejected by the Lords owing t Eldon's opposition.

Henceforth the opponents relied upon the Crow and Lords to check the movement in favour o Catholic Emancipation.

1822 and **1823.** The Lords again threw out partia Relief Bills which had been passed by the Commons.

(2) The Catholic Association, 1823.

The question of Emancipation led to grave disorders in Ireland, especially between the Protestant "Orangemen" and the Catholic "White Boys." Lord Wellesley, a supporter of Emancipation, was appointed Lord Lieutenant in 1822, but his moderate policy alienated both parties and led the disappointed Catholics to form the Catholic Association, in 1823, under the leadership of O'Connell. The Association "usurped the functions of a government," and exacted a tax called the "Catholic rent." It was suppressed by order of Parliament, 1825, but had clearly shown the danger of further delay.

(3) The Relief Bill of 1825.

Sir Francis Burdett (a strong supporter of the Catholic cause) introduced a Relief Bill, and arrangements were made if this passed to introduce Bills raising the Catholic franchise from 40s. to £10 (to please the Protestants) and giving state endowment to the Catholic clergy.

Burdett's Bill passed the Commons, but was thrown out in the Lords owing to the opposition of the Duke of York (the heir to the throne), who said he would continue to oppose it "whatever might be his situation in life."

(4) The Clare Election, 1828.

The knowledge that Wellington opposed Emancipation led to a revival of agitation in Ireland on his accession to office.

1828. Daniel O'Connell elected M.P. for County Clare in opposition to Vesey Fitzgerald, a Protestant landlord who supported Emancipation.

a. The election was remarkable for the excellent order with which, owing to O'Connell's influence, it was conducted.

β. It showed the importance of the 40s. freeholders in Ireland.

γ. It was the immediate cause of Catholic Emancipation, as civil war might have followed the continued exclusion of O'Connell from Parliament after his election.

(5) The Roman Catholic Emancipation Act, April, 1829, provided—

(*a*) That Roman Catholics should be eligible for all public offices, except those of Regent, Lord Chancellor of England and Ireland,[1] Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and judicial appointments in ecclesiastical courts.

(*b*) Members of Parliament were no longer required to abjure Roman Catholic doctrines. They were to deny on oath the legality of papal jurisdiction in the British Isles, to deny that papal excommunication justified the deposition or murder of a sovereign.

(*c*) Jesuits and monks were not to enter the country without licence.

At the same time an Act was passed raising the qualification for the franchise in Ireland from 40s. to £10 in the hope that the dangerous power of the peasantry would be weakened.

α. O'Connell unaccountably accepted this Act, although "the forties" had ensured his return for Clare.

β. This extensive disfranchisement affords a striking contrast to the extension of the franchise in England during the century.

(6) The position of Wellington and Peel.

(*a*) They had to contend with the opposition of—

α. The King, who professed "conscientious" objections to the measure and who was induced to give his assent to the Act only by Wellington's threat of resignation;

[1] The Lord Chancellorship of Ireland is now open to Roman Catholics.

β. The Established Church of England ;

γ. The extreme Tories, especially Eldon, who declared that the Government had "run away [from its principles] like a pack of cowards."

The Bill was carried owing to the combined support of the Whigs, Canningites, and moderate Tories.

(*b*) Both had previously vigorously opposed Catholic Emancipation, and Peel owed his election for Oxford University largely to his strong "Protestantism." Both now supported the measure, in Wellington's case mainly through fear of civil war, in Peel's case largely through fear that the Union would be endangered if relief were denied any longer.

(*c*) Both incurred great unpopularity by their change of policy.

α. Peel honourably resigned his seat at Oxford to test the feeling of his constituents, and was defeated at the subsequent election.

β. Wellington fought a duel with Lord Winchilsea, who asserted that the Duke's action in supporting the foundation of King's College, London, an Anglican establishment, while he was contemplating the relief of Catholic disabilities was a "blind to the protestant and high church party."

(7) The results of the Act.

(*a*) The Act did not, as was hoped, give final peace to Ireland owing to—

α. The failure to provide an endowment for the Roman Catholic clergy and to ensure for the Crown a veto on the appointment of Roman Catholic bishops ;

β. The subsequent policy of O'Connell, who now began his violent campaign for the repeal of the Union ;

γ. It was seen that the Act was partly due to th danger of civil war, and the possibility of recourse to force has since been an importan element in Irish politics.

(*b*) The action of Wellington and Peel split up th old Tory party and opened the way for the formatio of the new "Conservative" party (page 757).

D. **1829.** The establishment of the London Police Force b Peel.

III. **Fall of Wellington.**

November 2, **1830.** A most unfortunate King Speech supporting Miguel's usurpation, condemning civ war in Belgium, asserting a determination to repress b force all disturbance in England without any sympath for the real distress to which disturbance was largel due.

The King's Speech was followed by a declaration b Wellington of resistance to reform, and the ministr resigned, nominally owing to a defeat on the reform c the Civil List, really owing to the indignation caused b Wellington's reactionary policy.

IV. **Wellington as Prime Minister.**

As a party leader he was a complete failure.

(1) He did not understand what party government meant and failed to realise that popular support is th foundation of constitutional government. He treate politics like warfare in which the general must neve lay down his command and must make up for defea by timely but inglorious retreat. Instead of resign ing and appealing to the constituencies when unabl to carry out his own policy, he supported measures t the principles of which he was strongly opposed.

(2) He lacked the art of managing his party.

α. A little tact would have secured the retention o the Canningites in **1828.**

β. He alienated the extreme Tories by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts **1828**, and by the Catholic Emancipation Act, **1829**.

γ. Although the Whigs supported him in **1829**, his persistent opposition to parliamentary reform failed to secure their permanent support.

Thus in **1830** he stood alone and kept his position mainly because he was the only man who could manage George IV.

(3) He was the last of the old Tories, averse from change at home, favourable to absolute government abroad, and lost much of his popularity for a time for both these reasons.

Reference:

History of England, Spencer Walpole, Vol. II, pp. 466–622.

THE REFORM BILL OF 1832

Defects of the Old System of Parliamentary Representation.

A. Seats were not distributed according to population.

(1) Boroughs which had decayed in importance continued to send members to Parliament.

Old Sarum, consisting, as Lord John Russell said, of "a green mound and a wall with two niches in it," sent two, and thirty-five constituencies with hardly any voters returned seventy members.

(2) Towns which had greatly increased owing to the industrial revolution and the growth of trade were inadequately represented.

The county of Middlesex, including London, sent only eight members; Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham sent none.

B. The House of Commons was largely composed of delegates of the great landowners who controlled the "pocket" or "rotten" boroughs, which they regarded as their personal property.

The Duke of Norfolk in 1793 returned eleven members, and it was stated that "one hundred and fifty-four patrons returned three hundred and seven."

Thus "seats were held in both Houses by hereditary right."

C. The franchise was limited and based on no uniform system.

(1) The county franchise was limited to 40s. freeholders.

The roll of county electors in Scotland in October 1811, shows that eight counties had each less than thirty electors, with an aggregate of 159, while only nine had over 100.

(2) The borough franchise was restricted, e.g. in various constituencies to—

α. The holders of certain houses, e.g. at Richmond.

β. Payers of scot and lot.[1]

γ. Freemen.

δ. Holders of corporate office, especially in Scotland.

ε. At Taunton the franchise was restricted to "Potwallers," i.e. all resident male inhabitants who had obtained a parochial settlement, whether occupiers of a house or lodgers.

D. Bribery and corruption.

(1) In the constituencies most boroughs were sold by their "patrons" or by their electors (the limitation of whose numbers made the right of voting a valuable privilege) or by both, and prices were put up owing to the competition of East Indian "Nabobs," who desired to improve their social position by securing a seat in Parliament. The poll was kept open for forty days, reduced to fifteen in 1785, and the expense was enormous.

[1] i.e. Imperial and national taxes.

α. One election at Northampton cost each of the three candidates £30,000.

β. **1807.** The election for the county of York cost £200,000. The most expensive election on record.

(2) In Parliament.

Members who had paid heavily for their seats recouped themselves by selling their votes, and it was therefore easy for George III, who controlled the Crown patronage, to form a party of "King's Friends" (page 596)

E. There was ample justification for William Pitt's famous declaration: "This House [the Commons] is not representative of the people of England."

I. Attempts at Reform.

A. Before **1792.**

1766. Chatham proposed to weaken the influence of owners of "rotten" boroughs by increasing the number of county members.

1785. Pitt proposed to disfranchise corrupt boroughs and to increase the number of members for London and the counties.

B. The reform movement checked **1800–20.**

The strong reaction against the principles of the French Revolution, the concentration of national attention on the Napoleonic wars, the violence of extreme reformers, and the Cato Street Conspiracy seriously weakened the movement for reform.

C. The revival of reform, **1820–30.**

(1) Due to the moderate reformers led by Burdett, supported by the Whigs, especially Lord John Russell, and relying upon the growing determination of the middle classes to secure reform.

(2) Formation of Reform Associations, especially the Union of Birmingham.

(3) **1821.** Grampound, a notorious "rotten" borough in Cornwall, was disfranchised and its two members given to Yorkshire.

(4) **1828.** Failure of proposal to transfer the representation of Penryn to Manchester.

(5) **1830.** The "July Revolution" in Paris, a triumph of constitutional government, and the accession of the "Citizen King," Louis Philippe, greatly strengthened the reform movement in England.

6. June, **1830.** Accession of William IV, personally popular and known to favour reform, but in 1830 Wellington denied the need of change and asserted his determination to resist all measures of reform.

7. November, **1830.** Resignation of Wellington. Lord Grey, Prime Minister; Lord Althorp, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the Commons. Union of the Canningites [Palmerston, Grant, Goderich (Prosperity Robinson)] with the Whigs, Lord John Russell, Edward Stanley, Sir James Graham.

III. The Passage of the Bill.

A. The Bill passed by the Commons.

(1) March 1, **1831.** The first Reform Bill introduced into the Commons by Lord John Russell, passed the second reading by a majority of one in the largest House on record up to date, thrown out in Committee. Dissolution of Parliament by William IV in person.

(2) Growing feeling in the country. The election cry "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." A majority favourable to reform returned to Parliament.

(3) June 24, **1831.** The second Reform Bill introduced by Lord John Russell. The third reading carried by 109 on September 21.

B. The Bill passed by the Lords.

(1) October 8, 1831. The second Reform Bill rejected by the Lords. The ministry refused to resign. Reform riots. Nottingham Castle burned.

October 29, 1831. Serious riots in Bristol on the entry of the Recorder, Sir Charles Wetherell, a strong anti-reformer.

(2) December 12, 1831. Introduction of the third Reform Bill by Lord John Russell.

March 23, 1832. The third reading passed by the Commons.

May 7, 1832. A hostile amendment to the third Reform Bill carried in Committee of the Lords. Resignation of Earl Grey on the King's refusal to create a majority of Whig peers.

May 15, 1832. After Wellington had failed to form a ministry Grey returned to office. The King promised to create enough Whig peers to pass the Bill if necessary.

(3) June 4, 1832. The King requested Wellington to withdraw his opposition. Wellington and a hundred supporters retired from the House and the remaining peers passed the Bill.

7. The Bill.

A. Redistribution of seats.

(1) The abolition of "rotten" boroughs.

Fifty-six "rotten" boroughs having less than 2000 inhabitants and returning 111 members were abolished.

Thirty boroughs having less than 4000 inhabitants each lost one member.

Weymouth and Melcombe Regis lost two members.

By these changes 143 seats were made available for distribution.

(2) These seats were distributed as follows:—

Sixty-five were given to the counties.

This arrangement due to the influence of the grea landowners.

Forty-four were given to large towns (includin Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield), eac receiving two.

Twenty-one were given to smaller towns, each r ceiving one.

Eight were given to Scotland and five to Ireland.

B. The extension of the franchise.

(1) In the boroughs householders paying an annual re of £10 received the franchise. Thus the old varie of qualification was replaced by a uniform quali cation.

(2) In the counties the 40s. freeholders retained th franchise, which was also given to copyholders[1] payi £10 a year in rent, to leaseholders for twenty yea paying £50 rent, and to tenants at will paying £8 rent.

The tenants at will provision, "The Chand Clause," was carried by the Marquis of Chand against the Government, and is a further proof of th influence of the great landowners.

C. General.

(1) The Reform Bill increased the political power of th middle class, and the period from 1832–68 was th period of "the rule of the middle class." It wa carried owing to the alliance of the aristocratic Whig with the moderate Liberals, and it continued the wor of the Great Revolution by giving the chief power i the Commons to the middle class.

[1] Copyholders based their right to the land they held on copies of th rolls of a manor made by a steward of the lord's court.

(2) Many of the Whigs supported the Reform Bill in the hope that it would check the growth of democratic sentiment, and they would have strongly resisted the extension of the franchise to artisans. Lord John Russell was nicknamed "Finality Jack" for declaring, in **1837**, that the Bill was a final settlement.

(3) The Bill gave greater political importance to the great industrial centres of the north and middle of England.

(4) In spite of the broadening of the franchise the landed gentry continued to exercise considerable influence, and wealthy men formed the great majority in the Parliaments which followed the Reform Bill.

(5) But the Bill was not a final settlement. The Radicals had tried to secure a broader franchise, but failed, partly because their influence was weakened owing to their alliance with O'Connell and the Irish. The exclusion of artisans from the franchise led subsequently to the development of Chartism, and the Reform Bills of **1867** and **1884** made "the man in the street" and not "the man on the omnibus" the ultimate factor in politics.

eferences :

A. Taswell Langmead's *Constitutional History.*

C. *Chippinge,* by Weyman.
Middlemarch, by George Eliot.

DOMESTIC HISTORY, 1831–41

Earl Grey, Prime Minister November, 1830, to July, 1834.

A. The Reform Bill.

Parliament was dissolved December, **1832.** The new Parliament was anxious to reform abuses.

B. The abolition of slavery due to Clarkson, Wilberfor
Buxton, and Zachary Macaulay.

(1) The abolition of the slave trade.

1788. A Parliamentary Committee revealed the appalli
conditions under which the trade was carried on.

1792. A gradual Abolition Bill carried in the Commo
owing to the efforts of Wilberforce, supported by P
and Fox, but postponed by the Lords.

1807. The Abolition Bill passed by the "Ministry of
the Talents" largely owing to Fox, who died before
was carried.

The slave trade prohibited after January 1, **1808**.

(2) **1823.** Success of Canning's attempt to improve t
conditions of slaves.

(3) August, **1833.** The abolition of slavery.

1. Slave children of six years old and und
declared free.
2. Others to serve their masters as
prentices for a time, and then to recei
freedom.

This plan was abandoned in **1838** (pa
998).

3. £20,000,000 given as compensation.

α. Some said the gift was inadequate.

β. Others that it was too generous, as slavery w
wrong.

γ. Wilberforce, who died August 27, **1833**, sai
"Thank God, I have lived to witness the day
which England is willing to give £20,000,0
for the abolition of slavery."

C. Ashley's Factory Act, **1833**—

(1) Prohibited the employment in factories of childr
under nine;

(2) Restricted the time of labour to ten hours a day in the case of women and "young persons" under eighteen;

(3) Ordered that children under twelve should spend two hours a day in school and should not labour more than eight hours a day. Although this Act raised the cost of production owing to the general substitution of adult for child labour it ultimately proved advantageous for the employers owing to the better quality of the work.

D. Legal reforms.

1833. Brougham carried a Bill for the appointment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

E. Finance.

1833. Lord Althorp aroused considerable opposition by refusing to withdraw the malt tax and the house and window tax.

F. Education.

1833. First Government grant (£20,000) to British and National Schools.

G. The Poor Law Amendment Act, **1834.**

The new Poor Law, brought in during Grey's ministry and carried during Melbourne's, owed much to the support of Brougham.

(1) The old system by which outdoor relief was given in aid of wages and according to the number of children, legitimate or illegitimate, had led to the degradation of labourers and the ruin of many farmers, whose rates in some places were heavier than their rent.

(2) The new Poor Law recognised the distinction between poverty and pauperism, and provided—

(*a*) That no outdoor relief, except medical attendance, should be given to the able-bodied;

(*b*) That a workhouse test should be enforced in the case of the able-bodied seeking indoor relief;

(*c*) That the Law of Settlement, which hinders the movement of labourers from place to place, should be modified.

(*d*) That parishes should be grouped into unions and that a Central Poor Law Board should be established to supervise the working of the Act.

(3) Effects.

(*a*) A marked improvement in the character of the labourers.

(*b*) A great reduction in the rates which within five years were reduced by £3,000,000 per annum.

α. This relieved the farmers,

β. and was partly due to the unions, which proved more efficient and less expensive than the old arrangement.

(*c*) Considerable hardship was caused by the sudden abolition of the old system of grants and by the harsh application of the workhouse test. The consequent discontent contributed to the growth of Chartism.

(*d*) The new Poor Law made the repeal of the Corn Laws inevitable.

II. **Lord Melbourne's First Ministry, July to November, 1834.**

A. August, **1834.** The Poor Law Amendment Act passed.

B. Melbourne's ministry dismissed November, **1834.**

(1) Melbourne depended largely upon the support, in the House of Commons, of "Honest Jack Althorp," who although a poor Chancellor of the Exchequer and an ineffective speaker, secured the confidence of his party by his sterling character. He became Earl Spencer on his father's death, and William IV dismissed him

ministers because he thought them too weak to govern without the support of Althorp in the Commons.

(2) The King's action was due to—

α. His devotion to Church principles and discontent with Russell's support of the Appropriation Clause (page 792);

β. His anger at Brougham's familiar references to himself;

γ. A belief that the new Conservative party was stronger than the Whigs.

(3) Melbourne left the decision in the King's hands, although he was supported by a majority in the Commons, and therefore might have continued in office. Some critics maintain that under the circumstances he ought to have continued in office, but the prestige of the ministry had been weakened by the resignation of some of the most distinguished members of the Grey Cabinet, and Melbourne realised the importance of the loss of Althorp's influence in the Commons.

(4) The failure of the King's action greatly strengthened the Whigs, whom it "threw into the arms of O'Connell and the Radicals."

October 16th, **1834**. Burning of the Houses of Parliament caused by the destruction of the old wooden account tallies in the stoves of the House of Lords without proper precautions.

I. Peel's First Ministry, December, 1834, to April, 1835.

This ministry is important owing to the definite assertion of Conservative principles by Peel.

A. The Tamworth Manifesto. The Charter of the Conservative Party. Peel's address to his constituents at Tamworth.

(1) He said he was neither "a defender of abuses" nor "an enemy of judicious reforms."

(2) He asserted that the Reform Bill "constitutes a ne era," and "is the final and irrevocable settlement of great constitutional question."

(3) He advocated "a careful review of institutions, civ and ecclesiastical, undertaken in a friendly temper, to secure "the firm maintenance of established right the correction of proved abuses, and the redress c real grievances."

B. The King's Speech, February, **1835**.

(1) Peel made a general promise "to advance soberly a cautiously in the path of progressive improvement"

(2) He made promises of certain definite reforms.

"I offer you reduced estimates, improvements civil jurisprudence, reform of ecclesiastical law, t settlement of the tithe question in Ireland, t commutation of tithe in England, the removal any real abuse in the Church, the redress of the grievances of which the Dissenters have any ju ground to complain."

C. Conservative reform.

Peel at once showed his desire to keep his promises.

(1) **1834**. The Dissenters' Marriage Bill (was not passed)

α. Authorised civil marriages before a registrar;

β. Allowed religious bodies to arrange the marria service as they pleased.

(2) His inquiry into ecclesiastical abuses paved the way f the Tithe Commutation Act of **1836**.

D. The fall of Peel's ministry, April 8th, **1835**.

By the "Lichfield House Compact" O'Connell a the Whigs had made an alliance, and their combin forces enabled Lord John Russell to carry against t Government a motion for the appropriation of the su plus ecclesiastical revenues in Ireland to the "educati of all classes of Christians." Resignation of Peel.

V. Lord Melbourne's Second Ministry, April, 1835, to August, 1841.

A. September, 1835. The Municipal Reform Act.

(1) Abuses of the old system.

(*a*) Hitherto municipal councils had been limited corporations, not popularly elected, deliberating in secret, publishing no account of their expenditure of public money, and, in many cases, hopelessly corrupt.

(*b*) The rights of citizenship were confined to the freemen, a small proportion of the ratepayers. At Cambridge there were 118 freemen out of 20,000 inhabitants.

(2) The Bill, due largely to Lord Brougham, provided—

α. That all towns should have a uniform system of government, consisting of a town council, elected by the ratepayers in each ward, and including a mayor, aldermen, and councillors;

β. That the town council should administer accounts, which were to be duly audited and published;

γ. That all old trading privileges should be abolished.

(3) This most important Act did for the government of towns what the Reform Bill had done for the government of the country. It greatly diminished jobbery in municipal affairs, abolished privilege, taught people to govern themselves through the representatives they had chosen, and thus prepared the way for the County and Parish Councils Acts of 1888 and 1894.

B. 1836. The Registration Act—

Appointed registrars for each union who should report to the registrar-general all births, deaths and marriages in their union.

C. **1836.** The Marriage Act.

Allowed persons who objected to the publication o banns, after twenty-one days' notice, to be married i church or chapel or before a registrar.

This Act removed a serious grievance of Noncon formists.

D. **1836.** The Tithe Commutation Act.

Commissioners appointed to assess an annual ren charge imposed in place of the old tithes and depen dent in amount on the average price of corn durin the preceding seven years.

E. **1836.** The Stamp Duty on newspapers lowered from fou pence to one penny per issue.

F. Queen Victoria and Lord Melbourne.

William IV died June 20th, **1837**, and was succeede by his niece, Queen Victoria, daughter of the Duke o Kent, who was only eighteen. Lord Melbourne, wh "saw her every day for four years," became her confide tial adviser, and rendered great service to the natio by the wisdom, tact, and consideration he displaye in his relations with the Queen.

G. The Bedchamber Question.

May, **1839**. Melbourne resigned because the Jamaic Bill (page 999) was carried by only five in the Commons but Peel, who was invited to form a ministry, refused t take office unless the Whig ladies of the royal house hold in attendance on the Queen (especially Lad Normanby, wife of the Colonial Secretary, who ha previously been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) resigne their posts.

a. The Queen, supported by Melbourne, refused t adopt a course which she described as "con trary to usage and repugnant to her feelings."

β. Peel was right, because the Prime Minister can make his own terms on taking office, and it was unreasonable that the young Queen should remain under the influence of the relatives of his political opponents and (as in the case of Lord Normanby) personal enemies.

γ. But the affair was much exaggerated, and subsequent history has shown that the ladies of the household exert little political influence.

H. **1839.** Formation of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education.

The proposal to increase the grant made in **1833** to elementary education (page 755) led to protests from many Anglicans against the use of public money to further education not in accordance with the principles of the Church of England. The beginning of the "religious question" in elementary education.

I. The marriage of the Queen.

February 10, **1840.** The Queen married her first cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg Gotha.

1840. The Penny Post established (page 1043).

J. Canada (page 982).

1839. The Durham Report.

1840. The Canada Bill.

K. Growing discontent.

The condition of the lowest classes was miserable. The immediate effect of the introduction of new machinery was a diminution in the demand for manual labour in the towns; the migration from country districts to towns increased the competition among workmen and diminished wages; the followers of Jeremy Bentham deprecated interference with free competition, and the Corn Laws kept up the price of bread. The expectation that the Reform Bill would put an end to all the evils of the time was naturally disappointed, and the new Poor Law,

though ultimately beneficial, caused much hardship. These evils led to two important movements.

(1) Chartism.

Chartism was an attempt to remedy social and economic evils by changing the character of Parliament and by giving to the working classes the privileges that the Reform Bill had given to the middle classes.

1838. Issue of "The People's Charter" demanding "six points":—

(i) Universal Suffrage; (ii) Vote by Ballot; (iii) Annual Parliaments; (iv) The Abolition of Property Qualifications for Members of Parliament; (v) Payment of Members; (vi) Equal Electoral Districts.

Of these (ii) and (iv) have been granted. "Labour members" have been[1] paid by their societies, and the principle of the payment of members has been accepted by the Commons; the extension of the franchise in **1867** and **1884** has promoted the idea of universal suffrage for men, and the justice and expediency of "votes for women" have been forcefully asserted by "suffragettes" from **1908**.

1839. Rejection by Parliament of a Chartist petition signed by over a million supporters. Serious riots by the extreme "physical force" Chartists, especially in Birmingham and (November) Newport, Mon., which the military defended against the rioters, who were led by a local magistrate named Frost, and of whom several were killed. Chartism, temporarily checked by repressive measures, revived **1848** (page 836)

(2) The Anti-Corn Law movement.

This attempt to redress the evils of the time differed from Chartism.

[1] Such payment has been declared illegal by the Osborne judgment, 1910.

α. It worked by alteration of economic rather than political conditions.

β. It was mainly a middle-class and not a working-class movement.

γ. It relied upon argument rather than force.

1838. Formation of the Anti-Corn Law League by Cobden and Bright, in Manchester.

1841. Lord John Russell's proposal to repeal the Corn Laws, to impose a tax of eight shillings a quarter instead of the sliding scale, and to reduce the sugar duty. Defeat of the Government on the reduction of the sugar duty, May 7, and on a motion of no confidence by one vote, May 27, **1841.**

1841. August 30. Melbourne resigned, owing to a vote of no confidence carried by the Conservative majority in the new Parliament.

End of the Whig Rule.

References :

A. *The Political History of England, 1801–37*, chaps. XIV., XVII. (Longmans.)

The Political History of England, 1837–1901, chap. I. (Longmans.)

A History of England from 1815, by Spencer Walpole, chaps. XIII. and XIV.

FOREIGN POLITICS, 1830–41

England and France.

A. Louis Philippe.

(1) The power of Louis Philippe rested upon popular support, and popular opinion, especially in Paris, favoured an active foreign policy which would restore the glory of France.

(2) Russia, Prussia, and Austria at first refused to recognise the "July Monarchy," through fear of further French aggression.

(3) Wellington recognised the new Government, and his example was soon followed by the other powers.

(4) Owing to Wellington's action and to the feeling that the constitutional governments of France and England had common interests against the Eastern powers, friendly relations were established between the two countries, which were strengthened when, in **1831**, the Casimir Périer ministry adopted an anti-revolutionary policy.

B. These relations resulted in united action in the cases of Holland and Belgium, Spain and Portugal, but were broken off owing to difference of policy in regard to Mehemet Ali.

II. **Holland and Belgium.**

A. The union of Holland and Belgium, effected by the Congress of Vienna (page 701), had been weakened by the religious hostility between Catholic Belgium and Protestant Holland, by the favour shown to Dutch merchants in commercial legislation, by the compulsory use of Dutch as the official language in Belgium, and by the foolish action of King William in attempting to limit constitutional liberty and to weaken the Catholic religion in Belgium.

B. August, **1830**. Revolution in Brussels, supported by the whole of Belgium.

C. Great Britain and France supported the Belgians, and a rising in Poland (November, **1830**) prevented Russia and Prussia from interfering.

D. Conferences in London arranged—

a. That Holland and Belgium should be separated. Holland to consist of the old United Provinces.

β. That Luxemburg should be given to the King of Holland.

γ. That Belgium should take responsibility for half the National Debt.

E. The recognition of Belgium.

(1) It seemed doubtful if these arrangements would be carried out.

α. The Belgians refused to give up Luxemburg.

β. The Dutch invaded Belgium and defeated the Belgians.

γ. The French wished to recover some territory ceded to Holland and Belgium in 1815.

δ. The French invaded Belgium, defeated the Dutch and saved Belgium.

(2) The French had previously undertaken to seek no additions of territory and to intervene in Belgium only in conjunction with England. Palmerston insisted—

α. That the French should receive no territory;

β. That the French army should at once withdraw from Belgium. "The French must go out of Belgium or we have a general war."

(3) Final arrangements.

(*a*) Leopold of Saxe-Coburg (widower of Princess Charlotte (page 715), uncle of Princess Victoria, and therefore acceptable to England, who now married Louis Philippe's daughter, Princess Louise of Orleans, and thus conciliated the French) proclaimed King of the Belgians.

(*b*) Part of Luxemburg restored to the King of Holland.

(*c*) Belgium to pay a fairer share of the National Debt of both countries.

These arrangements confirmed by the powers May 4, 1832.

F. United intervention of France and Great Britain. Kin William refused to accept these conditions and to giv up Antwerp. The French captured Antwerp, the Englis blockaded the Scheldt, and thus the Dutch were con pelled to evacuate Belgium.

1839. Final agreement between Holland and Belgium

III. **Poland.**

November, **1830.** Outbreak of a rebellion in Wa saw, due to the example of the July Revolution i Paris and to the interference of the Czar, Nicholas with the Polish constitution. The movement, whic ended in the incorporation of Poland in the Russia Empire with a separate administration, was not nation or popular, but aristocratic. Palmerston protested again the interference with the constitution guaranteed by th Treaty of Vienna, but refused to interfere, as Warsaw ha been ceded to Russia by that treaty. His action—

α. Was consistent with his determination to stan on the treaties;

β. Embittered Russian feeling against England.

IV. **Spain and Portugal.**

A. Portugal.

(1) Dom Miguel, brother of Dom Pedro, Emperor Brazil, usurped the throne of Portugal left by Ped to his daughter, Donna Maria de la Gloria, **1828.**

(2) Pedro therefore abdicated the throne of Brazil (**1831**) secure the throne for Donna Maria, and seized Lisbo **1833.**

(3) Palmerston allowed Pedro to enlist troops in Englan and a British fleet under Captain Napier defeat Miguel.

B. Spain.

(1) Ferdinand VII of Spain, influenced by Queen Christin revoked the Salic Law and left his throne to h daughter Isabella, thus excluding his brother, D Carlos, the next male heir.

(2) Death of Ferdinand September, **1833**. Queen Christina, to strengthen her daughter's position, adopted the Liberal cause.

C. The Quadruple Alliance, **1834**.

(1) Donna Maria and Queen Christina made an alliance against the Pretenders, Dom Miguel and Don Carlos, who were supported by the legitimist and clerical (i.e. the reactionary) parties in Portugal and Spain.

(2) April 22, **1834**. Quadruple Alliance between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal to expel the Pretenders.

(3) The relations between France and Great Britain were embittered by—

α. The unwillingness of Palmerston to admit France to the Alliance: he had previously formed a Triple Alliance between Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, and extended this into the Quadruple with great reluctance;

β. The refusal of Thiers to countenance an English expedition, and of Palmerston to countenance French intervention, and the failure to arrange a joint expedition.

(4) Thus Great Britain practically lost the friendship of France, and was isolated in Europe.

. Russia and Turkey.

A. Mehemet Ali, **1832–3**.

(1) The battle of Navarino, October 20th, **1827**, prevented Mehemet Ali from conquering the Morea; he conquered Syria, overran Asia Minor and marched on Constantinople.

(2) Great Britain and France were most anxious to maintain the integrity of Turkey as a barrier against the extension of Russia to the south-west, but they were unable to help the Sultan because both were engaged in the joint expedition against Holland (page 766),

the reform agitation was at its height in Grea Britain, and the death of Casimir Périer had weakene France.

(3) Russia was anxious to maintain the Turkish Empir provided it was too weak to be dangerous, and, as th rebellion in Poland had been suppressed, was free t act. The Sultan accepted the Czar's offer of help, an Russian forces entered the Turkish dominions.

(4) Great Britain and France, fearing that Russia woul use her position to strengthen her power, compelle the Sultan to give Syria to Mehemet Ali, thus makin Russian help unnecessary. Russia was checked, bu July 8, **1833**, by the Treaty of Unkiar Skeles made an offensive and defensive alliance with th Sultan.

α. This treaty was regarded in England as the asse tion of a Russian protectorate over Turkey.

β. The refusal of Russia to give up the Danubia Principalities it had occupied pending payme of an indemnity due from Turkey added to th anxiety felt in England.

B. The revival of the Holy Alliance, October 15, **1833**.

Austria, Russia, Prussia, owing to the sympath shown by France and Great Britain to the revolutiona party in Belgium and the Liberals in Spain a Portugal, renewed the Holy Alliance by the Trea of Berlin, October 15, **1833**, by which they r asserted the right of the powers to intervene in a state to help the lawful sovereign.

C. Mehemet Ali, **1839–40**.

(1) Another war broke out between the Sultan a Mehemet Ali, whose son Ibrahim routed the Tur at Nessib June 24, **1839**, and overran Asia Minor

(2) Great Britain determined to intervene.

α. Mehemet's empire included the Euphrates Valley and the Isthmus of Suez—two of the routes to India.

β. Palmerston feared that Russia would intervene in accordance with the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi.

(3) Fear of Russia led the other powers to promise to protect the Sultan, if necessary, against Mehemet.

(4) But France, anxious to weaken the British influence in the Mediterranean, was willing for Mehemet to keep Egypt and Syria.

(5) Palmerston therefore came to an understanding with Russia.

α. Russia had evacuated the Principalities in 1838, and was sincerely anxious to maintain the integrity of Turkey.

β. The visit of the Czarevitch to England, 1838, had led to a better feeling between the two countries.

γ. Nicholas agreed to abstain from isolated intervention in Turkey, to give up the advantages of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and to coerce Mehemet if necessary.

(6) July 3, 1840. By the Convention of London, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain agreed, without the knowledge of France, to protect the Sultan against Mehemet.

α. Great indignation in France. Apparent danger of war between France and Great Britain.

β. Resistance of Mehemet, hoping for French aid. Conquest of Syria by combined Austrian, Turkish, and British fleets. Submission of Mehemet, who was confirmed in the Pashalik of Egypt, November 25.

VI. **The First War with China. The "Opium War," 1839–42.**

A. **1833.** Abolition of the monopoly of the China trad hitherto held by the East India Company. Growt of trade, especially of the contraband trade, at th open ports of Canton and Macao in opium in spit of the attempts of the Chinese Government to pr hibit it owing to the debasing effect of the drug The British Government ought to have forbidde the trade, but this would have meant a loss £1,000,000 per annum duty paid to the India Government, and the smugglers, relying upon th connivance of the authorities, made large profits.

B. On the failure of the British residents to stop the trad the Chinese seized opium to the value of $1\frac{1}{4}$ millio and treated the merchants with great severity.

C. War.

Sir Hugh Gough captured Chusan, Ningpo, and Amo and threatened Nanking.

D. **1842.** The Treaty of Nanking ended the war.

α. China ceded Hongkong to Great Britain.

β. Canton, Amoy, Foo Choo, Ningpo, Shangh made treaty ports. English consuls appoint and traders admitted.

γ. China paid an indemnity of $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions addition to compensation for opium seized.

E. The British Government was wrong in not stopping th trade, but was obliged to go to war to protect Britis subjects from ill-treatment. The Treaty of Nankin was an important step in the opening of China Europeans.

VII. **Lord Palmerston as Foreign Minister, 1830–41.**

A. His efforts were successful, and he strengthened great the influence of Great Britain. "He created Belgium

saved Portugal and Spain from absolutism, rescued Turkey from Russia, and the highway to India from France," and kept peace for eleven years.

B. But his peremptory methods of "getting the affairs of Europe into trim" aroused much ill-feeling, especially in France.

C. He already showed a disposition to act on his own initiative without consulting his colleagues (page 867). The Quadruple Alliance, **1834**, "a capital hit and all my own doing."

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THE WHIG RULE, NOVEMBER, 1830, TO AUGUST, 1841

ome leading Men.

A. Earl Grey.

(1) A consistent Whig. Had brought forward motions for Parliamentary reform, **1793** and **1797**. Held office in the Ministry of all the Talents and supported the Abolition of the Slave Trade, **1807**. Condemned the Peninsular War, opposed all measures restricting personal liberty passed by Liverpool's ministry. Advocated Catholic Emancipation. Carried the Reform Bill, **1832**.

(2) But he was a Whig of the old aristocratic type.

1827. *α.* His violent personal attack on Canning w probably due to contempt for one whom h regarded as a plebeian adventurer.

β. He sympathised with Stanley's attitude towar the Irish Church, and objected to the interfe ence with the rights of property which h thought the Appropriation Clause (page 79 involved.

γ. He had no sympathy with the Radicals, of whe his son-in-law, Lord Durham, "Radical Jack was a leader. He strongly objected to th "constant and active pressure from without to which his ministry was subjected. H thought the Reform Bill valuable because was "conservative of the constitution" a seemed likely to check the further growth democracy.

B. Lord Brougham.

Educated at Edinburgh University. One of the le ing contributors to the *Edinburgh Review* and soon came "the greatest intellectual power on the Whig sid

(1) An ardent supporter of progressive measures. Oppo slavery, advocated the extension of popular educati rendered most valuable help during the passage of t Reform Bill, **1832**, and of the New Poor Law, **183**

(2) A great reformer of legal machinery. Lord Chancel **1830–4.**

The establishment of the Central Criminal Court a of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, **183** was due to him, and he foreshadowed the establi ment of County Courts in a Bill which the Lo rejected.

(3) A brilliant orator and debater. His sarcasm a invective made him a great power in the Comm and on political platforms.

(4) His career was ruined by inordinate vanity and indiscretion, especially by his unwise remarks about the King and his patronising references to his colleagues during his Scotch tour in **1834**. Melbourne found that "it was impossible to act with him," and he was not reappointed Lord Chancellor in Melbourne's second ministry, **1835**.

C. William Lamb, Viscount Melbourne.

(1) A moderate Whig holding an intermediate position between extreme Tories and extreme Whigs. Supported the Six Acts and also Catholic Emancipation. Chief Secretary for Ireland under Canning, **1827**. Home Secretary in Grey's ministry. Prime Minister, **1834** and **1835–41**.

(2) Melbourne was not a statesman. He was somewhat indolent, and his famous formula "Why can't you let it alone?" showed that his attitude towards reform was passive.

(3) Although his life was clouded by the infidelity of his wife and the mental failure and the early death of his only son, he did not lose the shrewdness, geniality, and kindliness which kept his ministry together in spite of its great weakness and conciliated his p ponents.

(4) He rendered great service to the nation by the sympathy, wisdom, and tact he displayed as adviser of the young Queen from **1837–41**. "For four years he saw her every day." He taught her the "doctrines of parliamentary sovereignty, ministerial responsibility, and limited monarchy which belong to the Whig tradition," but never made a wrong use of his position for personal or party ends.

The Weakness of the Whigs, 1830–41.

Although they had a majority in the Commons and carried through most important laws, the Whigs were not a united party.

A. The Whigs had been in opposition for nearly fifty yea
They had thus lost the power of administration, pa
discipline had been relaxed, Melbourne was not str
enough to enforce it, and he failed to give his pa
a strong lead.

B. The party was weakened—

(1) By serious differences of opinion.

α. Earl Grey had little sympathy with the Radica

β. Stanley and Lord John Russell differed entir
as to the appropriation of Irish ecclesiast
revenues.

γ. Brougham quarrelled with his colleagues, esp
ally Durham, and after losing the Chancel
ship proved a most dangerous critic.

δ. The union with O'Connell alienated many of
Protestant middle class.

(2) By the consolidation of the Conservative party by I
and the permanent Conservative majority in the He
of Lords, who often rejected or modified the Bills
ministry supported. "The Lords have been bowl
down Bills like ninepins" (Greville).

(3) The hostility of William IV.

C. The party grew steadily weaker, and at the end of its t
depended upon Melbourne's exceptional position
adviser to the Queen for existence and, in some ca
upon Peel's support to carry its Bills.

III. **The Whigs did great things for England.**

They reformed Parliament, **1832**, the Poor Law, **18**
and Municipal Corporations, **1835**, emancipated sla
1833, established Penny Postage, **1840**.

IV. **But they made some very grave mistakes.**

(1) They failed properly to appreciate the grievances of
working classes and the importance of the Anti-C
Law movement.

(2) Their financial policy was "intolerably bad" (Gladstone) and their administration was weak.

(3) Their Irish policy was inconsistent, and Ireland "blocked the way" of progress in England.

(4) The Opium War against China, **1839**, was probably a blunder of policy.

(5) They were discredited by the Bedchamber Question and lost authority by creeping back to office "behind the petticoats of the ladies-in-waiting."

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B. *Twelve English Statesmen*, Peel, p. 104.

INDIA, 1786–1835

During this period British supremacy was finally established, British rule consolidated, and the principle that the good of the natives was the end of the Government was accepted.

The Marquis Cornwallis, 1786–93.[1]

First Governor-General under Pitt's Act of **1784**.

(1) Unlike Hastings, he had no Council to hamper him. The authority he derived from Government support enabled him to check corruption among the officials. He raised their salaries, absolutely forbade private trade, and reorganised the Courts of Justice.

(2) The Perpetual Settlement of Bengal, March, **1793**. The East India Company had recognised the hereditary rights of the Bengal revenue collectors, but

[1] Created marquis **1792**.

Cornwallis introduced a new system of taxation o land, the chief source of revenue.

(*a*) The collectors or zemindars were recognised a owners and made liable to pay a fixed annual tax the Government.

(*b*) The land was surveyed and assessed, and th assessment made permanent.

(*c*) The rents payable by the ryots, the cultivator to the zemindars were not fixed and were raised the new landowners from time to time as the value the land increased, although the Government did n raise the permanent land tax.

(*d*) The interests of the zemindars were th bound up with those of the British Government, a this accounts for the fact that Bengal took practical no share in the Mutiny.

(3) The Second Mysore War, **1790–2.**

The great object of Cornwallis was to purify a maintain the British rule. He did not wish to exte British dominion or interfere in native states. B the son of Hyder Ali, Tippoo Sahib, instigated part by the French, in **1789** attacked Travancore, a sta under British protection. Cornwallis made allianc with the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Peishwa Poona. These allies proved unreliable, and Cornwal himself attacked Seringapatam in **1792**, and Tipp surrendered.

α. Part of Malabar was added to Bombay.

β. The weakness of Hyderabad and Poona w shown, but the Nizam and Peishwa receiv part of Tippoo's surrendered territory, althou they had not rendered efficient aid to Co wallis.

I. **Marquis Wellesley,**[1] **1798–1805.**

A. Grave danger from Napoleon's designs on India, facilitated by the hostility of Tippoo Sahib, now negotiating with Napoleon, by the French naval station at Mauritius, and by the presence of French soldiers in the armies of Hyderabad and Poona. Wellesley, strong in the assurance of the support of Dundas, the Secretary for War, determined to break the French power and to make Great Britain supreme in India.

B. The establishment of British authority in the south.

(1) The Nizam of Hyderabad compelled to accept English officers for his army instead of French.

(2) Conquest of Mysore, **1799.**

"Citizen Tippoo" refused to renounce the French alliance, and was defeated and slain at Seringapatam **May 4, 1799.**

1799. Mysore reduced to its former limits. The seacoast added to Madras. The old Hindoo dynasty, overthrown by Hyder Ali, re-established under supervision of an English resident. The state garrisoned by British troops.

(3) **1799.** The Nizam disbanded his soldiers and received a British force instead, ceding territory to defray the expense.

(4) **1800.** The Carnatic and Tanjore brought under British authority.

C. Extension of British authority in the north-east.

1802. The Nawab of Oudh accepted British supervision, received a British force, and ceded Rohilcund in payment.

[1] Lord Mornington. Is better known by this title, which he received in **99.**

D. Extension of British authority in the centre and north.

The Mahrattas.

(1) A loose confederacy in Central India. Included th Peishwa of Poona, the nominal head of the co federacy; Scindia at Gwalior; Holkar at Indor and the Bhonsla of Berar, none of whom had a lawf title to their territories, the boundaries of which we uncertain. They continually attacked neighbourin states, especially the Nizam.

(2) **1802.** By the Treaty of Bassein the Peishwa accept British supremacy.

(3) September 23, **1803.** Defeat of Scindia and t Rajah of Nagpore at Assaye.

(4) November 1, **1803.** Rout of Scindia at Laswarri Lake.

(5) November 29, **1803.** Rout of the Bhonsla at Argau

(6) **1804.** Successful resistance of Holkar's irregul cavalry to the British, who failed to capture Bhu pore.

[**1806.** Submission of Holkar.]

E. The importance of Wellesley.

(1) He made Great Britain the supreme authority in Ind thus giving a real bond of unity to the native stat hitherto united only by a nominal obedience to t power of the Mogul.

(2) By checking the turbulence of native princes, especial the Mahrattas, by his subsidiary treaties,[1] by establis ing British residents in native courts he protect the interests of the people of India. Owing to i creased security of life and property, and to improv ment in methods of government, trade and agricult rapidly increased.

[1] By a subsidiary treaty the British undertook to defend native states return for a subsidy of money or a grant of territory.

(3) But the rapid extension of British authority in India caused opposition at home. Under Wellesley's administration dividends diminished, and disputes broke out between Wellesley and the directors, who disapproved of his Free Trade policy and military expenditure. The pressure of the Napoleonic wars led to a desire to use our military resources to defend liberty in Europe. Wellesley was recalled **1805**. On the success of Holkar the extension of British frontiers was forbidden.

II. The Marquis of Hastings,[1] 1813–23.

[The capture of the Cape of Good Hope, **1806**, and Mauritius, **1810**, had strengthened our command of the route to India.]

Hastings, although at first opposed to a "forward policy," was obliged to adopt it, as he found that British supremacy was necessary for the interests of India. His great work was the pacification of Central India.

A. Nepaul. Our first "hill war."

1814–16. Defeat of the Goorkhas of Nepaul, who had repeatedly attacked the people of Northern Bengal, by Ochterlony, after a most difficult campaign. Much of the southern part of Nepaul was ceded, but the northern part remained independent and became our devoted ally.

B. The Pindaris.

A nomadic band of robbers, not a tribe or nation, who were encouraged by the Mahrattas, especially by the Peishwa, and caused great distress in North-central India.

1816–18. The Pindaris were annihilated after the close of the Mahratta War. The Central Provinces now formed included much of their territories.

[1] Earl Moira, created Marquis of Hastings 1816.

C. The final conquest of the Mahrattas.

(1) **1817.** Rising of the Peishwa (who was on friendly terms with the Pindaris), Nagpore, and Indore against British rule.

(2) **1818.** The Peishwa routed and deposed. Poona added to Bombay.

British residents appointed at Nagpore and Indore and British authority accepted by the chiefs of Rajpootana.

(3) Mountstuart Elphinstone administered Poona with conspicuous success, and his efforts resulted in great extension of trade and general prosperity. The substitution of British authority for Mahratta turbulence was one of the greatest blessings India has received.

D. Hastings promoted native education, favoured the development of the native press, and made promotions in the Civil Service according to merit and not influence.

His "forward" policy and internal reforms aroused great opposition in England, where the real conditions of India were not understood, and he was recalled **1823.**

IV. Lord Amherst, 1823–8.

1824. The First Burmese War due to the attacks of the Burmese on North-eastern Bengal and their seizure of Shahpoori. Capture of Rangoon and Martaban; cession by Burma of Assam and Tenasserim.

V. Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, 1828–35.

A period of peaceful progress and judicious reform.

A. He deposed the Rajah of Mysore for incompetence and cruelty. The government of Mysore carried on by Commissioners until **1881**, when a native prince was restored. Great prosperity of Mysore under the new regime

This act involved the principle that the well-being of the governed is the first consideration of the British authority in India.

B. The abolition of suttee, **1829**.

(1) The custom of burning widows on their husbands' funeral pyres may have been due to a mistaken reading of certain texts relating to widows in the sacred books, or to the desire of male relatives to secure the property of the deceased.

(2) The French and Dutch had suppressed suttee in their possessions, but the fear that the Sepoys would resent its abolition had led the British to condone it.

(3) Bentinck found that suttee was not generally practised among the Sepoys and promptly suppressed it.

C. The abolition of thuggee.

The Thugs were a sect who worshipped Kali, the goddess of destruction, and regarded murder as a religious duty. They murdered many people in Central India and often took their victims' property, but long escaped detection, as many Thugs followed peaceful callings when not engaged in "pious and profitable murder," and so escaped detection. Bentinck, with great difficulty, put down thuggee.

D. Internal reforms.

(1) Natives received judicial and civil appointments.

(2) **1835.** English became the official language of India.

(3) English subjects were subsequently introduced into schools.

(4) The Indian press received full freedom of publication.

The wisdom of the last two reforms, favoured by Bentinck but carried out after his departure, has been questioned by some critics and defended by others.

E. The land settlement of the North-west Provinces.

After a careful survey Bentinck confirmed the village communities, which had long existed, in the possession of their land subject to the payment to the Government of a tax which was periodically reassessed. He thus avoided the mistakes Cornwallis had made in Bengal.

F. The new charter, **1833.**

The East India Company lost its trading rights and was limited to administrative work only.

G. The work of Bentinck is accurately described in the inscription written by Macaulay for his statue in Calcutta. He "infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom" and "never forgot that the end of government is the happiness of the governed."

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ENGLISH LITERATURE, 1798-1837

I. The Eighteenth Century.

A. The eighteenth century had added to English literature the novel, the periodic essay, and much excellent light verse. In this century literary history was created and "English prose of all work" received definite form.

B. The faults of the century, especially the earlier part, were—
(1) Undue attention to conventional subjects and form, especially the heroic couplet, which in time "made poetry a mere mechanic art";

(2) The neglect of external nature and of human interests, except in the case of London society;

(3) The excessive influence of the classics, notably in Dr. Johnson's prose.

C. Reaction began before 1798.

(1) Nature.

James Thomson's *Seasons*, 1730, showed appreciation of the external beauty of nature, and Cowper's *Task*, published 1783, was marked by real love of "rural sights and sounds."

(2) Variety of metre is found, notably in Gray and Collins.

(3) Mediæval poetry and legends.

α. Gray made a great use of Welsh and Scandinavian legends in the *Bard* and the *Descent of Odin*.

β. "Ossian's" poems, dealing with old Gaelic chieftains, became popular.

γ. 1765. The publication of Percy's *Reliques*, a collection of old ballads, "changed the face of literature" and inspired many of the romantic writers.

(4) Lyrical poetry was stimulated by the appearance, in—
1786, of Burns' Poems;
1789, of Blake's *Songs of Innocence* and Burns' Songs.

(5) The French Revolution.

The interest in humanity which had appeared in Cowper's works was deepened by the French Revolution, which asserted the liberty, fraternity, and equality of all.

The Romantic revival was marked by a tendency "to get out of the library and into the fields and woods"; by variety of style, metre, and subject; by the development of lyrical poetry; by interest in the literature, legend, and history of the Middle Ages; by the consideration of problems of life; by "imaginative sensibility."

II. **Poetry.**

A. William Wordsworth, **1770–1850.**

Wordsworth was "the Lake school." Coleridge and Southey have not much in common with him, and the chief reason for their association with him was the fact that both lived in the Lake District.

(1) The poet of nature.

He looked not, like Thomson, at the external beauties, but at the hidden lessons of nature, which he regarded as a living force, acting on the minds of men, and giving "glimpses which would make me less forlorn."

(2) He displays a deep interest in problems of humanity, e.g.—

α. Political problems in some of his sonnets, which are among the finest in the language;

β. Problems of religion and character, e.g. *Intimations of Immortality* (**1807**), *Ode to Duty.*

(3) His best work is marked by imaginative thought and by purity—he "uttered nothing base." The feebleness of some of his work is perhaps explained by his lack of humour.

B. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, **1772–1834.**

(1) *The Ancient Mariner*, **1798**, *Christabel* and *Kubla Khan* are musical, imaginative, and supremely poetical but mysterious and obscure.

(2) He promoted the Romantic movement by the profound influence he exercised over his contemporaries through his recognition of the value of mediævalism and his appreciation of German thought.

1798. The publication of *Lyrical Ballads* by Wordsworth and Coleridge is sometimes regarded as marking the beginning of the new Romantic school.

C. Sir Walter Scott, **1771–1832.**

Scott's metrical romances (*The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, **1805**) popularised the Romantic movement.

D. Lord Byron, **1788–1824.**

Byron's works are marked by imagination, creative power, strong emotion, the influence of his own personality (especially in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and his Eastern tales). His long poems contain passages of singular beauty, but are somewhat weak in structure, and sometimes (*Don Juan*) immoral in tone, and the "Byronic" style is often affected.

He was less insular than his contemporaries, and had a great influence on the development of Romanticism in Europe as well as England.

E. The lyrical poetry of this period was excellent.

(1) John Keats (**1795–1821**) possessed the power of appreciating the thoughts of other times (*Ode to a Grecian Urn*), which marked the Romantic movement. His poetry, like that of Percy Bysshe Shelley (**1792–1822**), is marked by beauty, fancy, and music, but Keats was more popular than Shelley, whose idealism and mysticism appeal more to the thinker than the people, and who often showed reckless disregard for morality.

(2) Ballad poetry is well represented by Scott's songs, Byron's Hebrew melodies, Campbell's ballads, and Moore's Irish melodies.

I. Prose.

A. Novels.

(1) The *Waverley Novels* (*Waverley*, **1814**), the first English historical romances, are marked by references to mediæval and Scottish history and legend, by the reality and variety of their characters, by vivid descriptions of places, and by manly tone.

(2) Literary women.

a. Jane Austen's (**1775–1817**) novels (*Sense and Sensibility*, **1811**, *Pride and Prejudice*, **1813**) represent the ordinary life of "genteel" society with fluency and considerable power of irony.

β. Frances Burney (Madame D'Arblay), **1752–1840**

In *Evelina* (**1778**) she caricatured people o different ranks.

γ. Maria Edgeworth, **1767–1849**.

Described Irish life with conspicuous succes (e.g. in *Castle Rackrent*, **1800**), but was not s successful in her descriptions of London Society

B. Periodical literature.

(1) Newspapers.

Six daily papers were published in London at th beginning of the nineteenth century, the chief being th *Times* (founded by John Walter, **1785**), the *Morni Post* (founded **1772**), and the *Morning Chronic* (founded **1769**). The desire for news of the war wit France and the great ability of the contributors (wh included Coleridge, Lamb, Mackintosh, and Hazlit led to an increase in the circulation and influence newspapers, and to a marked improvement in the pos tion of newspaper writers, who had previously bee regarded with much disfavour as "blackguard new writers."

(2) Reviews.

α. The *Edinburgh Review*, founded **1802** by Jeffre and Brougham, was Whig, and the *Quarter Review*, founded **1808**, to which Scott frequentl contributed, was Tory. Both were strictl reviews, and their literary criticisms, thoug generally good, were sometimes, as in the cas of Keats, unfair. Macaulay's *Essays* appeare after **1825** in the *Edinburgh*.

β. *Blackwood's Magazine*, founded **1817** [to whic J. G. Lockhart and "Christopher North" (Pr fessor Wilson) contributed], and the *Lond Magazine* (the organ of the "Cockney school" dealt with more general subjects. The Cockne

school included Charles Lamb, whose *Essays of Elia* are marked by humour and charm, and of whom it was said, "the streets of London are his fairyland": Hazlitt, a great dramatic and literary critic; and Leigh Hunt, a writer of miscellaneous articles. Thomas de Quincey, whose somewhat florid prose illustrates the tendency to imagery which marks the English prose of the period, wrote for the *London Magazine*, but was not a member of the Cockney school.

C. History.

(1) William Mitford, **1744–1827.**

His *History of Greece* (**1784–1810**) was based on the study of original documents and became very popular. The later volumes are coloured by the writer's strong prejudice against democracy, due to the French Revolution.

(2) Henry Hallam, **1777–1859.**

1818. *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages.*

1827. *Constitutional History of England.*

Written from the Whig point of view, but eminently judicial, fair, and trustworthy.

(3) Sir William Napier, **1785–1860.**

1828–40. *History of the Peninsular War.* A valuable authority, but coloured by strong prejudices, personal and political.

D. Philosophy.

Three writers are important for the effect of their works, which are not of special literary merit.

(1) Thomas Robert Malthus (**1766–1834**), in his *Principles of Population* (**1798**), showed that poverty and moral restraint tend to check the growth of population, which, without such checks, would grow too large

for subsistence. In the *Nature and Progress of Re* (1815) he explained the principles on which rent decided.

(2) Jeremy Bentham, 1748–1832.

His chief work was *Principles of Morals a Legislation* (1780), and he wrote for the *Westminst Review*, which he helped to establish in 1823. I maintained that the object of government was promote the "greatest happiness of the greate number," and his writings contributed to importa reforms, e.g. of the administration of justice a of prison regulations.

(3) David Ricardo (1772–1823) revolutionised Politi Economy by his famous theory of Rent, and point out that Rent is the surplus profit which any la either from the convenience of its situation or fr the fertility of its soil, yields over the worst land cultivation which pays no rent.

IV. General.

The literature of the period is marked by th important movements:—

A. The Romantic revival;

B. The appearance of women novelists, whose works a written with a high moral tone and purity of expressio

C. The development of periodical literature, which soon beca a potent force in politics.

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B. For lyrical poetry, *The Golden Treasury*, Dent, Book IV

IRELAND, 1831–48

"Ireland had a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, l an alien Church, and in addition the weakest executive in the rld" (Disraeli).

Daniel O'Connell. 1775–1847.

A. **1831–43.** "The Liberator" rendered great service to the cause of Catholic Emancipation (page 743), and for many years was "Dictator" of the Irish people.

B. He became the champion of Irish nationality and tried by means of the agitation which had secured Emancipation to ensure the Repeal of the Union. He thus distracted attention somewhat from the agrarian grievances, especially the conditions of land tenure, which were one of the chief causes of the misery of Ireland.

(1) He opposed the supremacy of the Anglican Church, and objected to the withdrawal of the Appropriation Clause.

(2) **1838.** He opposed the Irish Poor Law because of the strength of national feeling against the workhouse.

(3) In many respects he agreed with the Whigs, in his support of religious equality, Free Trade, and steady opposition to negro slavery. The Lichfield House Compact, **1835** (page 738), strengthened the Whigs in the Commons, but the alliance with O'Connell, regarded as an unscrupulous demagogue in England, weakened them in the country.

C. He roused national feeling by his monster meetings, the success of which his magnificent voice and brilliant oratory ensured. But he persistently opposed the use of physical force. He secured absolute order at the Clare election (**1828**), and refused to hold the Clontarf meeting (**1843**) in defiance of the Lord Lieutenant's

proclamation. This refusal led to the separation of t
Young Ireland party (page 794) and to the weakening
his own influence.

D. His language was violent. He called the Whigs "ba
brutal, and bloody," and the House of Lords "a body
scoundrels." Judged by the standards of Engli
political life, his methods appear sometimes unscrupulo
but his opponents employed language as violent a
methods as unscrupulous against him.

E. He greatly embittered the national animosity betwe
England and Ireland, which has since complicated grav
the Irish Question. This the worst result of his life.

II. **Earl Grey's Ministry, November, 1830–July, 1834.**

A. Causes of discontent.

(1) The condition of the small farmers and agricultu
labourers was miserable. The cottier tenancy[1]
which farms were held rendered it difficult for tena
to make a living. There was no proper system
Poor Relief and emigration was very costly.

(2) O'Connell, after Catholic Emancipation was secu
aimed at repealing the Union.

(3) The Roman Catholic majority strongly resented hav
to pay tithes for the support of the Anglican Chu
This grievance was felt by everyone, because e
tenant paid the tithes on his land, which someti
came to fractions of a farthing. This vexati
system made the cost of collection very heavy.

B. Riots and disorder.

1831. The Tithe War. Many atrocities were c
mitted; collectors and policemen were often murdered

1833. About 9000 crimes, due to popular disconte
were committed.

[1] "Cottiers" were peasant farmers whose rents were determined by c
petition. Owing to the difficulty of getting farms the cottiers o
offered a higher rent than they could possibly pay.

C. Irish Board of National Education, 1831.

(1) An attempt to strengthen Protestantism, by limiting elementary education to Protestant Charter schools, which aimed at the conversion of Catholic children, had failed.

(2) The Kildare Place Society, a private association giving purely secular education and receiving a Government grant, was not supported by Roman Catholics, who insisted upon definite religious instruction by Roman Catholic teachers.

(3) The Board of National Education, founded by Stanley 1831, received the grant formerly given to the Kildare Place Society, and arranged for common literary and separate religious instruction for Protestants and Catholics. The Protestant and Catholic Archbishops agreed on non-contentious Biblical extracts for reading in school, and dogmatic instruction was left for out of school hours.

α. The arrangement was opposed by extreme Protestants, led by Sir Robert Inglis, who objected to restrictions on Biblical teaching, and by extreme Catholics, who objected to the Biblical extracts selected for common reading as inadequate.

β. But real good was done by the Board, which was the result of an honest attempt to deal fairly with both religions.

D. The Coercion Bill, 1833.

The Coercion Bill, which established martial law in disaffected districts, was passed owing to the influence of Stanley. It led to an immediate decrease of disorder, but was viewed with disfavour by many Whigs and Radicals.

E. The Irish Church Temporalities Bill, **1833.**

The Government had practically undertaken to collect the tithe itself, but had failed, and the Protestant clergy were greatly impoverished. To relieve them and allay the discontent of the Roman Catholics Althorp introduced this Bill, which provided—

(1) That a tax should be imposed on all ecclesiastical incomes above £200, and the proceeds used to repair churches;

(2) That the number of Protestant bishopries should be reduced;

(3) That Church lands should be let on more reasonable terms;

(4) That the surplus derived from these arrangements should be appropriated to any purposes "secular or otherwise, as might be thought fit."

This "Appropriation Clause" caused much opposition, as many denied the right to apply ecclesiastical revenues to secular purposes. Lord John Russell, in opposition to many of his colleagues, spoke strongly in its favour, and "upset the coach." Stanley, Ripon, Richmond, and Sir James Graham resigned, although the clause was not carried.

F. Earl Grey resigned office (July, **1834**) owing to a dispute arising out of the proposed renewal of the Coercion Act.

III. **Melbourne's Ministry, 1835–41.**

A. The Lichfield House Compact ensured alliance between O'Connell and the Whigs. Therefore—

(1) The Repeal agitation was dropped;

(2) Melbourne adopted a more liberal Irish policy.

B. **1835.** Appointment of Lord Mulgrave (created Marquis of Normanby, 1838) as Lord Lieutenant and of Thomas Drummond as Under-Secretary. Drummond's declaration that "property has duties as well as rights."

Roman Catholics were admitted to office, and an attempt was made to weaken the extreme Protestant party, notably by the abolition of Orange lodges in the army.

C. **1838**. The Irish Poor Law Act.

Carried in spite of O'Connell's opposition.

D. **1838**. The Tithe Commutation Act

Converted tithes into a fixed rent charge and devoted any surplus revenue to the Anglican Church in Ireland. The Appropriation Clause was dropped, and this act of surrender humiliated the Whigs.

E. **1840**. The Irish Municipal Act

Abolished fifty-eight corporations, established ten new ones, and reformed many abuses of Irish municipal life.

F. But the efforts of Melbourne did not solve the Irish Question, which was largely agrarian, and in **1839** the Anti-Rent Conspiracy led to a renewal of riots and murder.

. **Peel's Ministry, September, 1841–June, 1846.**

A. Repeal.

(1) O'Connell, believing from their previous policy that Peel and Stanley (Secretary for War and Colonies until December, **1845**) would not redress the grievances of Ireland, again advocated in "monster meetings" the Repeal of the Union, and his followers hoped for a "Parliament in College Green" by **1843**. Consequent outbreak of crime and passage of "Arms Act" by Parliament (**1843**) and dispatch of 35,000 troops to Ireland. O'Connell was strongly opposed to physical violence and disbanded a monster meeting at Clontarf (October 8, **1843**) because it had been prohibited by the Lord Lieutenant. This action greatly weakened O'Connell's influence. He was subsequently imprisoned for sedition after a trial in which the jury was packed and Judge Pennefather proved grossly

unfair to the accused. The sentence was reverse by the Lords (1844).

Several of the lay lords, incensed by O'Connell attack on their House, determined to vote on his cas although it was a custom that lay lords, nominali entitled to vote, should not exercise the right voting in legal cases. Lord Wharncliffe persuade them to abstain, and the lay lords never again vote on a legal appeal.

(2) The Young Ireland movement.

1840. William Smith O'Brien, a man of weal and position, and Thomas Davis formed the Youn Ireland party to promote Repeal, and were su ported by the *Nation*, ably edited by Charl Gavan Duffy. They continually advocated the use physical force, and separated from O'Connell after t Clontarf meeting, but did not at first appear dangerou

1848. The rebellions on the Continent and t feeling aroused by the famine, for which the Gover ment was held partly responsible, made the extre section of the Young Irish party dangerous. T extremists led by John Mitchel, who started t *United Irishman*, definitely aimed at stirring u rebellion, and O'Brien was implicated.

The Government suppressed the *United Irishma* and transported Mitchel. After a skirmish betwe his followers and the police in "the widow Ma Cormack's potato patch" at Ballingarry, O'Brien w sentenced to execution, but was transported to Au tralia. The Young Irish movement failed because—

α. It was more of a literary than a political mov ment ;

β. It never gained the support of the Iri peasantry ;

γ. Most of its leaders were too young to influen the country.

B. The Devon Commission, 1845.

Relying on the report of the Earl of Devon's Commission of Inquiry into the Irish land question, Stanley endeavoured without success to secure compensation to evicted tenants for improvements they had effected on their holdings. The passage of the Bill would probably have alleviated distress, and its rejection was a grave mistake.

C. Peel and Irish education.

(1) The Maynooth Grant, 1845.

Maynooth College, the famous institution for training Irish priests, found the Government grant of £9000 a year too small, and Peel proposed to increase it to £26,000.

α. The proposal was carried in spite of the furious opposition of English Churchmen (led by Sir Robert Inglis, M.P. for Oxford University) and of Nonconformists. The opposition was roused by the increased endowment of Roman Catholicism, but no new principle was involved as a grant had been made since 1808.

β. Gladstone approved of the proposal, but resigned office because he thought his support was inconsistent with the views expressed in his book on *The State in its Relations with the Church*.

(2) Queen's Colleges, 1845.

The University of Dublin, the only university in Ireland, was strongly Protestant, although Roman Catholics could attend, and honours and rewards were confined to Anglicans.

Peel proposed to remedy this grievance of Roman Catholics by founding an examining body, Queen's University, to which three purely secular teaching

colleges at Cork, Galway, and Belfast were to be affiliated. He hoped that Catholics and Protestants would unite to support these new colleges.

α. The extreme Protestants, led by Inglis, who termed the colleges "godless," objected to the exclusion of religious teaching.

β. The Roman Catholics, who at first supported the colleges, subsequently made the same objection, and the colleges, which had made an excellent start, suffered from their withdrawal.

(3) Thus Peel's ministry did much to promote Irish education, although bitter religious differences greatly hampered its efforts.

Reference:

A. *A History of Our Own Times*, by McCarthy, chaps. XII.–XVIII. (Chatto and Windus.)

FREE TRADE AND THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS

I. The Class Interests involved.

A. The landowners and farmers wished to keep up the price of corn, thus ensuring higher rents and larger profits.

1815. Corn Law forbidding importation of corn, when the price was less than 80s. per quarter.

1828. The sliding scale made duty vary inversely with the price.

1841. The Whigs proposed to fix the duty at 8s. a quarter.

Thus both parties in **1841** accepted the theory that Corn Laws were necessary.

B. The manufacturers wanted cheap bread because it would enable the workmen to live on less wages. The labourers, still suffering from the new Poor Law which deprived them of outdoor relief, and from the new machinery which displaced labour and lowered wages, wanted cheap bread to save them from starvation.

C. Thus the repeal of the Corn Laws was the result of the Industrial Revolution (page 626), which led to diversity of interests between the industrial and agricultural classes.

. The Anti-Corn Law League.

A. **1838.** Founded in Manchester. A middle class movement. The Free Trade Hall built on the "fields of Peterloo." Strongly supported by the newly enfranchised industrial towns of the north of England.

B. The leaders.

(1) Richard Cobden, **1804–65.**

Son of a Sussex farmer, became a Manchester cotton manufacturer. One of the founders of the League. A most effective platform speaker, a master of logical, clear, simple, and straightforward argument —"The Apostle of Free Trade." Entered Parliament, **1841**, as member for Stockport. After the Bill for repeal was passed Peel asserted in the House of Commons, that the name that ought to be associated with the success of these measures is the name of Richard Cobden.

(2) John Bright, **1811–89.**

Son of a Rochdale carpet manufacturer. A strong supporter of the League and a great orator, whose pathos, humour, and sarcasm strengthened the impression made by Cobden's arguments.

Cobden and Bright were types of the middle classes whom the Reform Act had made a power in the State.

(3) Charles Villiers.

A man of higher social standing. Brother of Lord Clarendon (many years Foreign Secretary). Was the champion of Free Trade in the House of Commons and moved to repeal the Corn Laws every year from 1838–45. Lord Howick (Earl Grey, 1845) and Mr Milner Gibson rendered him valuable aid.

III. **Peel's Free Trade Budget.**

A. The "intolerably bad" finance of the Whigs and the cost of the Afghan War had caused heavy deficits. The wretched condition of the working classes (due partly to high prices) appealed strongly to Peel, and believing that "the country had arrived at the limits of taxation on articles of consumption," he determined, like Huskisson, to increase the revenue by remitting taxation in the hope that a greater revenue would result from the increased trade due to the remission.

B. The Budget of 1842—

(1) Imposed an income tax for three years of sevenpence in the pound;

(2) Remitted taxes by removing all duties of a prohibitory character, reducing the duties on raw material to a maximum of five per cent, and those on manufactured articles to a maximum of twenty per cent.

α. This Budget involved the principle of Free Trade.

β. Peel's object was to "make this country a cheap country for living," and he therefore facilitated the fall of prices by lowering duties on imported goods.

C. The Budget of 1845.

(1) The financial position of the country had greatly improved owing to the Budget of 1842, good harvests and railway development.

(2) Peel, encouraged by the success of his former Budget, abolished all duties on raw material except timber and tallow, removed all export duties, and abolished those on about 430 imported articles.

(3) Although the income tax was not necessary to provide supplies for the year, Peel renewed it as a safeguard in his attempt to fight "hostile tariffs with free imports."

D. Peel's financial policy had displeased two classes.

(1) The Conservatives, who objected to Free Trade principles.

(2) The opponents of the Corn Laws, who resented his refusal to remove the duties on corn, which he retained as a matter of expediency, not now on principle.

. The Potato Famine.

Autumn, **1845**. Outbreak of the potato rot in Ireland. As the potato was the staple food of the Irish peasants the failure of the crop caused famine. Starvation and fever (due largely to lack of food) led to appalling mortality, and Peel asserted that "the removal of impediments to imports is the only effectual remedy." He had already accepted the principle of Free Trade, but the potato famine "forced his hand" and was the immediate cause of the repeal of the Corn Laws. "Famine itself, against which we warred, joined us" (Bright).

The Repeal.

A. The Anti-Corn Law League was now very powerful, and Peel, by October, **1845**, had accepted their views.

B. November 22, **1845**. Lord John Russell, in his "Edinburgh Letter" to his constituents of the City of London, asserted that the Corn Laws had proved "the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, and the source of

bitter divisions amongst classes," and urged the Gover ment to repeal them. Russell's letter had a great effe on Peel.

C. The Cabinet was divided. Aberdeen, Graham, and Sidn Herbert agreed with Peel to support the repeal. Th Duke of Wellington, believing that "a good governme is more important than Corn Laws," supported Pee although personally anxious to retain the Laws, Lo Stanley and the Duke of Buccleuch persistent opposed him.

D. December 4, 1845. The *Times* startled the country stating that the Government would repeal the Corn Law The information probably given to Delane, the editor, Aberdeen (not, as then generally believed, by Hon. M Norton, the poetess). Perhaps the greatest journalis coup of the century.

E. December 5, 1845. Resignation of Peel. Failure Lord John Russell to form a ministry, owing to t refusal of Earl Grey to accept office if Palmerst were Foreign Secretary. Peel became Prime Minis for the third time December 20, 1845. The Duke Buccleuch withdrew his opposition to repeal, a Gladstone succeeded Stanley as Secretary for t Colonies.[1]

F. Peel's proposals for repeal.

α. That up to February 1, 1849, the duty imported corn should vary from 10s. to 4s. p quarter, according to price.

β. After February 1, 1849, only a nominal duty 1s. per quarter to be imposed. The Corn B passed the Commons May 15, 1846, and t Lords (owing to Wellington's influence) Ju 25, 1846.

[1] Gladstone lost his seat which was vacated by acceptance of office, a was out of Parliament till the dissolution of 1847.

I. **The Conservative Split.**

A. The repeal of the Corn Laws broke up the Conservative party. The representatives of the landed interest which had returned Peel in **1841** to protect the Corn Laws regarded his action as "a great betrayal." Lord George Bentinck became the leader of the new Protection party and Disraeli, hitherto regarded as a political adventurer, won its favour by his bitter attacks on Peel.

"I belong to a party which can triumph no more, for we have nothing left on our side except the constituencies which we have not betrayed."

B. The Peelites, Free Trade Conservatives who followed Peel, formed a new middle party. They were few in numbers but were exceptionally able, and included Gladstone, Sidney Herbert, Sir James Graham, Cardwell, Lord Lincoln (afterwards Duke of Newcastle), Canning, Dalhousie, and Elgin. They refused seats in the ministries of Russell **1846** and Derby **1852**, and for a time formed a third party like "a roving iceberg on which men could not land with safety, but with which ships might come into perilous collision." They joined Lord Aberdeen's Coalition Government in **1852**, and the five first named ultimately became leaders of the Liberals.

C. The Fall of Peel's ministry.

The Conservatives had generally supported Coercion Bills for Ireland, but on June 25, **1846**, they combined with Free Traders, Whigs, and Irish members to throw out a Coercion Bill Peel had introduced. June **29, 1846**, resignation of Peel.

ferences:

A. *History of our Own Times*, by McCarthy, chaps. XII.–XVI. (Chatto and Windus.)

Twelve English Statesmen: Peel, by Thursfield, chap. X.

The Political History of England, 1837–1901, by Low and Sandars, chap. III. (Longmans.)

B. *Life of Cobden*, by Morley, Vol. II, p. 140.

C. *Castle Richmond*, by Trollope. (Chapman and Hall.)

PALMERSTON AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS 1846–51

From **1846–67** domestic questions occupy less attention, mainly owing to the influence of Palmerston.

I. **The Spanish Marriages.**

A. **1843.** Louis Philippe had promised Queen Victoria and Aberdeen that his son, the Duc de Montpensier, should not marry the Infanta of Spain until her elder sister Queen Isabella, was married and had children.

B. **1846.** English opinion favoured the marriage of Isabella to Prince Leopold of Coburg, but owing to the intrigues of Louis Philippe (anxious to secure the throne of Spain for his descendants) and Guizot,

C. October 10, **1846.** Queen Isabella married Don Francis of Assisi, Duke of Cadiz, Louis Philippe hoping that they would have no children, and the Infanta married the Duc de Montpensier the same day.

α. Louis Philippe had thus broken his promise to Queen Victoria.

β. The character of the Duke of Cadiz was such that his marriage to the Queen was a disgrace.

D. Palmerston's attempt to stop the marriages failed, but British interests were not prejudiced. But the action of Louis Philippe led to the breaking off of friendly relations between France and Great Britain, and the attempt of Louis to promote his family interests rather than those of France caused opposition in Paris.

II. **Switzerland.**

A. **1846.** Seven Catholic cantons, led by Lucerne, adopted, owing to the influence of the Jesuits, a conservative and ultramontane [1] policy and formed the Sonderbund [2] to secure independence of the liberal federal party.

[1] i.e. strong Roman Catholic. A policy which had reference to the interests of the Pope who lived beyond the Alps.

[2] The League of Secession.

B. **1847.** Owing to the opposition of the Liberal assembly at Berne, and to the (November 24, **1847**) capture of Lucerne by the federal forces, the Catholics appealed to Louis Philippe who, anxious to gain prestige, wished, although a constitutional monarch, to intervene on behalf of this reactionary party in Switzerland.

C. Palmerston asserted the neutrality of Switzerland as guaranteed, **1815**, opposed Louis' intervention, and by skilful diplomacy prolonged negotiations until the Liberals had gained the day.

. Portugal.

1847. Palmerston sent a British fleet which put down an insurrection against Queen Maria. When later she refused to grant constitutional reforms he compelled her to summon the Cortes and to restore the constitution.

The Year of Revolutions, 1848.

A. France.

(1) Weakness of Louis Philippe.

Owing to the Spanish marriages he had lost the friendship of England; he had alienated some supporters by his policy towards Switzerland; his Government, though possessing a parliamentary majority, depended on the support of the rich bourgeois, and had done nothing to remedy the real grievances of the working classes.

(2) February 23, **1848.** A Republican and Socialist revolution in Paris. Abdication and flight to England of Louis Philippe.

(3) Supremacy of the Socialists, who established national workshops.

(4) June 24–6. The Republicans, led by Cavaignac, overthrew the Socialists and abolished the workshops.

(5) December, **1848.** Prince Louis Napoleon, son of Lou King of Holland and Hortense de Beauharnais, electe Prince President by a plebiscite of the nation.

The example of France increased the tendency revolt in other countries.

B. Italy.

(1) Italian revolutions were due to opposition to the ru in Lombardy of Austria, which, under Metternic had become a stereotyped despotism; to the desire Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, to make the Hou of Savoy supreme in the north; to opposition to t infamous Ferdinand II, "Bomba," in Naples; to t action of Republicans led by Mazzini, and at first the Liberal sympathies of Pius IX.

(2) **1848.** A Liberal constitution given to Piedmo Capture of Milan by Charles Albert, and incorporati of Lombardy with Sardinia.

(3) Reaction.

α. Pius IX declared in favour of Austria and fl from Rome.

β. March 23, **1849.** The Austrians under Radets routed Charles Albert at Novara.

γ. But the cause of Italian nationality was ul mately strengthened by the abdication favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II, Charles Albert, who was regarded as a mart to the cause of Italian unity.

δ. July 3, **1849.** The French occupied Rome.

C. Austria.

(1) The chief causes of the Revolution in Austria we national opposition to the centralised despotism Vienna and the attempt to replace the official Germ language by national languages—Magyar in Hunga Czech in Bohemia, and Croatian in the sout

Further causes were opposition to Austrian tariffs in Hungary and agrarian grievances in Galicia.

(2) May 17, **1848**. Rising in Vienna, flight of Metternich. Proclamation of Constitutional Government at Pesth and Prague.

(3) Reaction.

The House of Hapsburg was saved by—

α. The Imperial Tradition which secured strong support for Francis Joseph, who, at the age of eighteen, succeeded to the throne, which his inefficient uncle, Ferdinand, resigned December 2, **1848**.

β. The fidelity of the army.

1848. Capture of Prague (June 15) and Vienna (November 1).

γ. The support of Russia.

April 14, **1849**. The Independence of Hungary proclaimed.

August 14, **1849**. Capitulation of the Hungarians at Vilagos to the combined Austrians and Russians. Abolition of Magyar liberties and suppression of the Hungarian rising with great cruelty by General Haynau.

(4) Flight of some Hungarian leaders, including Kossuth, to Turkey. Refusal of the Sultan to give them up. His refusal strongly supported by Palmerston.

D. Germany.

(1) The rising in Berlin was due largely to the desire for a German national parliament in which the authority of Austria might be weakened.

(2) March 15–16. Rising in Berlin; withdrawal of Prince William,[1] the "Cartridge Prince," who ordered the soldiers to fire on the mob.

[1] Afterwards the Emperor William I.

(3) Frederick William IV, after trying to establish a Leagu of the North to weaken the supremacy of Austria, ar after (through fear of Austria) refusing the Imperi Crown, was compelled to agree to—

1850. The Convention of Olmütz, which broke u the League of the North and recognised the right Austria to interfere in the internal affairs of Germa States.

E. England.

The failure of the Chartist Rising (page 836).

V. **Don Pacifico, 1850.**

A. Trifling disputes had arisen with Greece owing to t seizure by the King of land belonging to Finlay, British subject, and to injury done to the property David Pacifico, a British subject and a Jew, by a m at Athens.

B. Finlay and Pacifico ought to have brought their ca before Greek law-courts, but instead appealed to Palm ston, who ordered Admiral Parker to blockade t Piræus, January 18, **1850.**

C. His action was most arbitrary.

(1) Pacifico, a man of no means or position, fraudulen claimed £26,000 damages for destruction of property and papers.

(2) Russia strongly protested against the blockade.

(3) France offered mediation, but, owing to a mistake in t instructions given to the British Consul at Athe differences arose between France and Great Brita and the French Ambassador was withdrawn fr London.

(4) The House of Lords censured Palmerston for suppo ing claims "doubtful in point of justice or exaggerat in amount."

D. Civis Romanus.

(1) The ministry regarded the action of the Lords as an unconstitutional attempt to control the executive, and refused to resign.

(2) June, **1850**. Palmerston made his greatest speech in support of a resolution of confidence.

Just as Rome always protected any Roman who could say "Civis Romanus sum," so "the watchful eye and the strong arm of England" will protect "a British subject in whatever land he may be."

The motion opposed by Peel, who asserted that the aim of diplomacy was "to appease angry passions and to check national resentment," and by Gladstone, who said that a Roman citizen differed from a British subject because he "belonged to a conquering race, and for him there was an exceptional system of law."

The motion was carried by forty-six. Triumph of Palmerston.

I. **Fall of Palmerston.**

A. Palmerston had given great offence to the Queen, Prince Consort (who strongly disliked him), and his colleagues by his failure to consult them on important points. The Queen sent him a memorandum, August 12, **1850**, requesting that he would "state what he proposes to do," and directing that a measure sanctioned by the Queen should "not be arbitrarily altered or modified by the minister." Palmerston accepted the implied reproof in excellent part, and promised to abide by it.

B. He made a mistake in not repudiating with sufficient strength some injudicious remarks about Austria made by a Radical deputation.

C. The *Coup d'État*, December 1–4, **1851**.

(1) The Prince President, Louis Napoleon, had, by the *Coup d'État*, imprisoned his opponents, dissolved the Chambers and caused the death of many Parisians in

the street fighting of December 3–4. His action confirmed by seven and a half million votes to little over half a million in a national plebiscite and the Third Empire declared December, 1852.

(2) Palmerston, without consulting the Queen or his colleagues, expressed to Count Walewski his approval of Louis Napoleon's action.

(3) December 19, 1851. Dismissal of Palmerston from the Foreign Office by Russell. Earl Granville appointed Foreign Secretary.

Palmerston's fall was due not, as he thought, to the result of foreign intrigue, but to the resentment of the Queen at his disregard of her memorandum.

References:

A. *Modern Europe*, by Alison Phillips, chaps. XI. and XII. (Rivingtons.)

A History of Our Own Times, by McCarthy, chaps. XVII. and XIX. (Chatto and Windus.)

A History of Modern England, by Paul, Vol. I, chap. V. (Macmillan).

SIR ROBERT PEEL, 1788–1850

I. Life.

1788. Born. Son of Sir Robert Peel, a wealthy Lancashire cotton spinner.

1807. Took the first "double first" on record at Oxford.

1812–18. Under-Secretary for Ireland. Established the Royal Irish Constabulary.

1817. M.P. for Oxford University.

1819. Carried Peel's Act for the resumption of cash payments (page 726).

1822. Home Secretary. Modified the severity of the criminal code.

1827. Refused office under Canning owing to his opposition to Catholic Emancipation.

1828–30. Home Secretary under Wellington. Organised the London police force.

1829. Introduced the Catholic Emancipation Bill.

1834–5. Prime Minister for five months.

1835–9. Built up the Conservative Party.

1839. Refused office owing to the Bedchamber Question (page 760).

1841–6. Prime Minister.

1842 and **1845.** Free Trade Budgets.

1845. Maynooth Grant.

1846. Repealed the Corn Laws.

1846. Resigned, owing to the defeat of a Coercion Bill by the Whigs and Protectionists.

1850. July 2. Died from the effects of a fall from his horse.

His Importance as a Statesman.

A. Peel as a party man.

(1) He saw that the old Toryism, which resisted all progress, had been rendered obsolete by the new conditions arising from the Industrial Revolution and the Reform Bill. He therefore accepted the Reform Bill, and organised the "Conservative"[1] party on the lines of the Tamworth Manifesto issued **1834** (page 757).

(2) But he refused to sacrifice the interests of the nation to those of his party, and—

(*a*) He twice broke up his party when its principles seemed inconsistent with national needs.

α. **1829.** He broke up the old Tory party by the Catholic Emancipation Bill.

β. **1846.** By repealing the Corn Laws he broke up the new Conservative party, which did not really recover its position until **1866.**

[1] The name "Conservative" was first used in 1831, but was not generally pted by the party till 1835.

(*b*) He consented to hold office only "on the con dition of being unshackled by any other obligation than those of consulting the public interests, and c providing for the public safety." He sympathise with Canning's Liberal commercial policy, althoug this was opposed by the Tories and Conservative He therefore became a "Parliamentary middleman, he "pleased no party," and Disraeli asserted furthe that his last Government was not Conservatism, bu "organised hypocrisy."

(3) As a party leader he was remarkable—

α. For his skilful parliamentary tactics—"He w the greatest member of Parliament there h ever been" (Disraeli);

β. For the close supervision he exercised whi Prime Minister over his colleagues. He agree with Gladstone's statement (July 13, 184 "Your Government has not been carried c by a Cabinet, but by the heads of departmen each in communication with you." No subs quent Prime Minister has maintained suc authority over his Cabinet.

B. Peel was a great financier.

(1) His Budgets of **1842** and **1845** were bold and state manlike.

(2) **1819.** He displayed great ability in arranging for th resumption of cash payments.

1844. By the Bank Charter Act he promot commercial stability.

α. The issue and banking departments of the Ban of England were separated, the former conni under Government control.

β. The Bank of England not to issue notes for more than £14,000,000, for which amount it held Government securities, except in return for bullion to be kept on deposit.

It has been objected that this Act does not provide for financial crises, but it is always possible for Parliament to suspend the Act when necessary. This has been done in **1847**, **1857**, and **1866**, and in two of these cases the fact of suspension restored credit and rendered an additional issue of notes unnecessary.

(3) He succeeded in placing on a sound financial basis the national finances, which the Whigs had sadly mismanaged.

(4) His financial measures were an important foundation for the victorious commercialism of England in the following generation. Thus, like Walpole (page 564), Peel was one of our greatest peace ministers.

C. Peel and the working classes.

(1) Although leader of an aristocratic party Peel had real sympathy with the poor and "showed the Conservatives the importance and duty of considering the working classes."

(2) His knowledge of the conditions of the labourers and artisans made him realise the supreme importance of cheap bread, and after his defeat in 1846 he expressed the hope that "I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of goodwill in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labour and earn their daily bread with the sweat of their brow, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened with a sense of injustice."

D. His political insight.

He lacked the foresight which enables statesmen to make provision for the future, but when a crisis arose his political insight and "intellectual sincerity" enabled him to understand it fully, and his practical ability led him to take the measures necessary. He never sacrificed the real interests of the moment to opinions formed under other conditions, and his career is marked by three "great surrenders"—

α. The resumption of cash payments, **1819**;

β. The Catholic Emancipation Bill, **1829**;

γ. The repeal of the Corn Laws, **1846.**

E. He took comparatively little interest in foreign affairs, but heartily sympathised with Aberdeen's pacific policy.

III. His Character.

A. In public life he displayed courage, sagacity, and untiring industry. He was eminently just. Owing to his sterling character he exercised a remarkable "moral influence" over the House of Commons and gained the favour of the Queen, who at first was somewhat prejudiced against him.

B. His family life was simple and pure. He was no lover of general society, for which his lack of polish unfitted him—"Peel has no manners" (Wellington).

C. His temper, though usually kept in control, was quick, and he was exceedingly sensitive. In **1846** he wished to challenge one of his opponents (probably Bentinck or Disraeli) to a duel, but was dissuaded by his friends.

Reference:

A. *Twelve English Statesmen*: *Peel*, by Thursfield. (Macmillan.)

BRITISH INDIA, 1836–56

The North-West Frontier.

The advance of Russia in Central Asia seemed likely to prove dangerous to India, and under Governors-General Lord Auckland, **1836–41**, Lord Ellenborough **1841–4**, Sir Henry Hardinge (Viscount Hardinge, **1846**), **1844–7**, Lord Dalhousie, **1847–56**, the question of the consolidation of the North-West Frontier, a new problem, became of great importance. This involved the establishment of British influence in Afghanistan (controlling the passes), the conquest of the Punjab and of Scinde (which commanded the lower waters of the Indus).

A. The First Afghan War, **1837–43.**

(1) **1838.** Expulsion of Dost Mahommed, who had usurped the throne of Afghanistan and was suspected of intrigues with the Russians. Restoration of the rightful King, Shah Sujah, protected by an inadequate British force.

(2) **1841.** Rising in Cabul under Akbar Khan, son of Dost Mahommed. Murder of Burnes, the British Resident, and Sir William McNaughten, the Envoy. Retreat of 16,000 British (including 4000 soldiers) from Cabul, through the Koord Cabul and Khyber passes. The women and children made prisoners by Akbar. Of the rest only Dr. Brydon (January 13, **1842**) reached Jellalabad at the head of the Khyber Pass. The greatest disaster suffered by the British in India.

(3) **1842.** The Afghans checked by General Sale at Jellalabad and finally defeated by Pollock, who captured Cabul September 15, **1842.**

(4) Restoration to the throne of Afghanistan of Dost Mahommed. Withdrawal of British troops.

(5) Operations were rendered difficult owing to the refusal of the Sikhs to grant a passage through their territory, to the distance from the base, the nature of the country and the bad climate.

The danger from Russia was overestimated, and the difficulty involved in an attempt to force a weak sovereign on a warlike nation was increased owing to the inadequate force provided and the lack of decision of the British Envoy.

B. Scinde.

1843. Brilliant victory of Sir Charles Napier over the Ameer of Scinde at Meanee. Annexation of Scinde by Hardinge.

The attack on Scinde, perhaps due to the wish to wipe out the disgrace of the Afghan War, was apparently unjustified. Napier called it "a very useful and humane piece of rascality."

C. The Sikh Wars, **1845–9.**

(1) The First Sikh War, **1845–6.**

1839. The death of Runjeet Singh, the "lion of the Punjab," the ally of Britain.

1845. Invasion of British India by the Sikh army of the Khasla,[1] distinguished by its religious enthusiasm and military skill.

1845. The Sikhs defeated at Moodkee December 18, Ferozeshah December 21, by Sir H. Gough,

1846. at Aliwal, January 28, by Sir Harry Smith, and Sobraon, by Sir Hugh Gough, February 10. Capture of Lahore.

Runjeet Singh's widow made regent for her son Dhuleep Singh. Sir Henry Lawrence appointed British Resident at Lahore. The Doab, the land between the Sutlej and Beas, surrendered by the Sikhs

[1] The saved ones.

(2) The Second Sikh War.

April, 1848. Murder of Vans Agnew, a civil servant, and Lieutenant Anderson, by Moolraj at Mooltan. Gallant resistance of Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes with four hundred men to Moolraj. Capture of Mooltan and submission of Moolraj.

January 13, 1849. Sir Hugh Gough, who had been very slow in his operations, fought the drawn battle of Chillianwallah, in which the British lost heavily. Gough was superseded by Sir Charles Napier, but, before the latter arrived, annihilated the Sikhs at Gujerat (February 20). A brilliant victory, due largely to Gough's skilful use of his artillery.

March 12. The Afghans surrendered at Rawul Pindi.

March 29. Annexation of the whole of the Punjab. The North-West Frontier strengthened. The Maharajah of Lahore gave up the Koh-i-noor.

The administration of the Punjab was entrusted to Henry and John Lawrence, who disarmed most of the Sikhs (although a number were enrolled in the British army); made bridges, canals, and roads; administered justice; facilitated the cultivation of wheat by their irrigation schemes; made an equitable land settlement and reduced taxes. Their brilliant administration ensured the fidelity of the Sikhs during the Mutiny.

The Marquis of Dalhousie, Governor-General, 1847–56.

"The Second Founder" of the British Empire in India. Succeeded in extending and consolidating British territory. He recognised that the good of the governed is the object of government, but lacked imagination to foresee how changes, made in their own interests, might strike the natives.

He was a man of practical ability, and used the experience gained as President of the Board of Trade (1845–6) in carrying out important internal reforms.

A. Extension of territory.

(1) Lapse and adoption.

(*a*) Among the Hindoos adopted sons succeede to property and the practice of adoption was genera

(*b*) Dalhousie, anxious to extend British sov reignty, maintained that on the death of a ruling prin without direct descendants his dominions lapsed Great Britain. Adopted sons could succeed to priva property, but not to territory or position.

1849, Sattara, and **1853**, Jhansi, "lapsed" to Gre Britain on the death of their rulers. Adopted hei excluded from the succession.

1853. On the death of the Peishwa his pension w withheld from his adopted son, Nana Sahib.

1854. Nagpore lapsed to Great Britain without questi in the absence of heirs adopted or direct.

(2) The annexation of Oudh.

The Nawab of Oudh, relying upon British protecti proved a cruel and corrupt ruler. For the sake of t subject people, Dalhousie, after several warnings, posed the Nawab.

February, **1856.** Oudh annexed and subsequent incorporated in the North-West Provinces.

(3) Second Burmese War, **1852.**

Dalhousie sent an expedition to Burma to aven the ill-treatment of some British subjects by t King.

The Irrawaddy was blockaded and Rangoon captur (April 12) after a well-conducted campaign.

December 20, **1852.** Lower Burma annexed.

(4) As the result of the policy of Dalhousie and h immediate predecessors British India, which previous had largely consisted of seacoast and adjacent territor became more continuous, included much of the terior and approached nearer to spheres of Russi influence in the north-west and Chinese in the east.

B. Dalhousie's internal reforms.

(1) Public Works.

He organised a Public Works Department; made roads and railways; extended the telegraph and promoted irrigation.

(2) Public safety.

He put down dacoity.

(3) Taxes. He tried to lighten taxes, especially port dues.

He threw the Civil Service open to competition and improved education.

(4) General.

The result of his internal policy was that trade rapidly increased and the government was greatly improved. But his rapid innovations alarmed the natives, and he failed "to allow for the conservatism of Oriental races."

erences:

A. *The Growth of the Empire*, by Jose, pp. 200–12. (Murray.)
English Men of Action: Lawrence, Napier. (Macmillan.)

THE CRIMEAN WAR

he Causes.

A. Napoleon III.

(1) Napoleon wished to strengthen his parvenu Empire and strongly resented the attitude of Nicholas I, who addressed him as *cher ami* instead of *cher frère*—the usual form of salutation between sovereigns. He was therefore quite ready to fight Russia, as victory would strengthen his position in France and gratify his personal feelings.

(2) In order to conciliate the Catholics and the Po
Napoleon claimed the custody of the holy places
Jerusalem, which, though ceded to France in 174
had passed to the Greeks.

B. Nicholas I.

(1) A man of strong religious feeling and the champion
the Greek Church.

(*a*) He asserted the rights of the Greeks to t
custody of the holy places.

(*b*) He claimed the right of protecting the orthod
Greek subjects of the Sultan.

α. But the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji, **1774**,
which this claim was based, provided only t
Russia "may make on all occasions represe
tions in favour of the new church in Const
tinople."

β. The recognition of his claim would have brok
up the Turkish Empire by giving the orthod
Greeks the right of appeal to a strong exter
power.

(2) Nicholas I and Napoleon III.

He strongly opposed Napoleon's new Empire, t
outcome of revolution which he hated, and refu
to recognise him as Napoleon III, believing that su
recognition might imply the repudiation of the treat
of 1815.

(3) Nicholas I and England.

(*a*) His former friendship with England had be
weakened by Palmerston's hatred of Russia,
English resentment at Russian interference in Hu
gary, **1848**, and by the blockade of the Piræus witho
notice to the Powers (page 806).

(*b*) There was a strong belief in England that the further extension of Russian power might threaten the supremacy of Great Britain in India. "If we do not stop the Russians on the Danube, we shall have to stop them on the Indus" (Lord John Russell).

(4) Nicholas I and Turkey.

(*a*) He believed that the Turkish Empire would soon break up and wanted to secure control of Constantinople and the Dardanelles.

(*b*) He thought Great Britain was anxious for peace and would be willing to make terms for the partition of Turkey, receiving Egypt and Candia.

1844. While visiting England he sounded Aberdeen, but no memorandum was signed on the subject, as has sometimes been stated.

January, **1853.** In a private conversation with Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, he said: "We have on our hands a sick man, a very sick man; and it will be a great misfortune if he should slip away from us before the necessary arrangements have been made."

α. Great Britain strongly resented the partition of Turkey;

β. Aberdeen, however, failed to repudiate strongly the Czar's suggestions, and Nicholas therefore at first thought that he could reckon on the support of Great Britain for a scheme of partition.

C. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe,[1] "The Great Eltchi."[2]

1842. Appointment of Stratford Canning as Ambassador to Constantinople.

[1] Stratford Canning, created Vicount Stratford de Redcliffe, 1852.
[2] i.e. the great ambassador.

(1) He obtained remarkable influence over the Sultan a
was nicknamed the "Padishah of the Shah."

(2) He never forgave the Czar for refusing to accept h
as Ambassador to Russia in 1832. He was v
hostile to Russia, urged the Sultan to "strike off
fetters of Kainardji and Adrianople." His influe
was an important cause of the war.

II. **The Course of Events to the declaration of War by Engla
and France.**

A. Menschikoff's mission, 1853.

(1) Prince Menschikoff, a rough soldier, proved an
competent ambassador and was outwitted
Stratford de Redcliffe. He formally demanded—

α. The recognition of the right of Russia to
tect the orthodox Greek subjects of Turkey

β. The recognition of the claims of the Gr
Church to the guardianship of the holy pla

(2) The latter was granted, but the former was refused
incompatible with the full authority of the Su
over his own subjects.

B. The invasion of the Principalities, July 2–4, 1853.

(1) On the refusal of Menschikoff's first demand
Russians under Gortchakoff occupied Moldavia
Wallachia. The Czar asserted that he had no de
for war, but wished to obtain security for the reco
tion of the rights of Russia.

(2) Turkey, largely on the advice of Great Britain, wh
was most anxious to avert a war, offered no arm
resistance, although she would have been justifie
regarding the occupation as a *casus belli*.

(3) The occupation, which seriously interfered with f
dom of navigation on the Danube, alarmed Aus
who massed her troops on the Servian border.
action of Austria alarmed Prussia, which feared
extension of Austrian power.

C. The Vienna Note.

(1) The Vienna Note, drawn up by the powers, confirmed the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji and asserted the need of maintaining the rights and privileges of the Greek Christians who were subject to the Sultan.

(2) The Czar at first accepted the Note.

(3) The Sultan, enraged at the occupation of the Principalities and relying on the aid of France, refused to recognise the Czar's right to protect the Greek Christians in Turkey, and proposed an emendation which would have guaranteed his own authority over his Greek subjects.

(4) The Czar, in spite of strong pressure from Austria and Prussia, refused to accept emendations to a Note drawn up by the powers and accepted by himself.

D. October 5, 1853. Turkey declared war against Russia.

E. The allied fleets passed the Dardanelles.

(1) October 22, 1853. Largely owing to the influence of Napoleon III the French and British fleets passed the Dardanelles. This was practically a declaration of war.

(2) The nominal object was to protect the Sultan against a Mohammedan rising; the real aim to ensure the integrity of the Turkish Empire.

(3) The passage of the Dardanelles naturally led the Turks to think that Great Britain and France were ready for war and would support them whenever necessary.

(4) Austria and Prussia were little concerned with the question of the Dardanelles and took no part in this movement.

F. The "Massacre" of Sinope.

(1) November 30, 1853. A Turkish squadron at Sino destroyed with great loss by Russian fleet. "Tha God, that's war" (Stratford de Redcliffe).

(2) This "massacre" strengthened the growing war par in England and led the *Times* to join it. Aberdeen man of singular nobility of character, did his utm to ensure peace, but was strongly opposed by Russe Palmerston, and others of his Cabinet. His poli therefore, was feeble, and Britain was "drift towards war" (Clarendon).

(3) The "massacre" was misnamed.

α. Russia and Turkey had been at war sin October 5, and Russia was perfectly justif in attacking her enemy's fleet.

β. The Turks had declared war and had taken t first steps in the military operations on land

G. The allied fleets entered the Black Sea January 4, 1854

α. To prevent a repetition of the massacre Sinope;

β. To counterbalance the advantage afforded Russia by the occupation of the Prin palities;

γ. This act finally committed the allies to Turkish side and was mainly due Napoleon III.

II. March 28, 1854. Great Britain and France (which h made a treaty of alliance with Turkey March 12) decla war against Russia.

At the moment when the Cabinet formally decid on war several of the ministers present were asle But their slumber did not prejudice the question, as final decision had already been made.

War and Diplomacy.

A. August, **1854**. Evacuation of the Principalities by the Russians, who had failed in June to capture Silistria, gallantly defended by Butler and Nasmyth. The Principalities occupied by Austria to protect the navigation of the Danube. This led to a difference of opinion between Austria and Prussia (who had secured their great object) and the allies who desired further to weaken Russian power in the East. Further, Frederick William IV objected to an alliance with Napoleon III and with the infidel Turks, and Bismarck urged him to take no active part in the war, but to concentrate his troops in Silesia as a check to the growing power of Austria. Austria seemed at one time willing to join the allies, but finally decided not to join, fearing that Prussia might use the opportunity to weaken the power of Austria in Central Europe. But Austria concluded a defensive alliance with Great Britain and France against Russia December 2, **1854**.

B. August, **1854**. Joint British and French expedition to the Baltic under Sir Charles Napier. Capture of Bomarsund (August 16), but Cronstadt, though reconnoitred, was not attacked. Dissatisfaction in England at the inadequate results of the expedition.

C. The Crimean War.

The term "Crimean War" is not strictly correct. War had been going on for six months before the Crimea was invaded, and important operations also took place in the Baltic Sea.

The invasion of the Crimea—the suggestion of which has been variously ascribed to Napoleon III, Newcastle, Palmerston, and the *Times* — has been adversely criticised. But it was necessary to prevent the Russian ships from taking refuge in Sebastopol; the allies, whose base was the sea, had a great

advantage over the Russians, who had much difficulty in transporting supplies over the vast steppes; the attack on Sebastopol drained the resources of Russia and would probably have been successful if an attack had been made immediately after the battle of the Alma, but rapid action was rendered difficult owing to the divided command and to the lack of adequate means of transport of supplies on land.

September 14, **1854**. The allied troops, under Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud, landed in the Crimea.

September 20, **1854**. Menschikoff's defeat at the Alma. Todleben fortified Sebastopol strongly.

October 25, **1854**. Balaclava. The Light Brigade[1] charged the Russian army in position and lost two-thirds of its men in twenty minutes. "It is magnificent but it is not war" (Bosquet).

November 5, **1854**. Inkermann. "The soldiers' battle." A series of hand-to-hand encounters.

November 14, **1854**. A great storm wrecked British transports and caused enormous loss of stores, clothes, and hay. Great suffering of the troops owing to lack of stores.

January 23, **1855**. Roebuck's motion for a select committee to inquire into "the condition of our army before Sebastopol." Resignation of Lord John Russell January 24. The motion carried. Resignation of Aberdeen's ministry February 1, **1855**.

February 17, **1855**. The Turks defeated the Russians at Eupatoria.

March 2, **1855**. Death of the Czar Nicholas I owing to the cold of the winter, anxiety about the war, and chagrin at the defeat at Eupatoria.[2]

[1] Out of 670 men who joined in the charge, 198 answered the roll-call after the retreat. 113 were killed, and 134 wounded.

[2] *Punch's* famous cartoon, "General Février turned traitor," referred to Nicholas' statement that Generals Janvier and Février would fight on his side.

D. The Congress at Vienna, March, **1855**.

Russia, although willing to give up her protectorate over the Principalities and to allow the free navigation of the Danube, refused to agree to the neutrality of the Black Sea. Austria, anxious to end the war owing to the growing danger of a Sardinian attack on Lombardy, suggested a compromise, and on the failure of her suggestion became neutral.

α. Consequent isolation of Austria.

β. Lord John Russell, the British representative, had accepted the Austrian suggestions in Vienna, but afterwards denounced them in the House of Commons (page 885).

January, **1855**. Sardinia and Sweden joined the allies. Cavour sent 15,000 Sardinian troops. Generals Canrobert (resigned May 16) and Lord Raglan (died June 28) succeeded by Pélissier and Simpson.

August 16, **1855**. The French and the Sardinians repulsed at the Tchernaya an attempt of the Russians to raise the siege.

September 8, **1855**. French capture the Malakoff. English captured but failed to hold the Redan.

September 9, **1855** The Russians evacuated Sebastopol after destroying all the chief buildings.

November 26, **1855**. The Russians captured Kars after a gallant defence by General Fenwick Williams.

E. Criticism of the war.

(1) Operations were sometimes hampered owing to the necessity of consulting the allies.

α. Lord Raglan wished to attack Sebastopol immediately after the battle of the Alma, but St. Arnaud and Canrobert (who succeeded him September 29, **1854**) refused to agree, as the siege guns had not been landed. The French

generals were supported by Sir John Burgoyne, who commanded the Engineers.

β. The first bombardment of Sebastopol failed partly because Canrobert refused to sanction an assault at the critical moment owing to the loss of life it would entail.

γ. "What benumbed the Allies was the Alliance."

(2) The commanders-in-chief were not competent for their work.

α. Lord Raglan, a man of great bravery and infinite patience, lacked resource, and was weak in strategy, although his failure was due partly to the mismanagement of the Government and lack of co-operation from his French colleagues. General Simpson's ill-health impaired his efficiency.

β. Their difficulties were aggravated by differences between some of the officers, especially between Lord Lucan, who commanded the cavalry, and his brother-in-law, Lord Cardigan.

γ. Of the French leaders, St. Arnaud was little more than a brave adventurer; Canrobert's irresolution gained for him the nickname of "Bob Can't," from the British; Pélissier was a competent soldier and, unlike his predecessors, neglected the unwise instructions with which Napoleon hampered his generals.

(3) There was gross mismanagement.

It was expected that the war would soon be completed, and no adequate provision was made for a winter campaign.

α. Until Florence Nightingale went out the overcrowded hospitals were scandalously disorganised.

β. There was a great lack of tents, warm clothing and boots, and the loss of the stores in the storm of November 14 was a great disaster.

γ. The horses died owing to cold and the loss of hay in the storm of November 14, 1854, and the men had to transport goods themselves over abominably bad roads.

δ. Popular indignation was roused by the reports of William Russell, the representative of the *Times*, the first modern war correspondent.

(4) The British soldiers.

The soldiers fought with the utmost bravery, won all the battles in spite of the inability of their generals, and endured severe privations with great heroism. The conduct of the troops was excellent.

V. **The Treaty of Paris.**

March 30, 1856. The war was concluded by the powers (including Sardinia).

A. The treaty provided—

(1) That the Black Sea should be neutral.

But Bismarck agreed to the abolition of this clause in recognition of the neutrality of Russia during the Franco-Prussian War.

(2) That the navigation of the Danube was to be free.

Thus Austria secured what she wanted, but Austria's policy had led to her isolation, and of this Sardinia took advantage in 1859 (page 850).

(3) That Turkey, the integrity of which was guaranteed by Great Britain, France, and Austria, should be admitted to the Concert of Europe.

Thus Great Britain apparently secured a check on the power of Russia, and afterwards took a less active share in European questions. But—

α. The integrity of Turkey was broken by the union of Moldavia and Wallachia into Roumania, December, **1861**, and by the appointment of Prince Charles of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen as hereditary Prince of Roumania in **1866**;

β. Russia turned her attention to Asia, and serious difficulties arose between Great Britain and Russia on the North-~~East~~ West frontier of India (page 955).

(4) The Christians of Turkey were left to the mercy of the Sultan, who promised them better treatment.

This promise was broken, e.g. the Bulgarian atrocities, **1876**, the Armenian massacres, **1894**.

B. The Congress of Paris also—

(1) Regulated maritime war, and finally settled the dispute of **1812** (page 696).

α. **Privateering was abolished.**

β. Neutral ships to make neutral cargoes, except in the case of contraband of war.

γ. Blockades to be respected must be effective.

(2) England and France guaranteed Norway and Sweden against Russian aggression.

C. General.

(1) Apparently Great Britain had gained her objects, practically Russia lost little, and most of the provisions of the Treaty of Paris proved only temporary.

(2) Russia escaped easily, partly because Napoleon III, without the knowledge of England, effected a reconciliation with Russia before the Treaty of Paris.

(3) The Crimean War, which cost England over 25,000 men and £76,000,000, was a great mistake. But it was, especially at the end, a popular war, and the whole nation shared the blame.

References:

A. *History of Modern England*, by Paul, Vol. I, chaps. XVII.–XIX., and Vol. II, chap. I. (Macmillan.)
History of England, by Bright, Period II, pp. 229–86. (Longmans.)

B. "The Charge of the Light Brigade."

C. *Ravenshoe*, by Kingsley. (Ward Lock.)
Sebastopol, by Tolstoy. (Grant Richards.)
A Gallant Grenadier, by Brereton. (Blackie).

THE INDIAN MUTINY

. Causes.

A. Political.

(1) Dalhousie's annexations had alarmed the people, many of whom preferred native rule, however cruel and corrupt, to British.

(2) Some princes who had suffered from Dalhousie's policy, notably the sons of the King of Oudh, the Ranee of Jhansi, and Nana Sahib (page 816), took an active part. But Scindia, the Nizam, Holkar, and the Punjab princes remained faithful.

(3) The talukdars or tax-collectors of Oudh were dissatisfied because their interests had suffered in the recent land settlement.

B. Military.

The Bengal army, containing a large proportion of Brahmins, was disaffected.

(1) Brahmin soldiers obeyed with reluctance native officers of lower caste.

(2) **1856.** Canning ordered Sepoys to serve across the sea if necessary, although this involved loss of caste for the Brahmins.

(3) There was considerable jealousy of the lately enrolled Sikhs.

(4) The disasters of the Afghan (**1841–2**) and Crimean (**1854–5**) wars had lowered British prestige, and the Sepoys thought that the use of British soldiers in the Persian and Chinese wars would diminish the number of European troops in India and weaken resistance.

The Sikhs, and the Madras and Bombay armies remained faithful.

(5) There were not enough British officers, and many officers were ignorant of the Bengali language and treated the Sepoys with contempt.

C. Religious.

It was believed that the British Government wished to force Christianity upon the people of India.

(1) The abolition of native customs, the limitation of cruel religious rites (e.g. thuggee and suttee), had aroused opposition, and many natives thought the extension of railways and telegraphs inconsistent with their religious principles.

(2) Some British officers had tried to convert their men to Christianity.

(3) The Sepoys learned from workmen that the cartridges for the new Enfield rifles were greased with a mixture of the fat of the cow (a sacred animal of the Hindoos) and of the pig (unclean to the Mohammedans). The authorities, incorrectly but in good faith, denied that the mixture was so composed. The Sepoys thought that the authorities were trying by deliberate falsehood to hide their attempt to break caste and to compel the acceptance of Christianity by Hindoos and Mohammedans.

(4) Some believed that ground human bones had been mixed with the flour supplied to the army.

The Sepoys were terror-stricken, and this partly accounts for their excesses.

D. There was a belief that the British rule would last only a hundred years after the battle of Plassey.

. The Progress of the Mutiny.

The Mutiny was limited to Bengal, the Central Provinces, Oudh, Rohilcund. The lack of union among the rebels, the fidelity of the Sikhs, the Madras army, and the Goorkhas prevented its further spread. Its operations were mainly of two kinds—

a. Sieges and operations connected therewith;

β. Guerilla warfare, especially in Oudh and the Central Provinces.

A. The outbreak.

Meerut.

May 10, **1857.** Outbreak of the Mutiny owing to the imprisonment of eighty-five Sepoys for refusing to use greased cartridges. Murder of Europeans. Flight of the mutineers without opposition to Delhi.

The failure to oppose the departing soldiers was a grave error. Successful resistance would have checked the extension of the Mutiny.

May 12, **1857.** The Punjab saved by the disarmament of the Sepoys at Meean Meer.

B. The spread of the Mutiny.

(1) Delhi.

May 11, **1857.** Mutiny at Delhi on the arrival of the Sepoys from Meerut. Proclamation of the King of Delhi, descended from the Great Mogul, as Emperor of India.

Thus the Mutiny now became a national rising.

(2) Lucknow.

May 30, **1857**. Mutiny at Lucknow. Sir Henr Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of Oudh, fortified th Residency, which held out heroically for eighty-seve days.

July 2, **1857**. Death of Sir Henry Lawrence.

(3) Cawnpore.

June 4, **1857**. Mutiny at Cawnpore under Nan Sahib. Surrender of the British after a three week siege on promise of a safe conduct to Allahaba Murder of the men, including General Sir Hug Wheeler. Brutal murder of the women and childre after a fortnight's imprisonment on the news of a impending attack. Their bodies thrown into a wel Out of a total of 1000 people only four escaped.

C. The Mutiny checked.

(1) The first capture of Cawnpore.

General Henry Havelock, commanding "Havelock saints," in nine days fought four battles and marche 126 miles.

July 16, **1857**. Havelock routed Nana Sahib an captured Cawnpore (afterwards recaptured by th mutineers).

(2) The capture of Delhi.

The British besieging force under Sir H. Barnar was itself besieged on the ridge outside Delh Death of Barnard. Sir John Lawrence sent Sik reinforcements under Brigadier-General John Niche son, who compelled Barnard's successor, Archda Wilson, to attack the city against his own jud ment.

September 14, **1857**. The Cashmere Gate blown o

September 20, **1857**. The capture of Delhi complet after desperate street fighting in which Nichols

was killed. Surrender of the King of Oudh. His two sons shot in cold blood, without any trial, by Hodson.

(3) The Relief of Lucknow.[1]

September 25, 1857. Havelock and Outram entered Lucknow, but were themselves besieged in the Residency.

November 17, 1857. Lucknow relieved by Sir Colin Campbell. Valuable service rendered by the Naval Brigade under Captain W. Peel.

November 23, 1857. The garrison safely withdrawn from Lucknow, which the rebels continued to hold.

November 24, 1857. Death of Havelock at Alumbagh.

(4) Final capture of Cawnpore.

December 6, 1857. Campbell defeated the Gwalior Sepoys under Nana Sahib and captured Cawnpore.

(5) Final capture of Lucknow.

March 19, 1858. Lucknow captured by Sir Colin Campbell aided by Sikhs and Goorkhas. But Campbell neglected to follow up the defeated enemy, and owing to this omission the war in Oudh was prolonged. Guerilla warfare continued for some time in Oudh under Nana Sahib, who after his final defeat escaped—possibly to Nepaul.

(6) The Central Provinces. May and June, 1858.

Sir Hugh Rose routed the Ranee of Jhansi, June 17, and captured Gwalior, June 19, 1858. Tantia Topee, Nana Sahib's minister, fought gallantly, but was captured and hanged for his share in the massacre of Cawnpore.

D. Lord Canning,[2] Governor-General, 1856–8, Viceroy, 1858–62.

[1] At Lucknow Lieutenant (now Earl) Roberts gained the Victoria Cross.

[2] Charles John Canning, created Earl Canning 1859.

(1) His prompt measures checked the Mutiny.

α. He asserted Government control over the nativ press.

β. He gave plenary powers to executive officers.

γ. He induced Lord Elgin to allow troops on th way to China to serve against the mutineers "Yeh may wait, but Bengal cannot wait."

(2) He severely punished those who had taken part in th Mutiny, but resisted the cry for indiscriminat revenge. "I will not govern in anger." Hence h famous nickname "Clemency Canning."

(3) The Oudh Proclamation.

March 20, 1858. Canning, wishing to strengthe British supremacy in Oudh, one of the chief centre of the Mutiny, issued a proclamation which vested i the British Government the ownership of all the lan except the estates of six loyal talukdars. Th measure of confiscation was opposed by Outram, th Chief Commissioner of Oudh, in deference to whos opinion Canning announced that the natives wh helped to restore order would be allowed to kee their land. Most of the landholders soon sub mitted.

The proclamation was a mistake. It was adversel criticised in England, especially by Lord Ellenborough and was not strictly enforced in India.

IV. Results of the Mutiny.

A. The abolition of the East India Company.

August, 1858. The Derby ministry passed th Government of India Act.

(1) The Crown assumed the powers and dominions of th Company.

(2) The affairs of India to be managed by a Secretary of State for India assisted by a council of fifteen (later reduced to twelve) people "experienced in Indian affairs."

(3) The Viceroy (representing the Queen) to act under the instructions of the Secretary of State and to be assisted in India by an Executive and a Legislative Council.

α. Grave practical difficulties had arisen owing to differences of opinion between the India House and the India Board, and "John Company" was abolished in deference to strong public opinion and not, as J. S. Mill suggested, solely owing to Lord Palmerston's influence.

β. Mill's fears that Parliament would unduly interfere in the government of India and that the Viceroyalty would be "scrambled for by the second and third class of English parliamentary politicians" have not been fulfilled.

November, 1858. The Queen proclaimed sovereign of India, and promises of religious toleration, equal justice, and an amnesty to all except murderers completed the pacification of India.

1877. The Queen proclaimed Empress of India.

B. The Mutiny showed that British character had not deteriorated, and its suppression tended to restore the prestige Great Britain had lost in the Crimean War.

C. The Mutiny was confined to the Ganges Valley and hardly affected Lower Bengal. The majority of the native princes, and of the people, the Madras and Bombay armies, and the Sikhs remained faithful, and their help proved invaluable. The Mutiny was really crushed by the good government which ensured the fidelity of the natives.

References :

A. *A History of Our Own Times*, chaps. XXXI.–XXXVI.
Life of Lord Granville, by Fitzmaurice, Vol. I, chaps. X and XI.
Forty-one Years in India, by Lord Roberts, Vol. I.

B. *The Defence of Lucknow*, by Tennyson.

C. *On the Face of the Waters*, by Steel. (Heinemann.)
Eight Days, by Forrest. (Smith Elder.)
The Peril of the Sword, by Harcourt. (Skeffington.)

DOMESTIC HISTORY, 1846–59

The Crimean War (1854), the Indian Mutiny (1857), wars South Africa (1850), Burma (1852), China (1857–8), coloni development in Africa and Australia, and problems arising out Continental politics distracted attention from domestic histo in this period.

I. The First Russell Ministry, July, 1846–February, 1852.

The last Whig Government. Prime Minister, Lo John Russell; Foreign Secretary, Palmerston (to Dece ber, 1851), then Earl Granville.

A. The Factory Act, 1847.

B. The end of Chartism, 1848.

(1) Revival of Chartism, owing to the success of the Fren Revolution (page 803), under the leadership of Fearg O'Connor, editor of the *Northern Star* and M.P. f Nottingham, who unsuccessfully tried to make Chartist settlement upon land acquired by th National Land Company, which he founded.

(2) O'Connor arranged for a meeting on April 10 of half million Chartists on Kennington Common, when they were to march to Parliament to present a petiti

said to contain five million signatures in favour of Chartism.

(3) This proposed attempt to overawe Parliament by physical force was proclaimed illegal by the Home Secretary, Sir George Grey.[1] A force of 170,000 special constables (including Prince Louis Napoleon) enrolled. London occupied by a military force under the Duke of Wellington.

(4) Only 30,000 attended the meeting; the police did not allow them to cross Westminster Bridge; the petition was taken to Parliament in cabs, and when examined by a Select Committee was found to contain less than 2,000,000 signatures, many of which, including those of the Queen, Prince Consort, and Duke of Wellington, were obviously forged.

(5) Chartism was laughed out of existence, and its failure without disturbance was a striking testimony to the political stability of England. But many of its objects were secured by other agencies. Material suffering was alleviated by the better administration of the Poor Laws, by the cheapness of food resulting from the Repeal of the Corn Laws, by the growth of trade, by the Factory Acts, and the improvement of sanitation. Of the "Six Points," votes by ballot, the abolition of property qualifications for M.P.'s have been secured, the suffrage has been widely extended, and the payment of members seems probable.

Chartism "died of publicity, of growing education, of a growing sense of duty among the more influential classes."

C. The Public Health Act, 1848.

D. The Great Exhibition, 1851.

Due largely to the Prince Consort, who acted as chairman of the commissioners. Its object was "to give the world a picture of the point of industrial develop-

[1] No relation to the colonial governor of the same name.

ment at which the whole of mankind has arrived and new starting point for further exertions," and its exhibi included raw materials, machinery, manufactur articles, sculpture, and models. The scheme was ri culed by *Punch* and opposed through fear of riots a of danger from Continental anarchists and throu objection to the use of Hyde Park. The Exhibiti proved a "great triumph of peace." Six million peo entered the building of glass and iron, designed Joseph Paxton. The expenses were entirely met public subscription and the profits devoted to t foundation of the South Kensington Museum.

E. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, **1851**.

(1) September, **1850**. Pope Pius IX, perhaps induced the Tractarian movement (page 1029) to anticipate t reconciliation of England with the Roman Catho Church, issued a bull decreeing "the re-establishme in the kingdom of England of a hierarchy of bisho deriving their titles from their own sees."

Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop Designate of We minster, added to the popular indignation caused the bull by writing, in a pastoral letter, "given out the Flaminian Gate at Rome," of the impendi extension of Papal rule over England.

(2) October 4, **1850**. In his "Durham Letter," written Bishop Maltby of Durham, Lord John Russell, fiery Protestant," attacked the "late aggressions of t Papacy on our Protestantism," referred to Rom Catholic ceremonies as "mummeries of superstitio and denounced the Tractarians as "unworthy sons the Church of England."

(3) **1851**. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill passed to prev Roman Catholic bishops from assuming ecclesiasti titles. The Bill soon became a dead letter and repealed **1871**.

(4) The accuracy of Palmerston's verdict is now generally acknowledged. "The thing in truth is little or nothing and does not justify the irritation."

F. The Militia Bill.

Owing to suspicion of the designs of the Emperor Napoleon, Lord John Russell introduced a Bill to revive the disorganised militia as a local force. Palmerston's amendment to substitute "regular" for "local" emphasised the need of making the militia a national force available as an army reserve. The amendment carried. Palmerston's "tit-for-tat with John Russell."

February 21, 1852. Resignation of the First Russell ministry.

ference :

A. *A History of Our Own Times*, chaps. XVIII., XX., XXI.

The First Derby Ministry, February, 1852–December, 1852.

Prime Minister, the Earl of Derby; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Benjamin Disraeli.

Lord Derby, "the Rupert of debate," had carried the Bill for the Abolition of Slavery, but had left the Whigs in 1834 owing to his objection to the application of the revenues of the Irish Church to secular uses. He opposed the Repeal of the Corn Laws and became the leader of the Protectionists. Prime Minister, 1852, 1858–9, 1866–8. His Second Ministry carried the Reform Bill of 1867. He was a classical scholar (the Derby scholarship at Oxford was founded in his honour) and a great patron of the turf. He organised the movement for the relief of the Cotton Famine in Lancashire, 1862.

His first ministry, composed largely of men who had not held office before, was nicknamed the "Who-who" ministry, because when Derby was naming its members to the Duke of Wellington, the Duke, who was deaf, repeatedly asked "Who? who?"

A. The Militia Bill—

July, **1852.** Provided that a national force of 80,00 men should be raised by voluntary enlistment. Th ballot reserved for emergencies.

[September 14, **1852.** Death of the Duke of We lington.]

B. Free Trade accepted.

November, **1852.** Passage by a large majority Palmerston's resolutions (accepted by Disraeli) that Fr Trade had improved the condition of the country an that this policy "should be firmly maintained an prudently extended."

C. December, **1852.** Introduction of Disraeli's Budget.

(1) The duty on tea lowered. This relieved the gener consumer.

(2) The malt tax to be halved. This relieved the brewer

(3) To make up the loss of revenue the house tax w doubled.

December 18. The Budget defeated largely owi to the opposition of Gladstone, who strongly objecte to the increased house duty, declared that Disra had "juggled with taxation," and protested agains his bitter attacks on his opponents. The beginnin of the long parliamentary duel between Disraeli an Gladstone.

References:

A. *A History of Modern England*, by Paul, Vol. I, chap. x (Macmillan.)

B. *A History of Modern England*, by Paul, Vol. I, p. 20 (Macmillan.)

I. The Aberdeen Ministry, December, 1852–January, 1855.

Prime Minister, the Earl of Aberdeen; Chancellor of the Exchequer, W. E. Gladstone; Foreign Secretary, Lord John Russell[1] (to February, **1853**) and then the Earl of Clarendon; Secretary for War and Colonies,[2] the Duke of Newcastle; Secretary at War, Sidney Herbert.

A Coalition Ministry of Whigs and Peelites, now united for the first time. "England does not love coalitions." "A ministry without principles and without party" (Disraeli), which "suffered from excess of individual ability."

Lord Aberdeen had supported Roman Catholic Emancipation and opposed the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. He disapproved of the extension of British territory in South Africa. In foreign politics he "took the Treaty of Vienna as his diplomatic bible." He distrusted Napoleon III, strongly opposed Palmerston's assertive policy, and strove hard to avert the Crimean War. His undue deference to Lord John Russell, "the stormy petrel of the ministry," and his inability to control Palmerston, weakened his ministry. His public life was marked by love of justice and unselfishness. His private character was upright, simple, and dignified. He was a man of great learning and exquisite taste in art.

A. Gladstone's first Budget introduced April 18, **1853**.

(1) Reduction of taxation.

Abolition of duty on soap; reduction of duty on tea, on about 250 other articles, and on life assurance and advertisements.

[1] Russell resigned the Foreign Secretaryship, **1853**, remained in the Cabinet but office until June, **1854**, when he became Lord President of the Council.

[2] These offices were separated in **1854**, Newcastle becoming Secretary for War and the less important office of Secretary at War was merged in that of Secretary for War.

(2) Income tax.

The income tax to be gradually reduced, and t be abolished by **1860.**

(3) Succession duties.

Land and houses, hitherto exempted owing to th influence of the landed gentry, made liable to th same legacy duty as personal property.

Although the Succession Duty gained for Gladstor the animosity of the land-owning class and realise less than was expected, and although it was foun impossible to abolish the income tax, this Budge which helped the country to bear the expense of t Crimean War, was a great achievement, and t speech with which Gladstone introduced it w magnificent.

February 1, **1855.** Resignation of the minist owing to its defeat on Roebuck's motion for a inquiry into the management of the Crimean War.

References :

A. *The Earl of Aberdeen*, by Lord Stanmore, chaps. VIII. a XI. (Sampson Low.)
Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, Book IV, chap. II.

IV. **First Palmerston Ministry, February, 1855–February, 185**

Derby refused to take office as he was in a minori and would not attempt to form an administration wit out the help of Palmerston or the Peelites. Lo John Russell's former colleagues showed their resen ment at his conduct (page 884, C.) by absolutely refusi to take office under him, and Palmerston became "t inevitable" Prime Minister.

Prime Minister, Viscount Palmerston ; Chancellor the Exchequer, Gladstone (in February, **1855**), and the Sir G. Cornewall Lewis ; Secretary for War, Lo Panmure ; Foreign Secretary, the Earl of Clarendon.

1856. The Treaty of Paris ended the Crimean War (page 827).

1857. Indian Mutiny (page 829).

1856–8. The lorcha *Arrow* and the Second Chinese War (page 853).

A The Conspiracy to Murder Bill, 1858.

(1) January 14, 1858. Three bombs thrown at the Emperor Napoleon by Orsini, an Italian who thought that Napoleon was preventing the union of Italy, killed ten and wounded one hundred and fifty-six people outside the Opera House in Paris.

(2) Orsini had been well received in England and the bombs had been made in Birmingham.

α. Walewski, the Foreign Minister of Napoleon, protested against the asylum given in England to foreign anarchists. "Is hospitality due to assassins?"

β. Publication in the *Moniteur*, the official French journal, of wild letters from some French colonels advocating an attack on London, "the infamous haunt in which machinations so infernal were hatched."

(3) February 19, 1858. Defeat of Palmerston's Bill, which provided that conspiracy to murder should be punished as a felony and not as a misdemeanour, as previously.

α. The Bill was a reasonable attempt to limit the abuse of asylum in England by foreign anarchists.

β. But it was popularly regarded as a cowardly concession to French dictation owing to its hasty introduction and to Palmerston's well-known partiality for the Emperor Napoleon.

ference:

A. *A History of Our Own Times*, chap. XXXVII.

V. **The Second Derby Ministry, February, 1858–June, 1859.**

Prime Minister, the Earl of Derby; Chancellor o the Exchequer, Disraeli. "This ministry was sustaine by the discordance of the Liberal party."

A. August, **1858.** The Government of India Bill (page 834

B. **1858.** Jewish relief.

Members of Parliament took the oath "on the tru faith of a Christian," and thus Jews were exclud from Parliament. Several attempts to relieve them this disability had been frustrated by the opposition the Tory Lords, especially of extreme Conservatives a High Churchmen.

1847. Baron Rothschild elected M.P. for London.

1851. David Salomons elected for Greenwic entered the House of Commons, was removed by th Sergeant-at-Arms. The Court of Exchequer decid that membership of Parliament involved the taking the oath.

1858. The Lords again rejected a Relief Bill, b it was finally agreed that each House could adopt a form of oath for Jews it pleased.

July 26, **1858.** Baron Rothschild took the oath amended by the Commons and entered the House M.P. for London.

C. Abolition of property qualification for members of Parli ment.

D. Parliamentary reform.

(1) February, **1859.** Disraeli's Reform Bill—

α. Extended the franchise to graduates, profession men, men having £10 in consols or £60 in savings bank.

β. The £10 household franchise extended to counties.

γ. Forty shilling borough freeholders to lose their county votes.

(2) April 1, 1859. Rejection of the Bill.

Although John Bright had aroused some interest in the north for reform the time was unfavourable, and there was no special demand for reform. The Bill aroused much opposition.

α. Bright ridiculed the "fancy franchises."

β. Many Conservatives objected to uniformity of household suffrage in boroughs and counties. Consequent resignation of Spencer Walpole, the Home Secretary.

γ. Lord John Russell objected to the "disfranchisement" of borough electors and the failure to lower the borough franchise and to give a vote to the working classes.

erences :

A. *A History of Our Own Times*, chap. XXXVIII.
The Earl of Derby, by Saintsbury (Sampson Low.) chap. VII.

DOMESTIC HISTORY, 1859-65

n the fall of Lord Derby's ministry, June, 1859, the Queen, ng it "an invidious and unwelcome task" to distinguish veen Palmerston and Russell, invited Granville to form a istry. He failed, and Palmerston became Prime Minister, with ldstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Russell as Foreign etary. The Peelites (page 801) now finally left the Conserva- and united with the Whigs to form a very strong ministry. hough the importance of foreign affairs and the objection Palmerston to measures of radical reform made domestic

history of secondary importance, yet this was a formative period when popular opinion was being gradually formed on such questions as Ireland and Parliamentary reform.

I. **Russell's Reform Bill, 1860.**

June 11, **1860**. Owing to Conservative opposition and Palmerston's refusal to support him, Russell withdrew a Reform Bill he had introduced to lower the borough franchise to £6. Reform was dropped for a time, and

September, **1863**. Russell advised those who supported it to "rest and be thankful."

II. **Finance.**

A. Gladstone's Budgets.

Gladstone's brilliant finance and the acquisition by England of the American carrying trade during the Civil War in the United States enabled the country to meet the crisis caused by the Cotton Famine and the restriction of exports to America.

(1) The Budget of **1860.**

The heavy increase in military estimates due to Palmerston's fear of Napoleon, the expense of the Chinese War, and the remission of taxes due to the French Treaty had caused a deficit. Gladstone—

α. Continued Peel's Free Trade policy, accepted the principle of the French Treaty, and reduced the number of articles taxed from 419 to 48.

β. To meet the deficit, increased by this reduction he retained the taxes on tea and sugar and raised the Income Tax from ninepence to tenpence. He thus "aggravated a temporary deficiency . . . to make a great and permanent addition to productive power."

(2) The Budget of 1863.

The Chancellor had a surplus owing partly to the French Treaty which had now doubled British exports to France, and partly to "the legislation of Parliament which had set free the industry and intelligence of the British people." Gladstone therefore—

α. Reduced the duty on tea;

β. Lowered the Income Tax to sevenpence.

(3) The Budget of 1865.

"The crown and summit" of the finance of this period. Gladstone had a large surplus and therefore—

α. Reduced the duty on tea to sixpence a pound;

β. Lowered the Income Tax to fourpence.

3. The repeal of the Paper Duty.

(1) 1860. The Lords threw out the Bill.

The Paper Duty was "a tax on knowledge," but the Bill for its repeal, which Gladstone introduced and which the Commons carried by a majority of nine, was thrown out in the Lords on the ground that the cost of the Chinese War rendered such remission of taxation unwise. Palmerston strongly objected to the Bill, and in a letter to the Queen had suggested that the Lords would be justified in rejecting it.

(2) Palmerston's resolutions.

The Commons strongly resented the action of the Lords as an infringement of their own rights to control taxation, and much indignation was caused because the Lords had prevented the remission of taxation. The Commons adopted three resolutions introduced by Palmerston

a. "That the right of granting aids and supplies
the Crown is in the Commons alone." This
not correct. The assent of the Lords
necessary for a legal grant. The Commo
have the sole right of "initiating taxation
i.e. of proposing a grant.

β. "That [the exercise by the Lords of] the pow
of rejecting Bills relating to taxation
negativing the whole is regarded by this Hou
with peculiar jealousy."

1. The actual right of the Lords to reject
Bill relating to taxation was not denie
but—

2. The action of the Lords in "revising t
balances of supplies and ways a
means—which had never been assum
by the Lords during two hundred yea
—was a breach of constitutiona
usage. If the letter of the law w
with the Lords, its spirit was clea
with the Commons" (May).

γ. "That to guard against an undue exercise of th
power by the Lords, and to secure to t
Commons their rightful control over taxati
and supply, this House has in its own han
the power so to impose and remit taxes a
Bills of supply that the right of the Commo
may be maintained inviolate."

(3) **1861**. The repeal of the Paper Duty was included
Gladstone in the Budget (not introduced as a separa
Bill) and accepted by the Lords, who feared to rej
the whole Budget—the only means they had
throwing out the Bill.

[1] It is important to note that the words "constitutional" and "unc
stitutional" when used in this connection are practically equivalent
"customary" and "not customary."

α. This arrangement was sanctioned by the Cabinet (which must be held responsible for it) only after considerable opposition from Lord Palmerston.

β. The Conservatives denounced it as an attack on the privileges of the Lords, and Lord Robert Cecil[1] said the scheme was "more worthy of an attorney than a statesman."

γ. From this time the financial proposals of the Government for each year have all been included in one Bill.

(4) The repeal of the Paper Duty "called into permanent and successful action the cheap press of this country" (Gladstone), and thus weakened the great authority of the *Times*.

The Death of the Prince Consort.

December 14, 1861. The Prince Consort died of gastric fever and congestion of the lungs at the age of forty-two.

(1) The Prince had at first been somewhat despised as a petty German princeling. His lack of interest in sport, his reserved and serious character, "unredeemed by a single vice," the unjust suspicion that he preferred the interests of Germany to those of England and that he sympathised with Russia during the Crimean War, made him for a time very unpopular.

(2) Later his purity of character, his intelligent interest in science and commerce (page 837) gained for him general respect.

(3) He proved a helpful and sagacious adviser of the Queen, especially in foreign policy, and induced her to make, in the dispatch about the *Trent* (page 864), the

[1] Afterwards Marquis of Salisbury.

modifications which averted war between Great Brita and the United States. He foresaw the probability the union of Germany under the leadership of Prussi and distrusted Napoleon III. His sympathy wit Austria against Sardinia was a mistake. He was strong Free Trader. He admired Peel and hate Disraeli. He tended unduly to exalt the power the Crown, and strongly resented the independe action of Palmerston. His death, by making th Queen more dependent upon her ministers, weaken the royal power.

References :

A. *Life of Gladstone*, by John Morley, Book V, chaps. II., III and IV.

Constitutional History, by Sir T. E. May, Vol. II, p 104–12.

The Letters of Queen Victoria, Vol. I, p. 28 ; Vol. II, p 46, 316–18; Vol. III, pp. 1, 3, 4, 192–4, 469, 47 (John Murray.)

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY DURING LORD PALMERSTON'S SECON MINISTRY, JUNE, 1859, TO JUNE, 1866

I. Italy.

A. The extension of Sardinia in the north.

(1) April, **1859**. Napoleon, frightened by the Orsi bombs and aiming at an Italian federation under th patronage of France, joined Sardinia against Austria

(2) June 4, **1859**. The Austrians defeated at Magent and (June 24) at Solferino.

(3) July 11, **1859**. Napoleon, wishing to gain the fave of Austria, compelled the Sardinians to agree to th Treaty of Villafranca, by which—

α. Lombardy and Parma were added to Sardinia but

β. Venetia was restored to Austria.

γ. The Italian States were to be united in a federation under the presidency of the Pope.

(4) March 18, 1860. Bologna, Modena, and Tuscany annexed to Sardinia on the vote of their inhabitants. The agreement of Napoleon secured by the cession of Savoy and Nice (March 24, 1860) to France.

There was great indignation in Italy at this cession, but Savoy was Swiss and Nice French rather than Italian; Napoleon's support was essential, and he was anxious to secure his south-eastern border.

B. The conquest of Naples.

May, 1860. Expedition of Garibaldi and his thousand "Red Shirts,"[1] who overran Sicily and entered Naples (September, 1860). In the same month the Sardinians occupied the Papal States, and only Rome (occupied by Napoleon's troops) and Venice (belonging to Austria) remained to be conquered.

September 1866. Austria ceded Venice.

September 20, 1870. The Italians occupied Rome.

C. Proclamation of the kingdom of Italy.

February, 1861. The first Italian Parliament assembled at Turin and recognised Victor Emmanuel, "Il re galantuomo," as King of Italy. The consummation of the work of Cavour.

D. The policy of Great Britain.

(1) Palmerston and Russell recognised the growth of national feeling in Italy, favoured the policy of "Italy for the Italians," did not give material aid, but showed benevolent neutrality and prevented the other powers from checking Garibaldi and protecting the Papal States, accepted Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy.

[1] The red shirts were the originals of modern ladies' blouses.

(2) Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort favoure Austria, but the policy of the ministry was strongl supported by England.

(3) Napoleon's acquisition of Nice and Savoy arous Palmerston's distrust. He thought Napoleon wishe to overthrow the settlement of **1815**, and to "humb and punish England."

II. Prussia, Austria, and Schleswig-Holstein.

A. Prussia supreme in the Zollverein.

1860. The German Zollverein[1] remodelled on a Fr Trade basis. Consequent exclusion of Austria (whic favoured Protection) and aggrandisement of Prussi which became the leading member. The Zollverein w the foundation of the German Empire.

B. Schleswig-Holstein.

The Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were unit to the Crown of Denmark, but Schleswig, which was member of the German Confederation, desired closer unio with Germany, while Holstein was Danish in sympath

February, **1864.** Invasion of Denmark by Austr and Prussia. Defeat of the Danes, who heroical defended the fortress of Düppel.

August, **1864.** Cession of Schleswig and Holstein Prussia and Austria.

C. Sadowa.

Bismarck determined to incorporate the Duchies Prussia. Consequent war between Prussia and Austri Owing to their better organisation and the effect of the new needle-gun, the Prussians in the "Three Week War" routed the Austrians, hampered by their dif culties in Italy, at Sadowa (July 3, **1866**).

α. Austria was excluded from Germany, Prus became leader of the North German C federation and obtained the Duchies.

[1] Customs Union.

β. Austria, owing to the weakening of her influence in Germany, was able to come to terms with Hungary. By the "Ausgleich" of 1867 each retained its independence, except for purposes of common interest.

June, 1867. Coronation of the Emperor Francis Joseph as King of Hungary at Pesth.

D. The policy of Great Britain.

Russell strongly sympathised with the Danes and led them to expect British help. In the Queen's Speech, 1864, he inserted words which pledged England to interfere, but the Queen, who sympathised with Prussia, struck them out. Russell's attitude encouraged the Danes to resist in the hope of British help, which never came.

Poland.

1863. Rising in Poland against Russia owing to the cruelty with which the Russian police enforced the conscription laws. Russell expressed strong sympathy with Poland, asserted his determination to enforce the treaties of 1815, which had provided that Poland should not be incorporated in Russia. He led the Poles to expect British help but sent them none.

China.

A. The Second Chinese War, 1856–8.

(1) October, 1856. The lorcha[1] *Arrow* boarded by a mandarin, who arrested the crew on a charge of piracy. The *Arrow* was owned by a Chinaman, manned by a Chinese crew, commanded by a British master. She had been registered in September, 1855, for one year as a British vessel, and still flew the British flag although not entitled to do this, as her period of registration had expired.

[1] A lorcha was a kind of ship used largely in local Chinese trade.

(2) Sir John Bowring, Chief Superintendent of Trade a Hongkong, demanded the release of the prisone and an apology from the Chinese. Commission Yeh, Governor of Canton, correctly denied that th *Arrow* was a British vessel, gave up the prisoners, b refused to apologise.

(3) Bowring further demanded that the Treaty of Nanki (1841), which gave British traders access to Hon kong, should be carried out, and on Yeh's refus ordered Sir Michael Seymour to bombard Canton.

November 4, 1856. Bombardment of Canton.

December 30. The Chinese murdered the crew of t *Thistle*, and Yeh offered a reward for the heads of t "English and French dogs."

July, 1857. A force sent to China under Lord Elgin w detained in India for service against the mutineers.

January 5, 1858. Capture of Canton and Commission Yeh by a British and French force.

May, 1858. The allies marched towards Pekin a captured the Peiho forts.

June 29, 1858. Peace made by the Treaty of Tientsin.

α. A British representative to be received at Pek

β. Further facilities to be given to British trad and the appointment of British Consuls the Treaty Ports was allowed.

(4) The action of Bowring was strongly supported Palmerston on the ground that the British flag h been insulted, and that British subjects had be unjustly imprisoned. He declared that "an insol barbarian, wielding authority at Canton, had viola the British flag, broken treaties, and planned t destruction of British subjects."

Lord Lyndhurst asserted correctly that the *Ar*

was not a British vessel, and denounced the action of Bowring as illegal.

March 3, 1857. Cobden's resolution condemning the violent measures of Bowring was supported by Gladstone, Disraeli, and Russell, and carried in the Commons by sixteen votes. Palmerston dissolved Parliament and secured a large majority in the new Parliament which met on April 30.

B. The Third Chinese War.

June 25, 1859. Defeat, at the Taku Forts on the Peiho, of an Anglo-French expedition sent under Admiral Hope to compel the ratification of the Treaty of Tientsin.

August 21, 1860. Capture of the Taku Forts by the French and British. Treacherous murder by the Chinese of four English envoys sent to discuss terms of peace.

October 12, 1860. Occupation of Pekin by the allies. Lord Elgin, the British Plenipotentiary, burned the Summer Palace.

α. His action was censured as unnecessary vandalism, but

β. It inflicted some punishment on the Emperor for the murder of the envoys and ensured the signature of the Treaty of Pekin without further bloodshed.

October 24, 1860. By the Treaty of Pekin the Treaty of Tientsin was ratified, the indemnity doubled, the Chinese accepted a British minister at Pekin, and Tientsin was opened to trade.

Japan.

1862. A British expedition compelled the Japanese to pay compensation for the murder of an Englishman and to open to foreign trade all ports except Yokohama.

VI. The American Civil War.

A. Causes.

(1) Industrial.

The Northern States were largely engaged i manufactures, and had adopted Protection to safegua their manufactures against English competition.

The Southern States were agricultural and strong resented Protection which prevented them fro getting cheap machinery from England.

(2) Slavery.

The Northerners employed only free labour and th northern "Abolitionists" strongly opposed slavery.

The Southerners were dependent on slave labour f their tobacco, cotton, and sugar plantations. Th "the industrial development of the south was bou up with the question of slavery," which they defend by the authority of the Old Testament. They strong resented the picture of slavery given in *Uncle Tom Cabin* (published **1852**), and in **1859** hanged Jo Brown for seizing Harper's Ferry to facilitate th escape of slaves to the north. The question as whether the new prairie states were to be free or sla states was of vital importance, because these se representatives to Congress which had the power continue or abolish slavery. By **1860** the Abolitionis had secured a majority in Congress and the abolitio of slavery seemed imminent.

(3) The right of secession.

The Southern States therefore asserted that th United States were a loose confederacy, and that a state whose interests were threatened by Congress ha the right to secede from the Union. The Northerne maintained that the United States were a close united Federal Republic and denied the right of a state to secede. This question involved the nation

existence of the United States, and was the main issue of the war. It was intimately connected with the question of slavery, but the latter was not the chief cause of the war. Lincoln asserted: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union and not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing a slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it."

November 6, 1860. The election of President Lincoln, a staunch Federal and Abolitionist, made war inevitable.

December 20, 1860. Secession of South Carolina.

February, 1861. Formation of the Confederate States of America with Jefferson Davis as President.

B. The war.

April 13, 1861. Fort Sumter surrendered to the Confederates.

The three chief scenes of operations were:—

(1) The Atlantic seaboard, which the Federals blockaded successfully.

(2) The Central States.

(*a*) Virginia.

July 21, 1861. The Federals, advancing on Richmond, the Confederate capital, routed at Bull Run.

August 29–30, 1862. General Robert E. Lee, the greatest soldier of the war, routed the Federal "Army of the Potomac" at the second battle of Bull Run at "The Horror of Friedricksburg," December 13, 1862, and at Chancellorsville (where "Stonewall" Jackson was killed) (May 24, 1863).

September 22, 1862. In order to strengthen the position of the North, Lincoln issued a proclamation of emancipation of slaves.

(*b*) Pennsylvania.

July 1–3, **1863**. Lee, having invaded Pennsylvania was driven back by General George Meade at Gettysburg.

(3) The South.

April, **1862**. The Federal Admiral Farragut captured New Orleans.

July 4, **1863**. General Ulysses S. Grant[1] captured Vicksburg on the Mississippi.

"Gettysburg and Vicksburg decided the war. The North had shown its power to repel invasion, and had cut the Confederacy in twain."

April 9, **1865**. Surrender of Lee to Grant at Appomattox in Virginia, after the occupation of Richmond by the Federal forces.

C. The murder of Lincoln.

April 14, **1865**. Murder of Lincoln by John Wilkes Booth. Lincoln's courage, his ability as a strategist and organiser, and his confidence had greatly contributed to the Federal success. His death removed the only man who could have reconciled the North and South.

D. The policy of Great Britain.

(1) English opinion was divided as to the merits of the opponents. Many sympathised with the Confederates believing that the Southerners were "gentlemen," that the horrors of slavery had been exaggerated, and that the development of the Northern States would lead to commercial rivalry with England. But the working classes, in spite of the hardships caused by the cotton famine, supported the Northerners, the opponents of slavery.

The ministry remained officially neutral, but their sympathies were with the South, and

[1] Nicknamed Unconditional Surrender Grant.

October, 1862. Gladstone caused much resentment by his assertion that "Jefferson Davis had made an army, had made a navy, and, what was more, had made a nation."

(2) The *Trent*.

November 8, 1861. Captain Wilks, of the Federal warship *San Jacinto*, seized Mason and Slidell, two Confederate envoys sailing from Havannah on the British mail steamer *Trent* to Southampton to plead the Confederate cause in England and France. The seizure of two passengers on a neutral ship between two neutral ports, although generally approved by the Northerners, was a breach of international law which the object of the envoys could not justify. The Guards were sent to Canada, a strong protest (the original terms of which were modified by the Prince Consort, who thus averted war between Great Britain and the Northern States) was sent to Washington. The French supported the British cause, and the Federals grudgingly released Mason and Slidell. The strong feeling aroused on both sides embittered our relations with the Northerners.

(3) The *Alabama*.

June 23, 1863. The American Ambassador warned Russell that the *Alabama*, then in course of construction at Birkenhead, was to be used as a Confederate privateer. After some delay, due to accident, the Government ordered her to be detained, but she had then sailed with a crew largely British. In two years she captured seventy-six Northern vessels, and was sunk by the Federal cruiser *Kearsage* (June 19, 1864).

The Northerners claimed compensation, and after a long dispute the matter was referred, during Mr. Gladstone's first ministry, to a court of arbitration at Geneva, which awarded the Northerners £3,250,000.

(4) The Lancashire Cotton Famine.

Due to the blockade of the Southern ports and the consequent failure of the supply of raw cotton. At the end of **1862** half a million people were receiving relief. A voluntary fund of £2,000,000 was raised and skilfully administered by Lord Derby's Committee, and in spite of their sufferings, borne with heroic patience, the Lancashire operatives continued to support the Northerners.

(5) The effect of the war on Great Britain.

(*a*) Great Britain secured much of the carrying trade of the Northern States.

(*b*) A very bitter feeling was aroused against Great Britain in America.

The Northerners resented the recognition of the South by the British Government as belligerents (May, **1861**), the sympathy shown to the South by the upper classes (and particularly Gladstone's speech), and the disputes about the *Trent* and the *Alabama* seemed likely to lead to war.

The Southerners resented the refusal of their English sympathisers to secure the recognition of the Confederate States as a separate nation.

Both resented the part Great Britain took in Napoleon III's unfortunate expedition to Mexico (**1862**), and in the middle of the Civil War proposals were made for both sides to cease the civil war and to unite against England.

VII. France.

A. Palmerston felt the utmost distrust of Napoleon and secured additional grants to strengthen the fortifications of Portsmouth and Plymouth to resist an expected French attack.

B. It is doubtful whether Palmerston's opinion was correct as—

(1) **1860.** Napoleon risked considerable unpopularity by agreeing to the Free Trade Commercial Treaty arranged by Cobden, although the French were strong supporters of Protection.

The Treaty provided—

α. That England should abolish duties on French manufactured goods and should lower the duty on French wine.

β. That French duties on British imports should not exceed thirty per cent of their value.

(2) **1862.** France strongly supported Great Britain in the *Trent* case.

III. **Summary.**

The ministry had been most successful in dealing with the Italian question. It had preserved neutrality in regard to the American Civil War, although it was guilty of carelessness in allowing the *Alabama* to sail. It had vindicated British rights in China and Japan. But in regard to Denmark and Poland it had adopted a policy of "meddle and muddle" (Disraeli).

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LORD PALMERSTON

Henry John Temple, third Viscount Palmerston.[1]

I. His Life.

1784. October 20. Born. Educated at Harrow, Edinburgh and Cambridge.

1809–28. Secretary at War under Perceval, Liverpool, Canning, Goderich, and Wellington, whose ministry he left with other Canningites in **1828** on Wellington's refusal to disfranchise East Retford and Penryn.

1830–41. Foreign Secretary under Grey and Melbourne. (Out of office during Peel's short ministry, **1834–35**.)
During this period he avoided war, and "created Belgium, saved Portugal and Spain from absolutism, rescued Turkey from Russia, and the highway to India from France."

1846–51. Foreign Secretary in Russell's first ministry.

1846. He maintained the independence of Switzerland against Austria and France; protested against the Spanish marriages; supported the Queen of Portugal (page 802).

1848. He did not actively interfere in the revolutions in Europe;

1849. In the struggle between Austria and Italy he adopted a policy of "judicious bottle-holding," but authorised the supply of arms to Sicilian rebels, and by diplomacy obtained better terms for the Sardinians after Novara.

[1] In the peerage of Ireland.

1849. Protested against Austrian severity towards Hungarian rebels, and supported the Sultan in his refusal to give up Kossuth.

1850. Blockaded the Piræus and compelled Greece to give compensation to Don Pacifico. His "Civis Romanus" speech (June 24, 1850). He excused the assault of Barclay and Perkins' draymen on the Austrian general, Haynau, because the latter was "a great moral criminal."

1851. December. Dismissed by Russell for expressing approval of Napoleon's *coup d'état*, and had his "tit-for-tat with John Russell, and turned him out on the Militia Bill" (February, 1852).

1852. Owing to his opposition to Protection refused to join Derby's "Who-who" ministry.

1852. Home Secretary in Aberdeen's ministry.

He limited interments in the city of London (1853), restricted the hours of labour of children in factories, and resigned owing to Russell's proposals to lower the borough franchise. He soon returned to office and advocated the vigorous prosecution of the Crimean War.

February, 1855–February, 1858. Prime Minister for the first time.

Remedied the deficiencies of the British army in the Crimea, carried on the war vigorously, and agreed to the Treaty of Paris, thus securing for a time the integrity of Turkey.

1857. Defeated on the question of the Chinese War, but secured a majority in the General Election owing to his action in the Crimean War and to the absence of a rival with a strong policy.

He showed some lack of energy in the early stages of the Indian Mutiny, but subsequently acted with vigour.

1858. He became unpopular owing to his dictatoria manner (which he modified later) and to his unfortu nate appointment of Lord Clanricarde, a man of lov moral character, as Lord Privy Seal. He was defeate on the Conspiracy to Murder Bill (page 843) and resigned.

June, **1859**–October, **1865.** Prime Minister for the second time.

He adopted an attitude of benevolent neutrality to wards Sardinia, and favoured Italian unity. In th American Civil War he determined "to lie on our oars and to give no pretext to the Washingtonians to quarre with us," but, on the seizure of the Confederate envoy on the *Trent*, sent the Guards to Canada and accepte Russell's strong dispatch which, but for the Prince Con sort's alterations, might have led to war between Grea Britain and the United States. He expressed stron sympathy with Denmark and Poland, but did not hel them against Prussia and Austria and Russia. H fear of Napoleon's aggressive policy led him to strengthe the national defences. He opposed measures of reform and disapproved of the repeal of the Paper Duties. H obtained a majority in the General Election in 1865 but died October 18, **1865.**

II. **Foreign Policy.**

A. Palmerston greatly strengthened the influence of Grea Britain in Europe.

(1) Palmerston, a follower of Canning, believed that Grea Britain "ought to maintain peace and to count fo something in the transactions of the world."

α. He kept Britain out of war in Europe fro **1830–41.** "Ten years of great and extra ordinary difficulty."

β. **1859–65.** He took no active part in European and American wars, although his professions of sympathy encouraged Denmark and Poland to continue their hopeless struggles, and his benevolent neutrality materially strengthened the cause of Sardinia.

γ. But he prosecuted war, when necessary, with great vigour (e.g. the Crimean War), and was ever ready to defend the rights of Englishmen by force (e.g. Don Pacifico).

(2) He thought that British political institutions were the best possible, and ought to be generally adopted. He favoured Liberalism abroad, and used British influence to induce sovereigns to grant reforms, and reformers to modify their demands. He aimed at "getting the affairs of Europe into trim," and was determined "to stand no nonsense" in carrying out his policy. His dictatorial methods made him unpopular abroad, but the growing importance of Britain, which resulted from his successes, made him popular at home.

(3) He steadily opposed Russia, believing that the extension of Russian influence in Eastern Europe and Central Asia was dangerous to British interests. He supported the integrity of Turkey, partly as a check on Russia, partly because he admired the Turks.

(4) He at first admired Napoleon III, and lost office (in 1851) through approval of the *coup d'état*. But later he thought that the Emperor wished to conquer England, and adopted an attitude of hostility.

(5) Although Palmerston strengthened British influence, his disregard of the rights and feelings of other nations and his arbitrary methods "lowered the tone of British politics for a time."

III. **Domestic Policy.**

A. He supported Catholic Emancipation, and lost his seat fo Cambridge University in 1831 because he advocate Parliamentary reform. But he thought that the Refor Bill of 1832 was a final settlement, and strongly oppose the attempts of Russell and the advanced Liberals t extend the franchise. He objected to the repeal of th Paper Duties, and championed the cause of the Iris landlords, declaring that "tenant right is landlord wrong He showed no sympathy with the grievances of Noncon formists, and did not appreciate the importance of th Colonies.

"Domestic indifferentism" was the keynote of h policy, and he was "the Tory chief of a Liberal Gover ment." His policy of compromise was well suited to period of political calm at home.

B. Gladstone and Palmerston.

Gladstone's financial measures greatly strengthene Palmerston's ministry, but the two men were often issue, and Palmerston once said that he kept a speci drawer solely for Gladstone's letters of resignation.

(1) Gladstone was anxious to diminish the cost of gover ment, and strongly opposed Palmerston's heavy milita estimates. "The estimates were always settled at th dagger's point" (Gladstone).

(2) Palmerston objected to the repeal of the Paper Dutie although sanctioned by the Cabinet, and used h position somewhat unfairly to prejudice the Quee against it.

C. Palmerston's personal influence united ministers of differe opinions in the same Cabinet. He "held a great bundl of sticks together." The Tories, who still distruste Disraeli and feared Radicalism, gladly accepted th

ministry of Palmerston, who was an effective barrier to reform. His death marks the end of the era of middle-class rule which had been inaugurated by the Reform Bill and the beginning of modern democracy.

V. **Personal Characteristics.**

A. Independence.

He often acted on his own initiative without consulting the Sovereign or his colleagues.

(1) **1834.** The Quadruple Alliance "a capital hit and all my own doing."

(2) He acted thus in the case of the Spanish marriages and of Don Pacifico, and the Queen issued a memorandum, August 12th, **1850**, complaining of "the various neglects of which she has had so long and so often to complain," and requiring

α. "That [Lord Palmerston] will distinctly state what he proposes to do in a given case, in order that the Queen may know as distinctly to what she has given her Royal sanction."

β. "Having once given her sanction to a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the Minister."

(3) December, **1851.** In spite of the memorandum Palmerston, without consulting his colleagues, expressed his approval of Napoleon's *coup d'état*, and was dismissed by Lord John Russell.

(4) He differed from the Queen on the question of Schleswig-Holstein, and in **1859** "carried on a sharp paper warfare with the Queen and his colleagues"[1] on the question of Italy.

B. A thorough Englishman.

He was a great sportsman (his "bottle-holding" metaphor offended many who objected to the prize

[1] Except Russell and Gladstone.

ring); possessed great physical endurance (in **1864** h rode from London to Harrow within an hour); vigo ously maintained the prestige of England.

C. Not a good speaker.

He made only two great speeches (one being th "Civis Romanus" speech), but his straightforwar conversational style carried great weight in the Hou of Commons.

D. He had considerable power of wit and sarcasm, but usuali showed no malice towards his opponents (e.g. after h inglorious dismissal in **1851** he showed great courte to his successor, Lord Granville, and made no referen to the Queen in his explanation of the event). But h levity and "irrelevant jocularities" sometimes injur his cause, and his famous reference to John Bright "the honourable and reverend member" was in b taste.

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ENGLISH LITERATURE, 1837–65

The literature of this period was marked by energy and vitalit It was imaginative and creative. It showed a consciousness of t problems of the time, and was "an attempt to examine mode progress in the light of the emotions and imagination."

Poetry.

A. Alfred Tennyson, **1809–92.**

The Princess, **1847**; Poet Laureate, **1850**; *In Memoriam*, **1850**; *Idylls*, **1859.**

His poetry is refined, graceful, and sweet; it is marked by clearness of presentation, correct diction, musical rhythm, and variety of subject. Tennyson was a sincere patriot, a keen observer of the details of nature. He dealt with problems of morality and religion in *In Memoriam*. In the *Idylls of the King* he uses mediæval legend as an allegory to portray "Sense at war with Soul." His clearness, beauty, and lack of very deep thought made him popular, and he exercised profound influence on later writers.

B. Robert Browning, **1812–89.**

A poet of passion, pathos, and great dramatic power. In *The Ring and the Book* he displays a profound insight into human character. His work at times seems obscure and discordant, but his beautiful shorter poems are free from these faults which impaired his general popularity without seriously weakening his influence on scholars and thinkers.

C. Mrs. Browning **(1806–61).**

Her poems, in spite of weakness of rhythm, are marked by high ideals, a sense of beauty, and (especially in *Aurora Leigh*, "a novel in verse") by appreciation of problems of the time.

Prose.

A. Novels.

(1) Charles Dickens **(1812–70)**, "A Cockney Shakespeare," depicting with vitality and resource the life of the middle and lower middle classes. His humour sometimes becomes farce, his tragedy is often melodrama, his plots are often weak, but his characters are real; his style, though somewhat unpolished, is easy

and conversational, and he uses his power of satire t attack abuses of the time. The *Tale of Two Citi* differs from his other works, and is a historic romance.

(2) William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–63).

Vanity Fair, 1847, *Esmond*, 1852, *The Newcome* 1853.

The novelist of the "hupper suckles"[1] who live i Vanity Fair. A master of easy but faultless pros Some critics accuse him of bitter cynicism and lack sympathy. Others maintain that humour and pi are his chief characteristics. His great historic romances, *Esmond* and *The Virginians*, successful depict the life of the eighteenth century.

(3) Some other novelists.

Benjamin Disraeli's novels deal with political a social questions; they are marked by great ingenuit by imagination, by vivid representation of thin disguised contemporary politicians, and by much sha philosophy.

Lord Lytton (1803–73) was versatile, and produc sentimental, historical, and domestic novels to s varying popular taste.

"George Eliot" (Mary Ann Cross, 1819–80) pu lished *Adam Bede*, 1859. Her early and most su cessful novels were marked by reality of charact sketches and the statement of philosophical principl *Silas Marner* (1861) is perhaps the best short story English.

Mrs. Gaskell (1810–65) dealt in *Mary Bart* (1848) with the life of mill hands, and in *Cranfo* (1853) with village life.

Charles Reade (1814–84) attacked the abuses prison life in *It's Never too Late to Mend* (1856), t first novel dealing with social abuses; *The Clois and the Hearth* (1861) was a great historical novel.

[1] Jeames Yellowplush in the *Yellowplush Papers*.

Charles Kingsley's famous romance, *Westward Ho!*, appeared **1855**.

Captain Fred Marryat's (**1792–1848**) breezy nautical novels, Charles Lever's (**1806–72**) rollicking Irish stories, and the historical romances of William Harrison Ainsworth (**1805–82**) and George Payne James (**1799–1860**) were widely read.

B. History.

(1) Lord Macaulay's (**1800–59**) *Essays* and unfinished *History of England* (**1848–55**) are marked by a strong Whig bias, by "cocksureness," and by an epigrammatic and antithetical but clear style, which exercised a profound influence on later prose writers.

(2) Thomas Carlyle (**1795–1881**).

The human element in history attracted Carlyle more than political institutions. His work is intensely dramatic and realistic (his *French Revolution* was "history read by lightning"); he was a prophet and teacher, asserting the "eternal verities" against "shams" of all kinds; he had much grim humour and pathos; his style, rugged but forcible, is itself a revolt against convention.

(3) Henry Thomas Buckle (**1821–62**), in his *History of Civilisation*, of which only part appeared, tried to show the connection existing between historical movements and physical laws; George Grote's *History of Greece* (**1846–56**) was a learned and monumental glorification of democracy.

C. Other prose writers.

(1) John Ruskin (**1819–1900**), a great art critic and social reformer, wrote *Modern Painters*, **1843–8**, *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, **1849**. He preached the doctrine of Truth in art and life, secured due recognition for Turner's paintings, encouraged the revival of Gothic

architecture, and strongly supported the Pre-Raphaelites.

The Pre-Raphaelites opposed academic convention in art teaching, and insisted on faithful observation and true expression. Millais, Holman Hunt, and Rossetti were their great painters, and combined with William Morris to apply their artistic principles to domestic decoration.

(2) Charles Kingsley (**1819–75**), advocated Christian Socialism in *Yeast* (**1848**), and *Alton Locke* (1850).

(3) Matthew Arnold (**1822–88**), whose poems are graceful and cultured, was the leading literary critic of the period. He pleaded for "sweetness and light" in literature and life, and strongly attacked the "Philistinism" that resulted from material prosperity.

(4) John Stuart Mill (**1806–73**), published *A System of Logic*, 1843, *Principles of Political Economy*, 1848, *Liberty*, 1859, *Utilitarianism*, 1863. His style was clear and not too scientific. He did much to popularise utilitarian philosophy, and supported the liberty of the individual.

(5) John Henry Newman (**1801–90**) published *Apologia pro vita sua* (1864) in answer to Charles Kingsley's accusation of want of truth.

III. **Drama.**

The nineteenth century was marked by a "strange divorce between literature and drama." The best known dramatist of this period was Lord Lytton (**1803–73**), author of *The Lady of Lyons* (**1838**), and *Richelieu* (**1839**). His plays, though well adapted for stage representation, are sentimental and unduly florid in style.

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THE REFORM BILLS OF 1866, 1867, AND 1884

Since 1832 the £10 householders had been the real rulers of ne nation, and although five ministers had advocated reform in x speeches from the throne, all attempts at lowering the fran- nise had failed, largely owing to Palmerston's opposition.

The Bill of 1866.

A. Palmerston's death made reform practicable, and Russell brought in the Bill of 1866, although the time was unfavourable, owing to—

(1) The pressure of other questions, such as the danger from the Fenians, Ireland, difficulties in Jamaica (where Governor Eyre had quelled a negro rising with great severity), a financial crisis in London (which reached its height on Black Friday, May 11, 1866), and the dangerous state of Europe.

(2) The absence of a general demand for reform, except in the north. The House of Commons was not anxious for reform.

B. Russell's Bill reduced the borough franchise from £10 to £7, enfranchised £10 lodgers, reduced the county franchise from £50 to £14. It made no distinction between "compound householders" and rate-paying householders.

(1) Gladstone asserted that by introducing the Bill the Government had "crossed the Rubicon" and adopted the cause of democracy. He predicted success, for "time is on our side" and "you cannot fight the future."

(2) The Bill was too moderate for the extreme Liberals, too advanced for the Conservatives. It was an attempt to make a compromise, and was founded on no great principle.

C. The rejection of the Bill.

(1) The Conservatives opposed the Bill, but the main opposition came from Robert ("Bobby") Lowe, a Liberal opponent of democracy, who protested against this attempt "to pluck down on our own heads the venerable temple of our liberty and our glory." He was supported by about thirty Liberals, whom Bright called "the Adullamites."[1]

(2) Lord Grosvenor's[2] amendment to redistribute seats before reforming the franchise was defeated by only five votes.

(3) Lord Dunkellin's amendment in Committee to substitute rating for rental as the qualification for the borough franchise was carried by eleven votes against the Government, who resigned office.

II. Growing Demand for Reform.

The opposition to the Bill caused a greater interest in reform among the working classes, especially among Trades Unionists, who now for the first time took an active interest in a political question. A London Reform mob on July 23, **1866**, pulled down the railings of Hyde Park, and their violence made Derby, the new Prime Minister, and Disraeli, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, realise that, although they had opposed Russell's Bill, the need of reform had become urgent.

III. The Bill of 1867.

A. Disraeli's resolutions, February 11, **1867**.

Disraeli had seen the futility of his early hopes that the country would be governed by a regenerated aristocracy, both he and Derby had asserted the need of reform in **1859**, and he had "educated" the Conservative party to accept this position. To take

[1] A reference to the distressed and discontented men who joined David in the Cave of Adullam (1 Sam. xxii.).

[2] First Duke of Westminster.

the feeling of the House of Commons he introduced a number of resolutions which asserted the need of increasing the number of electors, lowering the franchise qualifications, limiting the predominance of any one class, making rating the basis of the occupation franchise, maintaining plural voting, and redistributing seats. The resolutions and a moderate Bill based upon them were withdrawn, and Lord Cranborne,[1] Lord Carnarvon, and General Peel resigned office through opposition to a more advanced measure.

B. The Bill.

March 18, 1867. Disraeli introduced his Bill. The original provisions:—

(*a*) The lowering of the franchise.

α. In boroughs all householders *paying rates* received the franchise.

β. In counties £12 householders received the franchise.

Thus about 750,000 voters would be added to the electorate.

(*b*) Checks and balances.

α. To check the increased power of the working classes "fancy franchises" were to be created for ministers of religion, University graduates, persons having £50 in the funds, or paying £1 direct taxes.

β. The holders of fancy franchises who had also a property qualification were to have two votes.

About 320,000 new voters would be created by these clauses.

C. Opposition to the Bill.

(1) Gladstone objected to the fancy franchises and dual voting, which, he said, would lead to a "war of classes." He and Bright wished to fix £5 as the

[1] Formerly Lord Robert Cecil, later Marquis of Salisbury.

minimum qualification for rating and franchise, and thus to exclude "the residuum" (Bright) from a share in the government.

(2) The extreme Liberals, "the Tea-Room party,"[1] desired to get the widest measure of reform. They secured the rejection of Gladstone's limitation, and demanded the vote for the "compound householder."

α. Owing to Liberal opposition the fancy franchises were withdrawn, the residential qualification was lowered from two years to one, £10 lodger franchises were introduced, and dual voting was abolished.

β. But John Stuart Mill failed to secure the extension of the franchise to women.

γ. The difficulty as to the compound householder was solved by an amendment accepted by Disraeli "that no person other than the occupier shall be assessed to parochial rates within the limits of a parliamentary borough."

(3) Many Conservatives strongly objected to the passage of such a measure, which Lord Cranborne called "a political betrayal which has no parallel in our annals."

D. The passage of the Bill.

(1) The Bill was passed as amended and with the addition of clauses dealing with redistribution.

α. Thirty-five seats were transferred from small towns to London, Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, Leeds, and other large towns.

β. In "three-cornered constituencies" returning three members voters were allowed to record only two votes.

(2) July 16, 1867. The Bill passed by the Commons.
August 6, 1867. The Bill passed by the Lords owing to Derby's influence.

[1] So called because they met in the tea-room of the House of Commons.

E. Criticism.

(1) The Reform Bill of **1867** was the necessary sequel to that of **1832**. It was democratic, and recognised the political importance of the working classes. It placed the borough franchise on the sure foundation of household suffrage, but did not effect a final settlement of the county franchise.

(2) Its result seemed doubtful, and Derby called it "a leap in the dark," while Carlyle described it as "shooting Niagara." Lowe's assertion that "we must educate our masters" was a recognition of the need of education for the new factor in politics.

(3) Disraeli's action was adversely criticised. He had opposed the Bill of **1866**. The change in his policy and the readiness with which he accepted Liberal amendments were denounced as "political legerdemain" by Cranborne, and Gladstone expressed wonder at his "diabolical cleverness." He had certainly "dished the Whigs," and "adopted the principles of Bright at the dictation of Gladstone," but he honestly believed in the necessity for reform, and may have thought that a Reform Bill carried by the Conservatives would prove less dangerous to the Constitution than a Radical measure.

. The Bill of 1884.

A. The Bill.

It was introduced February 28, **1884**, and provided—

α. That the county franchise, like the borough franchise, should be extended to all occupiers and £10 lodgers.

β. That persons who, though otherwise qualified, were neither tenants nor £10 lodgers should have the right to vote. "The service franchise."

γ. That the Bill should apply to Scotland and Ireland as well as England.

Gladstone acknowledged the need of a Redistribution

Bill, but refused to introduce one together with th Reform Bill, as he doubted whether he could carr the two Bills at the same time.

B. Criticism.

(1) The Bill remedied the deficiency of the Bill of **1867** b enfranchising the agricultural labourer. It placed th county and borough franchises on the same footing added a new element to the electorate, and represente the final triumph of democracy.

The Bill of **1832** added to the electorate abou 500,000 electors; that of **1867** about 1,000,000; tha of **1884** about 2,000,000, and was based on the ide that the strength of the Constitution depended on th width of the representation.

(2) The Conservatives hesitated to express their doubts the fitness of the agricultural labourer to exercise th vote, and did not oppose the principle of the Bil But they feared that unless redistribution accompanie reform they would be completely defeated at the ne election.

(3) There was considerable opposition to the proposal extend the £10 suffrage to Ireland, partly because of th poverty and illiteracy of many who would be enfra chised, partly because the new arrangement wou increase the number of Parnellites and strengthen th cause of Home Rule. Gladstone asserted that th strength of Irish discontent had been British injustic and hoped that discontent would be allayed by th extension of the franchise.

C. The House of Lords.

(1) The Conservative majority of the Lords, wishing t protect their party from defeat at the next electio threw out the Reform Bill, and demanded "a comple scheme" of redistribution and reform. Gladsto denied the right of the Lords to force a dissolutio and refused to dissolve Parliament.

(2) The action of the Lords caused great resentment, and led to an agitation to "mend or end" (Morley) the Upper House, which rejected a proposal of Lord Rosebery that it should reform itself. Gladstone did not favour the agitation, which died away when the Lords passed the Reform Bill.

D. The passage of the Bill.

A compromise was made, largely owing to the efforts of the Queen. On November 19, Salisbury and Northcote took tea at Downing Street with Gladstone, who agreed to bring in a Redistribution Bill, the provisions of which were to be arranged between the leaders of the Government and Opposition.

(1) May, **1885**. The Redistribution Bill passed the Commons, and provided—

α. That boroughs with a population of less than 15,000 inhabitants should be disfranchised, and that boroughs with less than 50,000 should return only one member. Thus 160 seats were abolished.

β. That as a general rule "single member" constituencies should be established.

England gained six and Scotland twelve additional members.

(2) December 6, **1884**, the Lords passed the Reform Bill (which had been reintroduced into the Commons in October) and the Redistribution Bill in June, 1885.

ferences :

A. Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, Book V, chaps. XIII. and XIV.; Book VIII, chap. VIII.

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LORD JOHN RUSSELL, 1792-1878

I. **Life.**

1792. Born. The third son of the sixth Duke of Bedfor
Educated at Westminster and Edinburgh.

1813. Entered Parliament as Whig M.P. for Tavistock.

1828. Moved the Repeal of the Test and Corporatio
Acts.

1831. Moved the Reform Bill in the House of Common

1832. Moved the Reform Bill for the second time, Ju
24, and the third time, December 12.

1834. Supported the reform of the Irish Church, a
"upset the coach" on the Appropriation Questi
(page 792).

1835. As Home Secretary and Leader of the House
Commons, under Lord Melbourne, diminished t
number of offences punishable with death.

1839–41. Colonial Secretary under Melbourne. Support
the Canada Bill (page 985).

1845. November 22. Declared for Free Trade in h
"Edinburgh Letter" and supported the repeal of t
Corn Laws.

1846–52. Prime Minister for the first time.

1850. Wrote the "Durham Letter," and 18
brought in the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill.

1851. Compelled Palmerston to resign the Forei
Secretaryship.

1852–3. Foreign Secretary in Lord Aberdeen's ministr
and supported the Crimean War.

1855. Plenipotentiary at Vienna.

1859–65. Foreign Secretary under Lord Palmerston.

1861. Created Earl Russell.

1865–6. Prime Minister for the second time. Brou
in the Reform Bill.

1878. Died.

I. "Lord John Reformer."[1]

This happy nickname was due to his determination to give representation "to the living energy and industry of England of the nineteenth century."

A. Parliamentary reform.

1821. Introduced a Bill to disfranchise the "rotten borough" of Grampound.

1831-2. Supported the Reform Bill.

At first regarded the Reform Bill as a final settlement, and was nicknamed "Finality Jack." Later tried to extend the franchise.

1854. Owing to the pressure of the Eastern Question withdrew the Reform Bill he had introduced.

1860. Failed to carry another Reform Bill.

Apparently gave up the idea of a further extension of the franchise, and advised reformers to "rest and be thankful," but—

1866. Brought in another Reform Bill to extend the borough franchise to £7 householders and £10 lodgers, and the county franchise to £14 tenants. He resigned on the defeat of the Government on Lord Dunkellin's motion to substitute rating for rental as the qualification for the borough franchise, and withdrew from active political life.

B. Municipal reform.

1835. He carried the Municipal Reform Act, "which, next to the reform of Parliament, did more to broaden and uplift the political life of the people than any other enactment of the century."

C. The reform of education.

(1) **1839.** Carried a Bill for the increase of Government grants to elementary schools, and the appointment of inspectors for State-aided schools, and supported the

[1] Sydney Smith gave him this name.

appointment of the Committee of the Privy Coun on Education.

This Committee was the foundation of the syste of elementary education in England.

(2) **1847.** He organised the Pupil Teacher system order to increase the efficiency of elementary teache

(3) He opposed purely secular schools, and was a stro supporter of Bible teaching.

(4) **1826.** He took an active part in the establishment the University of London.

D. **1847.** Supported the Factory Act, which reformed t conditions of work by limiting the hours of labour "young persons."

III. **He was the Champion of Liberty.**

A. Religious liberty.

He "reverenced the conscience of every man," a did much to remove religious disabilities. His supp of the University of London was partly due to its fr dom from religious tests.

(1) Protestant Nonconformists.

1828. Moved successfully the Repeal of the Test a Corporation Acts.

1836. He introduced the Marriage Act, which legali marriages in Nonconformist chapels.

(2) Roman Catholics.

1829. Supported Roman Catholic Emancipation.

1845. Supported Peel's proposal to increase the Gove ment grant to Maynooth (page 795), but introduced t Ecclesiastical Titles Bill **1851.**

(3) Jews.

1858. After repeated failures to secure the admissiou Jews to Parliament, a Bill, supported by Russell, carried providing that either House could decide the form of oath to be taken by Jews, and thus th admission to the Commons was ensured.

B. National liberty.

1859–65. His benevolent neutrality greatly strengthened the Italian cause, but his strong expressions of sympathy weakened the Danes and Poles, because he could not give active support.

C. The Colonies.

(1) He favoured the extension of constitutional liberty to the Colonies. "I delight in observing the imitation of our free institutions in colonies at a distance from the Palace of Westminster."

1850. He approved of the Colonies Act, which gave self-government to Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia.

(2) He was opposed to the extension of British authority, and (**1854**) recognised the independence of the Orange Free State, the inhabitants of which were not anxious for independence.

. Ireland.

A. He was sincerely anxious to improve the condition of Ireland, made the "Lichfield House Compact" with O'Connell (page 758), and supported measures for the reform of the Irish Municipalities and Poor Law.

B. The Famine.

(1) **1847.** He tried to alleviate distress caused by the Famine by promoting "works of acknowledged utility," but to avoid competition with private interests directed his attention largely to the making of roads, which cost Great Britain £1,000,000 a month and proved of little ultimate good.

(2) He refused to sanction Lord George Bentinck's proposal for the construction of State railways in Ireland on the ground that only one quarter of the cost would go to the labourers, and, finding that the landlords were gaining undue advantage from public works started by Peel, ordered that localities should repay

loans advanced by the Government to pay the co of such works.

These actions caused such resentment that seve juries returned a verdict of wilful murder agai him in inquests on victims of the Famine.

(3) But he did much to save the lives of many by suspen ing the Navigation Acts and the duty on corn (th facilitating the importation of cheap corn into Irelan and by strongly supporting voluntary measures relief.

(4) He did not take any measures to reform the system land tenure in Ireland, to which the miserable c dition of the people was largely due.

V. **Some Mistakes.**

A. **1850.** The "Durham Letter" alienated the Ron Catholics and High Churchmen by its violent attack the Pope and the Oxford Movement.

The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill he carried in **1851** pro a dead letter. *Punch's* famous cartoon of Lord John "The boy who chalked 'No Popery' on a door and away" accurately hits off the situation.

B. His conduct while a member of Aberdeen's ministry inconsistent and unfair to Aberdeen. "He was al nately hinting that he ought to be Prime Minister threatening to resign. He denounced the misgov ment of Turkey in the strongest language, and he eager to fight for Turkey against Russia." He ma great mistake in joining the ministry at all.

C. January 24, **1855.** He resigned his office as Lord Presid of the Council on Roebuck's motion of censure on Aberdeen ministry for its mismanagement of Crimean War.

a. He resigned because he did not see how blunders of the Government could be excus

β. But as a member of the Cabinet he shared the responsibility, and his resignation looked like the desertion of his colleagues, who showed their strong resentment by refusing to take office under him in **1855**.

"To escape punishment he ran away from duty." (Gladstone.)

D. **1855.** The negotiations at Vienna.

(1) As British Plenipotentiary he agreed at Vienna that Russia should be allowed to keep a small naval force in the Black Sea; that Great Britain, Austria, and France should coerce Russia if this force were increased; and that the siege of Sebastopol should be raised as a preliminary of peace.

(2) At home he refused to sanction this arrangement owing to the strong feeling of the Cabinet that the abandonment of the siege of Sebastopol would weaken the authority in France of our ally, Napoleon. It was impossible to state publicly the real reason for his change of policy, and it seemed as if he had sacrificed his convictions to keep office. He was compelled to resign the Colonial Secretaryship, July, **1855**, after his conduct had been adversely criticised in the House of Commons.

In this case he was placed in a most difficult position, and acted honourably in not embarrassing the Cabinet by giving the real reason for his action.

E. The *Alabama* (page 859).

It has been said that Lord John Russell's hesitation and consequent failure to prevent the *Alabama* from sailing "cost England £1,000,000 a day." But it is doubtful if he ought to be held responsible. It was necessary to take the advice of the Law Officers of the Crown, and the delay was due to the unfortunate illness of the Queen's Advocate. On receiving the necessary

advice, Lord John at once telegraphed to stop th
Alabama, which had already sailed. He alwa
maintained that Great Britain had exercised all d
vigilance, and had been strictly neutral, and absolute
denied the right of the United States to any co
pensation.

VI. **Personal Characteristics.**

A. In public he was shy and reserved, and occasionally h
lack of tact, his impulsiveness, and his hasty temper l
him to make serious mistakes.

B. On a few occasions he showed some lack of loyalty to h
colleagues (notably to Aberdeen).

C. As a speaker he was usually terse and clear. In min
matters he was apt to be careless, but when a questi
of real gravity arose he spoke with eloquence and fe
ing, and "Languid Johnny turned to glorious John."

D. He was keenly interested in Literature, History, a
Classics. He wrote a life of his friend, the Irish p
Moore, a history of Charles James Fox, and was fr
1872–8 President of the Royal Historical Society. H
son stated that he always carried a small edition
Horace with him.

VII. **General.**

Although, as he said, "I have committed many erro
some of them very gross blunders," his long life w
marked by the courageous assertion of great princip
Few statesmen have done as much to promote t
happiness of their countrymen, which he regarded
"the object to which my efforts ought to be directed."

References :

A. *The Queen's Prime Ministers : Lord John Russell.*
(Sampson Low.)

B. *Collections and Recollections*, pp. 165–6. (Smith Elder.)

IRELAND, 1866-73

Fenianism.

A. General unrest.

The unsatisfactory land system (especially the "absentee" landlords and the lack of tenant right), the unthrifty character of the peasants, the permanence of the potato disease, and the supremacy of the Protestant Church had caused widespread discontent. English statesmen were profoundly ignorant of the needs of Ireland,[1] and vainly tried to pacify Ireland by measures based on the totally different conditions of England.

B. The growth and nature of Fenianism.

(1) Many Irishmen migrated to America and fought in the Civil War. They hoped that the hostility between the United States and Great Britain, which was so strong about **1865**, would result in war, and organised the Fenians[2] in order to take full advantage of any opportunities of helping Ireland that such a war would present. The central authority of the society was in New York, where the Irish-American element was strongest.

(2) Fenianism was a political and national movement, aiming at establishing an independent republic in Ireland. It was not agrarian or religious, and the Roman Catholic priests opposed it. The chief leaders were Irish Americans, and its adherents were men of humble social position. Arms were manufactured, and attempts were made to win over Irish soldiers.

C. Disorder.

(1) September 15, **1865**. Arrest of O'Donovan Rossa, the proprietor of the *Irish People*, the chief Fenian paper.

[1] Palmerston declared that the only Irish grievance was its climate.

[2] From "Fianna," the old Irish Militia.

(2) February 16, 1866. The Government appreciated the danger, and passed through both Houses in one day a Bill to Suspend the Habeas Corpus, and to give the Lord Lieutenant extraordinary powers of arresting suspected persons.

α. John Bright denounced the Bill as "a blot upon the reign of the Queen," but did not vote against it.

β. The passage of the Bill led to the departure of most of the American emissaries from Ireland.

(3) The Fenian invasion of Canada.

May 31, 1866. Twelve hundred Fenians crossed the River Niagara near Buffalo and seized Fort Erie. The American Government refused aid, and the invasion was easily suppressed.

(4) February, 1867. Proposed attack on Chester Castle.

Many Fenians went to Chester to attack the castle, but the excellent preparations of the authorities averted any rising.

(5) Fenian rising in Ireland.

March, 1867. A rising in Ireland, arranged by the "Head Centre," James Stephens, completely failed. The insurgents lacked arms, and, relying upon their leaders, had failed to make adequate preparations. The priests opposed the rising, which was ruined by the "Fenian winter," which "buried the insurrection in snow." The leniency with which prisoners were treated was regarded as a sign of weakness on the part of the Government, and it was resolved "to carry the war into England."

(6) The "Manchester Martyrs."

September 18, 1867. Murder of Sergeant Brett in Manchester while guarding two Fenians, Kelly and Deasy, who had been apprehended for burglary. Execution of Allen (who fired the shot), Larkin, and O'Brien.

All were guilty of murder, but the youth of Allen and doubt as to the intention of the prisoners to murder Brett led to strong efforts on their behalf, and it would have been wiser to reprieve the "Manchester Martyrs," whose execution (November 23, 1867) increased Irish hostility to Great Britain and strengthened Fenianism.

(7) The Clerkenwell explosion.

December 13, 1867. An attempt was made to free two Fenians by blowing up Clerkenwell prison, in which they were imprisoned. Sixty yards of wall were destroyed, twelve persons killed, and one hundred wounded.

D. The effect of these outrages.

These Fenian outrages, although unsuccessful, had an important political result. They compelled people to realise "the vast importance of the Irish controversy" (Gladstone), made Gladstone see the need of a new method of treating Ireland, and thus brought the Irish Question within the range of practical politics.

I. The Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

A. The position of the Established Church in Ireland.

The Established Church was the church of a minority in Ireland, including only about ten[1] per cent of the population generally, and only twenty per cent even in Ulster. Although the settlement of the Tithe question had led to better relations between Roman Catholics and Anglicans, and although the differences between the latter and the Ulster Presbyterians had been modified, yet the Established Church in Ireland was an "alien church" (Disraeli), the Protestant ascendency remained the chief means of ensuring the connection between Great Britain and Ireland, and the Irish Church Question "embitters every other question, even the land question is exasperated by it" (Manning).

[1] The estimates vary from eight to twelve per cent.

Gladstone adopted the settlement of the Irish Question as his first object, and thus deprived the Conservatives of any advantage they had secured by carrying the Reform Bill of 1867. The Irish Question united the Liberal Party.

B. Preliminary discussions in Parliament.

(1) March, 1865. Gladstone, although considering the question of the disestablishment of the Irish Church as "apparently out of all bearing on the practical politics of the day," declared, while speaking to a motion of Mr. Dillwyn, M.P. for Swansea, that the Anglican Church in Ireland was a failure as a missionary church.

Owing to his action Gladstone lost his seat for Oxford University. He was elected July, 1865, M.P. for South Lancashire.

(2) March, 1868. Gladstone, influenced by the Fenian outrages, brought forward resolutions affirming the necessity of disestablishing the Irish Church, of preventing the creation of new interests, of vesting in Parliament the control of the temporalities of the Church.

His policy was supported by Roman Catholics, Protestant Nonconformists, Radicals, Irish Nationalists, and by some of the English High Church party who objected to the evangelical tendency of the Irish Church.

Stanley's amendment, which did not deny the need of some alteration, but asserted the desirability of postponing the question, was lost.

April, 1868. Gladstone's first resolution was carried.

C. The Bill.

March 1, 1869. Gladstone (now Prime Minister and M.P. for Greenwich), in one of his finest speeches, introduced his Bill for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, which provided—

(1) The Church to be disestablished on January 1, 1871, ecclesiastical courts abolished, and the Irish clergy to be given time to constitute voluntary synods; bishops to be elected by diocesan synods and the Primate by bishops; boards of nomination to dispense ecclesiastical patronage.

(2) Of the property of the Irish Church (valued at £16,000,000) £5,000,000 to be given as compensation to incumbents, £1,700,000 to curates, and £9,000,000 to be used for the relief of suffering not helped by the Poor Law.

The Church to keep all private endowments received since A.D. 1660, but the Maynooth grant (page 795), and the Regium Donum, a grant to Presbyterians, to be abolished.

D. Criticism and opposition.

(1) The Bill aroused strong opposition. The Conservatives and Irish Anglicans considered that it weakened the Protestant supremacy, the union of Church and State, and the rights of property. It was said to be the work of "a Cabinet of brigands."

(2) It was incompatible with the Act of Union, but that Act, like all statutes, is subject to repeal by Parliament.

(3) The Earl of Derby and Magee (an eloquent Irishman, Bishop of Peterborough) led the opposition of the Lords, who failed to postpone the date of disestablishment, to secure concurrent endowment, and to reserve for the Church endowments received since the second year of Queen Elizabeth, but succeeded in securing £850,000 more for the Church, and in vesting in Parliament the disposal of the surplus.

(4) The opposition of the Lords seemed likely to lead to a constitutional crisis, but the Queen, although she "deplored the necessity of raising the question" of disestablishment, helped to bring about a compromise,

and the Bill, with the two amendments of the Lords, was passed by both Houses, and received the Royal Assent July 26, **1869**.

(5) Disraeli's famous criticism: "We have legalised confiscation, we have consecrated sacrilege, we have condoned treason, we have destroyed churches."

III. The Land Question.

A. Conditions of land tenure.

(1) The Irish farmers were usually tenants-at-will, subject to six months' notice, without any right to compensation for the improvements they had made. Great competition for land led to an increase in rents, which were often too heavy for the tenant to pay. Evictions were therefore frequent.

(2) The Irish landlords let their land but not buildings. The tenant erected and maintained buildings which, on the termination of the tenancy, became the property of the landlord.

(3) Many of the Irish landlords were "absentees," they owed their land to comparatively recent conquest and confiscation, and were generally Protestants. The bitter animosity between landlord and tenant led to a "land war," agrarian discontent became the chief element in Irish dissatisfaction, and the difficulty was aggravated by ignorance of British statesmen (e.g. Palmerston, page 887) of the actual conditions of Ireland.

But the root of the difficulty lay not so much in the injustice of the landlords as in the iniquitous system of land tenure which neither Fenianism nor the Disestablishment of the Irish Church improved.

B. The Encumbered Estates Act, **1849**.

This Act facilitated the sale of lands by insolvent landlords, and about one-eighth of the land changed hands. But the purchasers, whose sole object was their own profit, bought the tenants' improvements as

well as the land, and no allowance was made for customs which had often mitigated the hardships of the tenant.

Thus the Act failed to improve the position of the tenant, and strengthened the demand for the three "F's," fixity of tenure, freedom of sale of tenant rights, and fair rent.

C. Ulster tenant right.

In Ulster there was a custom, not a legal obligation, that the tenant should not be evicted as long as he paid his rent, and that, on relinquishing his tenancy, he should receive compensation for the improvements he had made.

D. The Irish Land Act, 1870.

(1) February 15, 1870. Gladstone, realising that security of tenure was necessary, brought in a Bill which legalized Ulster Tenant Right. It ensured compensation to a tenant for unjust eviction, and for improvements by which he had increased the value of the property, and provided facilities for advancing loans to tenants who wished to purchase their holdings.

(2) The Act, a striking example of the adaptation of law to custom, put an end to the absolute right of the landlord, and asserted the principle that the tenure of Irish land rests not on individual ownership but on partnership of landlord and tenant.

(3) It did not protect the tenant against excessive rent; the dual ownership led to many quarrels, and evictions increased in number.

(4) It did not ensure peace in Ireland.

It was hoped that the Act would prevent the disorder which had caused the Habeas Corpus Act to be suspended in Ireland four times in 1866–8, but it was found necessary to pass the Peace Preservation Act (April 4, 1870) and the Westmeath Act (1871), which strengthened the authority of magistrates, and extended their powers of arresting suspected persons.

IV. **The Irish University Bill, 1873.**

A. University education in Ireland.

(1) The Queen's Colleges at Cork and Belfast, Trinity College, Dublin (a Protestant foundation controlling the University of Dublin), and a privately endowed Roman Catholic University alone afforded university education, which was clearly inadequate.

(2) The Roman Catholics refused to attend the "godless" Queen's Colleges (page 795) or Trinity College, which had been thrown open to Roman Catholics in **1794**. They demanded a Roman Catholic university, with denominational teaching, publicly endowed, and similar to Trinity College.

B. The Bill.

February, **1873**. The Bill was introduced by Gladstone in a magnificent speech which would probably have ensured its passage if an immediate vote could have been taken.

(1) The University of Dublin to be separated from Trinity College, which, together with the Queen's Colleges and the Roman Catholic University, was to be affiliated to it. The University was to receive £12,000 a year from Trinity College and grants from the surplus ecclesiastical funds and the consolidated funds. The University was to be a teaching as well as an examining body, but, to avoid religious difficulties, modern history, theology, and philosophy were not to be taught, and a professor who offended the religious scruples of any student was to be liable to punishment.

(2) Affiliated colleges to manage their internal affairs and to make provision for denominational religious teaching if they desired.

C. The rejection of the Bill.

(1) The Bill pleased no one. The supporters of Trinity College objected to the alienation of its revenues and the

weakening of its position. Nonconformists and academic Liberals objected to any form of denominational endowment. Roman Catholics objected to "mixed education," and desired a separate endowment. Many objected to the "gagging clauses," which limited the range of subjects and the freedom of speech of the professors.

(2) Disraeli strongly opposed the Bill and denounced Gladstone's "policy of confiscation." A combination of Roman Catholics, Conservatives, and moderate Liberals frightened by Gladstone's vigorous policy of reform, rejected the Bill by three votes.

References:

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History of Our Own Times, chaps. LVII., LVIII.

Political History of England, 1839–1901, by Low and Sandars, chap. XI.

GLADSTONE'S FIRST MINISTRY
DECEMBER 5, 1868, TO FEBRUARY, 1874

DOMESTIC POLICY

Prime Minister, W. E. Gladstone; Chancellor of the Exchequer, obert Lowe, till August, 1873, then Gladstone; Foreign Secrery, Earl of Clarendon, to June, 1870, then Earl Granville; Secrery for War, Edward Cardwell.

I. 1869. **Disestablishment of the Irish Church** (page 890).

I. 1870. **Irish Land Act** (page 893).

I. 1870. **The Elementary Education Act** (page 1046).

IV. **The Endowed Schools Act, 1869.**

Up to **1860** English secondary education had bee bad. Special importance was attached to classics modern languages, history, and science were neglected endowments were not used to the best advantage. Th Public Schools Act, **1868**, had revised the governin bodies of the seven great public schools (Eton, Win chester, Westminster, Charterhouse, Harrow, Rugby, an Shrewsbury). The Endowed Schools Act improve middle-class education by appointing three Commis sioners to revise the trust deeds of schools, and b facilitating the use of obsolete charities for education purposes. The powers of the three Commissioners we transferred to the Charity Commissioners in **1874.**

V. **Civil Service Reform.**

June, **1870.** By an Order in Council all publ offices in the Civil Service, except those of the Foreig Office, were thrown open to public competition.

VI. **Army Reform.**

The success of the Prussian army in the Danis Austrian, and Franco-Prussian wars, and the fear, ente tained by some, that Germany might attack Gre Britain, strengthened a movement in favour of arm reform. Under the old system the Commander-in-Chi was independent of the Secretary for War, commissio were purchased, service was long. A radical chan was made in two years by Edward Cardwell (Viscou Cardwell, **1874**), the founder of the modern British Arm

A. The Secretary of State for War.

(1) The Commander-in-Chief, hitherto appointed for li and exercising independent authority at the Ho Guards, retained the command of the forces, but w now made subordinate to the Secretary of State f War, and moved his quarters to the War Office, which the control of the Army was vested.

α. Thus the supremacy of Parliament, acting through the Secretary, over the Army was recognised, but the interference of Parliament with the internal economy of the Army (and Navy) is usually limited to cases of abuse, and in such cases the necessary investigation is generally made by a Royal Commission reporting to the Crown.

β. This change was made by royal prerogative, not by Act of Parliament.

(2) The War Office Act, June 20, 1870—

Divided the War Office into three departments; those of the Commander-in-Chief, the Surveyor-General of Ordnance, and the Financial Secretary.

B. The Army Enlistment Act, 1870.

Enlistment to be normally for twelve years, six with the colours and six with the reserve, but enlistment for three years was also allowed.

α. The principle of short service was thus finally adopted.

β. A competent reserve was established, between which and the Army a close connection was ensured.

γ. The Act was passed without much difficulty, although some held that the resulting diminution in the number of veterans would impair the efficiency of the forces.

C. The Army Regulation Bill, 1871—

Aimed at the establishment of a small army raised by voluntary enlistment and available for foreign service.

(1) The army to be increased by the addition of 20,000 men to 497,000 men.

(2) The country to be divided into military districts each with its central barracks occupied by home battalions of local regiments and, during training, by the militia.

(3) The authority over the auxiliary forces transferre from the Lords Lieutenant to the War Office.

(4) The abolition of the purchase of commissions.

The sale of commissions had been authorised b royal warrant, and the scale of prices was fixe But higher prices were always given, and commissio had become vested interests, and were regarded personal property. This system did not tend, in spi of conspicuous exceptions, to secure competent office but its abolition was strongly opposed by the Arm although liberal compensation covering the ov regulation prices was offered.

July 4, **1871.** The Bill passed the Commons, b was rejected by the Lords.

July 20, **1871.** The Queen, on Gladstone's advi abolished the purchase of commissions by roy warrant.

α. Her act was "within the undoubted power the Crown" (Roundell Palmer), and a syst which had been authorised by royal warra was terminated by the same means.

β. But Gladstone's action was strongly resented unprecedented or unworthy by many Liber (notably Fawcett), and was denounced Disraeli as "a shameful conspiracy agai the rights of the Upper House."

The Lords passed the Bill in order to ensure co pensation to officers who had purchased their co missions.

D. Cardwell found the Army inefficient, aristocratic, a expensive. He made it efficient, national and che and one of the many improvements he effected was marked increase in the efficiency of regimental office

VII. **Abolition of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, 1871.**

The Bill had become a dead letter, and its aboliti attracted little attention.

III. **Lowe's Budget, 1871.**

He proposed to increase the succession duty and to obtain *ex luce lucellum* by imposing a tax of ½d. a box on matches. Strong opposition to Lowe's taxes. Demonstration of Bryant and May's match girls against the tax. The taxes withdrawn, and twopence added to the income tax.

X. **The Trades Union Act** (page 1022), **1871.**

The Ballot Act, 1872.

A. There had been strong opposition to the ballot, which Mill denounced as "unmanly." The Whigs held that the suffrage was a public trust, and that public voting was necessary to see that it was properly fulfilled. But open voting had led to bribery and intimidation, and the public nomination of candidates on the hustings caused frequent riots.

B. Forster's Bill proposed—

(1) That voting at parliamentary elections should be by ballot;

(2) That candidates should no longer be publicly nominated on the hustings.

C. The Bill has weakened "the illegitimate influence of landlord and employer," and diminished the bribery of electors and disturbances at elections. But it has not stopped indirect bribery in the shape of indiscriminate subscriptions to local institutions of every kind.

[**1872.** Foundation of the Agricultural Labourers' Union by Joseph Arch.]

XI. **The Licensing Act, 1872**—

Gave to the magistrates the right of granting licences, checked adulteration, fixed the hours of closing public houses at eleven for the country and twelve for London.

The Bill was introduced by Mr. Bruce, the Home Secretary, and proved a useful and effectual measure of

reform, but displeased the temperance party, wh thought it too lenient, and the licensed victuallers who thought it too stringent and protested agains "robbing a poor man of his beer."

XII. **Two Unfortunate Appointments, 1872.**

A. "The Colliery explosion."

Sir Robert Collier, Attorney-General, made a membe of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Counci for which only judges of the Supreme Court wer eligible. To qualify him for membership of the Judici Committee, Collier was appointed a Judge of th Common Pleas, and held his judgeship for only tw or three days.

B. The "Ewelme Scandal."

Mr. Harvey, a Cambridge graduate, who had bee admitted to the Convocation of Oxford to qualify hi for the post, was nominated by the Crown to the livi of Ewelme, for which only Oxford men were eligible.

Both gentlemen were eminently qualified for the new posts, but the method of their appointment w singularly unfortunate.

XIII. **Rejection of the Irish University Bill, 1873** (page 894).

March 13, **1873.** Resignation of Gladstone. Refus of Disraeli to take office, on the ground that the questi was not of first-rate importance.

March 18. Gladstone resumed office.

(1) Disraeli was unwilling to take office with a Liber majority in the Commons.

(2) A party ought generally to take office instead of a gover ment it has defeated. If it does not its oppositi tends to become irresponsible and factious. But th division was very close, and Disraeli knew th although a number of Liberals had voted in th majority, he would not be able to count on their su port if he took office.

(3) The Government was seriously discredited, and it is most undesirable that a discredited government should continue in office.

IV. **The Supreme Court of Judicature Act, April, 1873.**

A The Act was the work of the Earl of Selborne (Roundell Palmer), appointed Lord Chancellor, **1872.**

(1) The Act established one Supreme Court of Judicature, divided into a High Court of Justice and a Court of Appeal.

(2) The Courts of Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, Exchequer, Chancery, Admiralty, and Probate and Divorce, formerly independent, were kept as divisions of the High Court of Justice.

(3) Representatives of the old Courts of Appeal (the Court of Exchequer Chamber, the Court of Appeal in Chancery, the House of Lords, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council) were admitted to the new Court of Appeal, whose decisions were to be final.

(4) All judges were empowered to administer equity as well as law.

B. Criticism.

(1) The Act rendered great service in consolidating the administration of justice and terminating the separate administration of law and equity.

(2) But Selborne's attempt to abolish double appeals was not completely successful, and in **1876** further appeal was allowed to a Committee of the House of Lords, which included the Lord Chancellor, two Lords of Appeal holding life peerages, and peers who had been lawyers.

V. **The Resignation of the Ministry.**

A. The income tax.

1874. The great financial prosperity of the country enabled Gladstone to promise a repeal of the income tax.

a. This is sometimes regarded as an attempt t bribe the electors, but—

β. Gladstone had always objected to a permanen income tax, and in **1853** had expressed hi intention to abolish it in **1860.** The abolitio would not affect most of the working classes and the burden of a tax of 2d. in the £ wa very light.

B. February 17, **1874.** Resignation of the ministry.

XVI. **General Criticism.**

A. Gladstone's first ministry was the climax of Liberalism It gave full expression for the first time to Liber principles, which the "Palmerstonian tradition of i action" had checked. Gladstone's policy of activ reform had united his party, and owing to this union th "clean-cut dualism" between two great parties becam the leading feature in English politics, and to this the pe sonal rivalry between Gladstone and Disraeli contribute

B. The ministry had become unpopular.

(1) The country was tired of reform, and the failures its later years had impaired the prestige of th ministry whom, in **1872,** Disraeli compared "exhausted volcanoes."

(2) The Government had offended the landlords, the Arm the Church, the Nonconformists (by the Educatio Act), the working classes (by the Trades Union Act the licensed victuallers. Its policy of "blunderin and plundering" (Disraeli) had been marked b vigorous attacks on vested interests, and there wa some justification for Disraeli's statements that it ha "harassed every trade, worried every profession, an assailed or menaced every class, institution, an species of property in the country."

(3) There was a general belief that British prestige ha been lowered by the foreign policy of the Governmen

(4) Many regarded the use of the royal authority to abolish the purchase of commissions, the "Colliery explosion," the "Ewelme scandal," and the proposed repeal of the income tax as unworthy of a great party, and the ministry was discredited by the suspicion of somewhat sharp practice in these cases.

(5) The difficulties of the Government were aggravated by the great unpopularity of "Bobby" Lowe, who possessed an unusual aptitude for giving offence, by differences within the Cabinet, and by the Queen's personal dislike of Gladstone whose somewhat awkward attempt to induce her to take a more active part in public functions gave her great offence.

C. But, in spite of its "unedifying close," the Government had done much. It had carried legislative measures of supreme importance, introduced bold administrative reforms, and done much to reconcile the middle classes, who had exercised supreme power since **1832**, with the lower classes enfranchised in **1867**. In spite of its faults it was "the most fruitful, and on the whole the most successful Liberal Ministry of the Queen's reign."

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Life of Gladstone, by Morley, Book VI.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF GLADSTONE'S FIRST MINISTRY

The ministry had to deal with foreign questions of great complexity. It was hampered by the death of Lord Clarendon, a most efficient Foreign Secretary, in **1870**; by the fact that his successor, Earl Granville, a man of much tact and great personal popularity, was hardly strong enough to deal with the problems

that arose; by Gladstone's preference for domestic legislation, and by his failure fully to appreciate the importance of foreign questions; by the Palmerstonian tradition which exalted foreign at the expense of domestic politics.

I. **The Franco-Prussian War.**

A. The French desired war with Prussia. Napoleon III was jealous of the prestige and afraid of the added strength Prussia had gained in the Danish and Austrian wars (page 852). He desired by military success to strengthen his own position in France, which had been weakened by the growth of the constitutional party and by his share in the unsuccessful expeditions to Mexico, **1862–7.** He was assured by his War Minister, wrongly, that the French army was perfectly ready for war, and did not appreciate the effect of Moltke's reforms in reorganising the Prussian army. He hoped that the South German States, Austria and Italy would gladly help him to crush Prussia.

Some writers doubt whether Napoleon's personal responsibility was as great as is usually supposed, and emphasise the part played by the Empress, who hoped that victory over Prussia would ensure the succession of the Prince Imperial to the throne of France, and who, as a Spaniard, a Roman Catholic and a firm friend of Austria, was eager for war with Prussia.

B. The Spanish throne.

(1) Revolution in Spain under Serrano and Prim. Deposition of Queen Isabella, September 29, **1868.** In **1870** the Provisional Government, anxious to establish a constitutional monarchy, offered the throne to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen.

(2) Leopold's candidature withdrawn by King William of Prussia, owing to strong protests from France.

(3) Unreasonable demand of Napoleon that King William would never allow a Hohenzollern to become a candi

date for the throne of Spain. Great indignation at Berlin—further inflamed by Bismarck's dishonest action in publishing in an altered form the "Ems telegram" from the French Ambassador to the King of Prussia. His alterations made a courteous message appear highly provocative.

July, **1870.** Declaration of war.

War between France and Prussia was probably inevitable, but it was utterly unjustifiable on the nominal cause—the Spanish question.

C. The first period—to the Battle of Sedan.

(1) The French determined to invade South Germany, in the hope that success would ensure the co-operation of the South German States, Austria and Italy. But, owing to its bad organisation, the French army failed to move with the necessary precision and rapidity.

(2) The Germans, admirably organised, moved rapidly on the middle Rhine to check the French advance and to invade France.

(3) August 6, **1870.** The Crown Prince[1] routed McMahon at Wörth. Victory of Prince Frederick Charles, "the Red Prince," at Spicheren. Consequent advance of the Germans on Metz.

(4) August 18, **1870.** Victory of the Germans at Gravelotte. Marshal Bazaine shut up in Metz.

(5) September 1, **1870.** The Emperor Napoleon III and McMahon, trying to relieve Metz, utterly routed and compelled to surrender at Sedan.

September 4, **1870.** Deposition of the Emperor. Appointment of a Committee of Public Defence. General Trochu, President, and M. Favre, Foreign Minister.

[1] Afterwards Emperor Frederick I.

D. The second period of the war.

(1) September 20, **1870.** The investiture of Paris com pleted.

(2) Escape of Gambetta from Paris to Tours in a balloon Relying on the detention of a large part of th Prussian forces at Metz and Paris, he organised th army of the Loire.

(3) October 27, **1870.** Ignominious surrender, due eith to treachery or incompetence, of Bazaine at Met with 180,000 men. The besieging army released f service elsewhere.

(4) December 4, **1870.** Defeat of the army of the Loi at Orleans.

(5) January 28, **1871.** Surrender of Paris to the Germa

(6) The National Assembly.

February 12, **1871.** Meeting of the Nation Assembly, under the Presidency of Grévy, Bordeaux.

February 26, **1871.** The Assembly conclud peace on the following terms:—

α. The surrender of Alsace, including Strasbu and Lorraine, including Metz, to Germany.

β. The payment of a war indemnity of five millia of francs.[1]

The Champs Elysées occupied by 30,000 Germ troops for two days, as a sign of conquest.

March, **1871.** Flight of Napoleon to England.

E. The Commune.

March, **1871.** Seizure of Paris by insurge joined by the National Guards. A Commune p claimed. The Palais Royal and Hotel de Ville bu and the Archbishop of Paris murdered by the insurge

[1] £200,000,000.

Paris bombarded by the French army, the "Versaillais." The Commune suppressed with great cruelty after 50,000 insurgents had been killed and property worth £32,000,000 destroyed.

F. Results of the war.

(1) The establishment of the Third Republic. Thiers the first President.

(2) January 18, **1871**. King William of Prussia proclaimed German Emperor at Versailles. The German Empire a symbol of the union of Germany.

(3) The French troops had been withdrawn from Rome owing to the war, and, September 20, **1870**, the Italian troops occupied the city, which, with the exception of the Vatican, was incorporated in the kingdom of Italy.

(4) **1873**. Conclusion of an alliance between Austria, Germany, Russia, and Italy to prevent the French from regaining her lost provinces and taking vengeance on Germany.

G. Policy of Great Britain during the war.

(1) British feeling was at first strongly hostile to France, which was regarded as the aggressor.[1] But later much sympathy was felt with France owing to her misfortunes, especially owing to the capture of Paris and the loss of Strasburg.

(2) The Government adopted an attitude of strict neutrality, but offered friendly mediation.

α. It urged King William to withdraw his support from Leopold of Hohenzollern.

β. On the revelation by Bismarck of a treaty made between Prussia and France for the surrender of Belgium to the latter, Granville, August, **1870**, concluded treaties with France and Prussia to secure the independence of Belgium.

[1] Gladstone spoke of the "deep culpability" of France.

γ. Granville formed a "League of Neutrals" t prevent the extension of the war.

δ. Granville's representations helped to secure th reduction of the war indemnity from six t five milliards of francs.

(3) Both France and Germany thought they ought to hav been treated differently by Great Britain. But medi tion was rendered difficult by Bismarck's determinatio to secure territory and by Favre's assertion tha France "would not cede a stone of her fortresses o an inch of her territory." By armed interventio alone could Great Britain have effected much, an armed intervention would have greatly extended th area of the war.

II. **Russia and the Black Sea.**

A. Russia, taking advantage of the preoccupation of Franc and Germany, refused to accept any longer those claus of the Treaty of Paris (page 827) which neutralised th Black Sea.

B. Changed conditions made the maintenance of the claus impossible, but it was also impossible to admit the rig of any one party to a treaty to annul it without consen of the rest.

C. March, 1871. A Conference in London arranged by Gra ville.

α. Asserted that no European treaty could be mod fied by the action of only one party to that treat

β. Cancelled the neutralisation of the Black Sea ;

γ. Allowed Turkey to open the straits to the wa ships of friendly powers.

(1) Lord Fitzmaurice maintains that the results of Gra ville's diplomacy were "first to compel Rus formally to sign a renunciation of her claim to tear u treaties, and, secondly, to give the command of th Black Sea to Turkey."

(2) It was generally thought that Great Britain had received a diplomatic rebuff. The question was very difficult, and, although probably the Government took the best course, it was unfortunate that no better course was possible.

I. 1870. **The Red River Expedition** (page 987).

. **The "Alabama" Arbitration.**

A. There were serious points of difference between Great Britain and the United States.

(1) The *Alabama.*

The United States claimed damages for actual injury done to their shipping by the *Alabama,* and also for indirect losses due to the prolongation of the war and the loss of trade which they ascribed to the *Alabama.*

(2) Great Britain claimed damages from the United States for the Fenian raid into Canada (page 888).

(3) There were serious disputes as to the right of Americans to fish off the coast of British North America.

(4) The ownership of the island of St. Juan, near Vancouver, was in dispute. By the Treaty of Washington, May 8, 1871, it was agreed to refer the first three points to the arbitration of a tribunal of five at Geneva.

B. The Geneva Arbitration.

(1) The Americans demanded the acceptance of the principles that a neutral government was bound to "prevent the equipping within its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to carry on war against a Power with which it is at peace," and "not to allow belligerents to use its ports or waters." Great Britain accepted these principles as the basis of arbitration, although

a. They had not been previously asserted and prejudged the question at issue.

β. By the Foreign Enlistment Act, 1870, whic
forbade the equipment in the British Isles o
a ship intended for use against a friendl
power, Great Britain had shown her desire t
avoid breaches of neutrality.

(2) The British dropped the claim to damages for th
Fenian raid.

(3) The arbitrators refused to consider the American clai
of damages for "indirect losses" caused by th
Alabama.

C. The award, September 14, 1872.

(1) Three and a quarter million pounds (one-third of th
amount claimed) awarded to the United States f
damage done to their shipping by three Confedera
cruisers equipped in England.

α. Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, the British repr
sentative, protested against the award, whic
was probably wrong, except in the case of th
Alabama.

β. The United States Government experienc
considerable difficulty in disposing of th
money to recipients justly entitled to share i

(2) American fishermen received the right to fish off th
coast of British North America.

This was regarded by Canadians as an unreasonab
concession to the United States.

D. Criticism.

(1) Strong objection was felt in England to the acceptan
of the new principles as to the duties of neutrals,
the unfairness to Canada of the arrangement as
fishery, to the dropping of the claim for compens
tion for the Fenian raid. The award was regarded
unjust, and great disappointment was caused by th
unfortunate result of the first appeal to arbitration.

(2) But although the Government gained great unpopularity owing to the award, it rendered valuable service by terminating the quarrel between Great Britain and the United States and averting war which had appeared likely. It afforded a valuable precedent by accepting arbitration as a means of settling disputes between nations.

The Ashantee War, 1873–4.

1872. Great Britain obtained the Gold Coast from the Dutch in exchange for British claims in Sumatra.

1873. War broke out with King Coffee Calcalli of Ashantee, who resented the imposition of British customs on goods going into Ashantee and attacked the Fantees, who were under British protection. Sir Garnet Wolseley conducted the campaign with conspicuous gallantry and success, and King Coffee submitted after the capture of Coomassie (February 4, 1874), and agreed to abolish human sacrifices.

I. General.

The Government had done its best under most difficult circumstances. But its foreign policy suffered by comparison with Palmerston's successful aggression. It was thought to be weak and awkwardly managed, and the feeling that British prestige had been impaired was an important cause of the defeat of the Liberals in the election of 1874.

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DISRAELI'S SECOND MINISTRY, FEBRUARY, 1874, TO APRIL, 1880

Prime Minister, Disraeli (Earl of Beaconsfield, August, 1876) Home Secretary, Richard Assheton Cross; Foreign Secretar Earl of Derby till March, 1878, then Marquis of Salisbury Secretary for India, Marquis of Salisbury till April, 1878.

Disraeli's position was very strong. He had a majority of a least fifty in the Commons without Irish support, a large majorit in the Lords, and a most able Cabinet. He was hampered by n special mandate, and popular feeling favoured a limitation domestic legislation. He enjoyed the firm friendship of th Queen. The merchants and employers of labour, hitherto Libera were beginning to favour the Conservatives owing to the growin dependence of the Liberals upon the working classes. Th Liberal party was discredited by the result of the general electio and greatly weakened by Gladstone's resignation of the leadershi January, 1875, and by the failure of his successor, Hartington, control his party or to initiate a strong policy.

I. Domestic Policy.

The domestic legislation of this ministry was limite and did not, as a rule, reverse the work of the previo ministry. It was largely due to the Home Secreta Mr. Cross.

1874. The Scotch Church Patronage Bill vested priva patronage in the congregation and thus practically justifi the policy of those who had seceded in **1843** (page 103

1874. The Public Worship Regulation Act aimed at su pressing ritualism in the Church of England (page 103 but proved ineffective.

1874. The Licensing Act Amending Bill fixed the closi time for London at 11.30, "populous places" at 11. and country places at 10.0 p.m.

1875. Mr. Cross' Public Health Act consolidated previous statutes; his Artisans' Dwelling Act empowered the corporations of towns of more than 25,000 inhabitants to purchase land for the erection of artisans' dwellings; his Employers and Workmen Act made breaches of contract (which did not endanger public health or safety) civil and not criminal cases, allowed peaceful picketing, and limited the application of the law of conspiracy to trade disputes.

1876. Restoration of its Appellate Jurisdiction to the House of Lords.

1878. The Merchant Shipping Act protected seamen.

[Growth of the Irish Home Rule party and development of Parliamentary obstruction.]

. **Foreign Policy.**

Disraeli wished to make the influence of Great Britain (apparently weakened by Gladstone's ministry) supreme in Europe and to consolidate and extend our Colonial Empire. His ministry is marked by a vigorous foreign policy in which the chief features are the development of Imperialism and opposition to Russia, which Disraeli regarded as a dangerous rival.

A. Egypt (page 933).

(1) November, **1875.** Purchase by the British Government for £4,000,000 of the Khedive Ismail's shares in the Suez Canal which amounted to about half of the total number.

α. By this purchase Great Britain secured control of the road to India and

β. Was committed to an active interest in Egypt.

(2) **1876.** Establishment of the Dual Control.

Thus Disraeli is largely responsible for the begining of the policy which has made Egypt a British dependency.

B. The Russo-Turkish War.

(1) The rebellion of the Balkan States.

(*a*) Turkey had not carried out the reforms pr scribed by the Treaty of Paris, **1856** (page 827); th country was on the verge of bankruptcy; the Christian were treated with great cruelty; there was a growin tendency, favoured by Russia, for the Slavs to unit against Turkey; Russia had resumed her efforts t protect the Christian subjects of the Sultan.

(*b*) **1875.** Rebellion of Bosnia and Herzegovi owing to heavy taxation.

(*c*) May 11, **1875.** The Berlin Note (issued b Russia, Germany, and Austria) demanded an armisti and the appointment of a mixed tribunal of Christia and Mohammedans to reform abuses; threaten armed intervention if reforms were not carried out.

α. The Czar seemed anxious to work in agreeme with the other powers for the protection Christians in Turkey.

β. Disraeli refused to accept the Note because Gre Britain had not been consulted. Derby, ardent supporter of peace, objected to warli intervention; Disraeli was suspicious of t intentions of Russia. The refusal of Disra weakened the Concert of Europe, aggravat the enmity between Russia and Great Britai and probably led the Turks to expect Briti support.

(*d*) May, **1876.** Rebellion of Bulgaria.

(*e*) July, **1876.** Rebellion, with unofficial help Russian volunteers, of Servia and Montenegro.

(2) Opinion in England.

(*a*) June 23, **1876.** Publication by the *Daily Ne* of particulars of outrages on Bulgarians by Turki irregular troops, who had destroyed sixty villages a

slaughtered thousands of innocent people. The account confirmed in September by Walter Baring, dispatched by the Government to investigate. He stated that twelve hundred Bulgarians who had surrendered on condition that their lives should be spared had been burned in their village church by the Turks.

September 6, **1876.** Publication of Gladstone's pamphlet on the "Bulgarian Horrors," in which he advocated the expulsion of the Turks "bag and baggage"[1] from Bulgaria. Growing feeling in England in favour of the coercion of Turkey by the European powers.

(*b*) Disraeli asserted that his main object was "to maintain the Empire of England." He regarded the growing power of Russia as a grave danger to the British Empire and wished to maintain the integrity of Turkey (in spite of the failure to carry out the reforms required by the Treaty of Paris) as a check on Russia. He did not believe in the pacific intentions of the Czar, and at the Lord Mayor's banquet, November, **1876**, he declared that, while he wished to maintain peace, no country was as well prepared for war as Great Britain. Disraeli's attitude gained a considerable measure of support in the country, but

(*c*) an important section of the Cabinet, especially Carnarvon and Derby, strongly objected to war with Russia on behalf of Turkey.

(3) Failure of joint action.

(*a*) January, **1877.** Refusal of the Turks, who had just adopted a new and more liberal constitution, to accept the terms offered by a Conference of the Powers at Constantinople because they included the appointment of an international commission to carry out reforms in Turkey.

[1] The phrase "bag and baggage" had been previously used by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

(*b*) March, 1877. The London Protocol, due largel to the influence of the Czar, asserted the dete mination of the Powers to see if the reforms promise by the Turks had been carried out.

April, 1877. The Turks, possibly relying upo Disraeli's sympathy, repudiated the London Protoc and thus defied the Powers. Therefore—

(*c*) April 24, 1877. Russia declared war again Turkey.

α. The Powers had failed and the Czar reso upon independent action.

β. The action of the Czar was contrary to t Declaration of London, 1871 (page 908) a greatly increased Disraeli's suspicions of l intentions.

(4) The war.

(*a*) Russian successes.

December 10, 1877. Surrender to General Todleb the hero of Sebastopol, of the Turks at Plevna, whi had been gallantly defended by Osman Pasha.

January 10, 1878. The Russians, after hea fighting, forced the Shipka Pass.

January 20, 1878. Capture of Adrianople by t Russians.

March 3, 1878. Russia concluded the Treaty San Stefano with Turkey.

α. Turkey to pay an indemnity of £12,000,000.

β. Servia, Roumania, Montenegro to be indep dent states, and Bulgaria made a tribut principality.

γ. Bosnia and Herzegovina to remain dependent Austria but to receive Home Rule.

δ. Russia to get Batoum, Kars, and Bessarabia.

(*b*) Great Britain and Russia.

The Liberals strongly objected to the idea of fighting Russia on behalf of Turkey, but Disraeli, fearing that Russia would use the advantage she had secured in the war to extend her authority in the East, determined, in spite of considerable opposition from some of the Cabinet, to make preparations in case war should break out, although he acknowledged that the neutrality of Great Britain had not been threatened. Outbreak of jingoism[1] in England. £6,000,000 voted by Parliament for military and naval purposes.

January 23, 1877. The British fleet sent from Besika Bay to the Dardanelles.

a. Resignation of Carnarvon and of Derby, who held that only the danger of a Russian attack on Constantinople, the Suez Canal, or Egypt would justify Great Britain in going to war. The latter withdrew his resignation.

β. The fleet speedily recalled to Besika Bay.

February 13, 1877. The British fleet sent to the Sea of Marmora without the permission of the Porte, to protect British subjects in Constantinople. Lord Napier of Magdala appointed Commander-in-Chief and Sir Garnet Wolseley appointed Chief of his staff.

March 3, 1878. The tension was relieved by the Treaty of San Stefano, which was moderate, threatened no British interests, and did not attempt to secure Constantinople for Russia. But Derby demanded that the treaty be referred for sanction to the Powers because it altered the Treaty of Paris to which they had agreed. This demand was resented by Russia, and Disraeli therefore

[1] "Jingoism" owed its name to a music-hall song :—

"We don't want to fight,
But, by Jingo, if we do,
We've got the men, we've got the ships,
And we've got the money too."

March, 1878. Called out the Reserves and deter mined to seize a port in Syria to guard the road t India. Consequent resignation of Derby, whose suc cessor at the Foreign Office, Salisbury, maintained hi demand for a European Congress.

April 17, 1878. Seven thousand Indian troop sent to Malta.

a. The dispatch of the Indian troops (who were paid by the Indian Government) to Malta, like the sending of the fleet to the Sea of Marmora and the mobilisation of the Reserves, had been carried out without parliamentary sanction and formed part of the "policy of surprises" for which Disraeli was blamed.

β. It was maintained that this action was unconstitutional because it made the number of British soldiers employed in Europe greater than that sanctioned by the Mutiny Act and because parliamentary approval was necessary for the use of Indian revenue to defray the cost of military operations outside India.

γ. Disraeli maintained that as the Indian army was under the control of the Crown he was justified in using the authority of the Crown to dispatch the troops to Malta.

(5) The Treaty of Berlin, July 13, 1878.

(*a*) Largely owing to the attitude of Beaconsfield and Salisbury the Treaty of San Stefano was referred for consideration to a European Congress, which met on June 13, 1878, at Berlin, under the presidency of Prince Bismarck, and which Beaconsfield and Salisbury attended as plenipotentiaries of Great Britain. The Congress drew up the Treaty of Berlin which provided—

α. That Northern Bulgaria should be independent, and that Southern Bulgaria, under the name of Roumelia, should remain subject to Turkey, while receiving a large measure of self-government.

1. Thus Gladstone's "bag and baggage" policy was adopted, and "eleven millions of people, formerly under Turkish rule, were entirely exempted from the yoke."

2. It was assumed that Russian influence would be supreme in Bulgaria, and Beaconsfield claimed that by limiting its area he had lessened the danger of the growth of Russian influence in the Near East.

3. But Roumelia was united to Bulgaria in 1885, and Russian influence did not become supreme.

β. That Servia, Montenegro, and Roumania should be independent states.

γ. That Bosnia and Herzegovina should receive self-government under the suzerainty of Austria.

δ. That Russia should get Batoum and Kars.

ε. That Roumania should cede Bessarabia to Russia and receive the Dobrudscha[1] in exchange.

This was an important modification of the Treaty of Paris by which Bessarabia had been taken from Russia.

ζ. Great Britain received Cyprus on condition of paying tribute to the Sultan.

1. Bismarck would have acquiesced in the cession of Egypt to Great Britain. Beaconsfield refused to accept Egypt. The cession of Egypt could hardly

[1] The north-east corner of Bulgaria.

have been justified on the ground of public morality, and would probably have aroused the strong opposition of France. But France might have been conciliated if Great Britain had agreed to the extension of French authority in Tunis, and the establishment of British authority in Egypt would have saved the country from much of the trouble of following years (page 933).

2. The idea of paying tribute to the Sultan was distasteful to many Englishmen.

η. Greece, which had not gone to war with Turkey, got nothing. Her demand for Thessaly (which had risen against Turkey, January, 1878) and Epirus rejected, partly because Beaconsfield was unwilling further to weaken Turkey.

(*b*) Peace with honour.

Beaconsfield claimed that he had secured for Great Britain "Peace with honour," and his estimate of the value of his work was at first accepted. But

a. Although he had apparently negatived Russia's right of individual intervention in Turkey and compelled her to acknowledge the supreme authority of the Powers, yet his triumph was only apparent. The questions at issue had been practically settled in May by secret treaties between Great Britain and Russia and between Great Britain and Turkey, and thus the Congress of Berlin was really only a court of registration.

1. Beaconsfield had compelled Russia to agree to the division of Bulgaria, but this arrangement lasted only seven years.
2. In return for Cyprus he had agreed to protect the Turkish possessions in Asia,

and had undertaken to protect the Armenian Christians. But the "Armenian massacres" of 1896 showed the ineffectiveness of this arrangement.

3. The Government refused to admit the existence of the secret treaty with Russia. It was revealed by the treachery of a Government official, who gave particulars of the treaty to the *Globe*, which published it June 14, 1878.

β. Beaconsfield had tried to make Great Britain a predominant power in Europe, and claimed that by weakening Russia he had furthered the interests of the British Empire. But

1. It is very doubtful whether active participation in European politics is to the advantage of Great Britain.

2. The Treaty of Berlin "diverted Russian activity from the Bosphorus towards the frontier of Afghanistan and India" and added to the difficulty of the question of the North-West Frontier.

γ. Beaconsfield had maintained that the interests of Great Britain required the maintenance of the integrity of the Turkish Empire, but the Treaty of Berlin greatly weakened the power of Turkey.

δ. There is some justification for Gladstone's criticism: "I affirm that it was their[1] part to take the side of liberty; and I also affirm that as a matter of fact they took the side of servitude." But by weakening the authority of Turkey in the Balkan States the treaty gave freedom to eleven millions of people. It would have better served the cause of freedom if it had weakened that authority still more.

[1] Beaconsfield and Salisbury.

III. **India.**

A. **1875–6.** The visit of the Prince of Wales, who wa enthusiastically received, strengthened the connection Great Britain and India.

B. **1876.** The Royal Titles Bill conferred on the Queen th title of Empress of India.

(1) Many regarded the idea as theatrical, and denied tha the additional title added to the dignity of th Queen.

(2) But the natives, among whom the tradition of th Mogul Empire remained, welcomed the new arrang ment, and the proclamation of the Queen as Empre of India at a magnificent durbar at Delhi (**1877**) w the signal for a remarkable exhibition of loyalty o the part of the native princes.

(3) Disraeli's action strengthened the friendship the Quee felt for him.

C. Afghanistan.

(1) For many years Great Britain had followed a policy "masterly inactivity" on the North-West Frontie largely owing to the influence of Lord Lawren (Viceroy **1863–9**), who regarded the Indus as th boundary of British India, and, while striving t maintain friendly relations with Afghanistan, refuse to interfere in its internal affairs or to guarante unconditional assistance against Russian aggressio Lords Mayo (Viceroy **1869–72**) and Northbroo (Viceroy **1872–5**) adopted the same policy.

(2) The growth of Russian power in Turkestan led Lor Lytton (**1876–80**) to adopt the "forward policy advocated by Sir Bartle Frere. This involved—

α. The establishment of agents in Afghanistan maintain British and check Russian influenc

β. The recognition of the Hindoo Koosh Mountains as the boundary, and the control of the passes by Great Britain.

December, **1876**. The first step was taken by the acquisition from the Khan of Khelat of Quetta, commanding the Bolan Pass.

The Russians sent an envoy to Cabul as a protest against the dispatch of Indian troops to Malta (page 918). A British embassy was sent (September, **1878**) under Sir Neville Chamberlain to demand that the Amir Shere Ali, a son of Dost Mahommed, should receive a British agent. Shere Ali refused, because his authority would be limited by the presence of a British agent whom he would be unable to protect from violence.

(3) Second Afghan War.

November, **1878**. Invasion of Afghanistan, flight of Shere Ali, recognition by Great Britain of his son Yakoob Khan, who, by the Treaty of Gandamak (June, **1879**), undertook, in return for British support against Russia, to—

α. Accept a British agent at Cabul;

β. To allow Great Britain to control his foreign policy;

γ. To give the Indian Government the control of the Khyber Pass.

(4) Third Afghan War.

September 3, **1879**. Murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari, the British agent, at Cabul.

October, **1879**. March of General Roberts to Cabul and General Stewart to Candahar.

The advance of the British, conducted with great ability, was facilitated by the rapid construction, under the superintendence of Sir Richard Temple, of a railway from the Indus to the Bolan Pass.

April 19, **1880.** Stewart routed Yakoob Khan a Ahmed Kiel, one of the great battles of British India

[The Liberal Government abandoned the "forward policy," dropped the demand for the appointment o British agents, recognised Abdur Rahman (a nephew of Shere Ali who, during a long exile in Russian territory, had learned to distrust Russia) as Amir o the whole of Afghanistan, which the Conservatives had proposed to divide.

Shere Ali's younger son Ayoub refused to submit marched on Candahar, and (July 27, **1880**), routed General Burrows at Maiwand.

August 31, **1880.** Roberts relieved Candahar an routed Ayoub at Mazra September 1. Withdrawa of British troops from Afghanistan, of which Abdu Rahman became undisputed master after defeatin Ayoub.]

IV. **South Africa.**

A. April 12, **1877.** Annexation of the Transvaal (page 1005

B. **1879.** The Zulu War. January, Isandhlwana; Jul Ulundi.

V. **General.**

A. In 1874 the country was tired of Gladstone's vigorou home policy, and Disraeli's refusal to introduce larg measures of domestic reform was thoroughly justifie except in the case of Ireland. He had asserted the nee of settling the Irish Question, but failed to bring fo ward any adequate measures for dealing with it.

B. Disraeli's foreign policy was based upon his desire to main tain the British Empire. The Liberals had failed t appreciate the importance of the Colonies, and had no upheld the dignity of Great Britain in her relation t foreign states. But, although in theory Disraeli prove the pioneer of Imperialism, he did little to strengthe the Empire, and under his administration "Imperialism was vulgarised by Jingoism."

(1) Owing to his attitude the Colonies received greater attention, but he did not unite them more closely to Great Britain.

(2) He had succeeded in settling the Eastern Question, but failed in his attempt to maintain the integrity of Turkey; he did not appreciate the appalling results that would have followed a war between Great Britain and Russia, and his policy aggravated the ill-feeling between the two nations.

(3) The "forward policy" in Afghanistan, of which he approved, was unsuccessful.

(4) His purchase of the Suez Canal shares was wise, but he feared to take the bold measures necessary for the settlement of the Egyptian Question.

(5) The annexation of the Transvaal was ill-considered and premature.

The net results of his policy (the acquisition of Cyprus, the Queen's new title of "Empress of India," and the conquest of Zululand) were inadequate.

C. His ministry fell because of the unpopularity and heavy expense of the Afghan and Zulu wars (he had "plunged the country into a series of deficits"—Gladstone), the commercial and agricultural depression of 1879 for which he was unjustly blamed, and the remarkable success of the Midlothian campaign (November and December, 1879), in which Gladstone, in a series of brilliant speeches, adversely criticised the general policy of the Government.

eferences:

A. *A History of Our Own Times*, Vol. II, chaps. LXXIII.–LXXVI.
The Political History of England, 1837–1901, chaps. XIV. and XV.
A History of Modern England, by Paul, Vol. IV, chaps. I.–IV. (Macmillan.)

BENJAMIN DISRAELI, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD, 1804–81

I. **Life.**

1804. Born. Son of Isaac D'Israeli, author of *Curiosities of Literature*, who in 1817 became a member of the Church of England.

1821. Entered a solicitor's office, but soon gave up the idea of becoming a lawyer.

1837. Entered the House of Commons as M.P. for Maidstone.

1844. Published *Coningsby.*

1846. Violently attacked Peel for repealing the Corn Laws and became a strong supporter of Protection.

1852. Chancellor of the Exchequer in Derby's first ministry. Defeat of his Budget.

1858–9. Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons in Derby's second ministry.

1859. Resignation of the ministry on the rejection of Disraeli's Reform Bill.

1859–65. Opposed Russell's foreign policy.

1866. Chancellor of the Exchequer in Derby's third ministry.

1867. Carried the Reform Bill which established household suffrage.

1868. Prime Minister for the first time.

1870. Published *Lothair.*

1874–80. Prime Minister for the second time.

1876. Carried the Bill for giving to the Queen the title of Empress of India.

1876. Created Earl of Beaconsfield.

1878. British plenipotentiary at the Congress of Berlin.

1881. April 19. Died in London.

I. The Second Founder of the Conservative Party.

A. His attack on Sir Robert Peel.

He had entered Parliament as a supporter of Peel, but partly perhaps because Peel gave him no office in **1841**, partly because he saw the possibility of conciliating the ultra-Conservatives and strengthening his own position, he attacked Sir Robert for repealing the Corn Laws. He said Peel was "a great Parliamentary middleman"; he "had caught the Whigs bathing and walked away with their clothes"; his government was "official despotism and Parliamentary imposture." He thus visited on Peel the ruin of the Conservative party, helped to unite its weakened forces, and laid the foundation of his own success.

The attack on Peel was the turning point in Disraeli's career.

B. He tried to educate his party.

(1) Reform.

He thought at first that "the natural rulers of England are the aristocracy supported by the people," but later, realising that there was little hope of a regenerated aristocracy[1] and trusting to "the invigorating energies of an educated and enfranchised people," he took up the cause of reform which the Conservatives had generally opposed, and induced his party to pass the Reform Bill of **1867**.

(2) Protection.

He co-operated with Lord George Bentinck in the assertion of Protection, but was not a Protectionist at heart. In **1852** he accepted a resolution approving of Free Trade and thus committed the Conservative party to a new policy.

[1] In *Lothair* (**1870**) he represents the aristocracy as picturesque and dignified, but unpractical and aimless.

(3) Foreign policy and Imperialism.

His vigorous foreign policy and his recognition o the importance of the British Empire gave the Co servative party a wider outlook.

(4) He had a real sympathy for the poorer classes an showed this in *Sybil* and by his Reform Bill. H thus showed that Conservatism was "no longer th exclusive creed of the privileged and wealthy classes. The "Young England Party," of which he was the mo distinguished member, took a deep interest in th "condition of England question" and was the fo runner of the "Fourth Party" and democratic Co servatism.

C. His theory of Conservatism.

He regarded the aim of the Conservative party "the maintenance of our institutions, the protection our Empire, and the improvement of the condition of th people." Although he met with little success in h attempt to realise these aims, he accurately defined th principles of the revived Conservatism which played important a part in British history from 1895 to 190 The foundation of the Primrose League[1] in his hono was a recognition of his services to his party.

III. **The Champion of Imperialism.**

A. Within a comparatively short time the population the Colonies had quadrupled, their commerce had great increased, and the most important had been grant self-government. Disraeli recognised that Great Brita "is no longer a mere European power. She is th metropolis of a great maritime empire." The Libera had often shown little sympathy with the Colonies, a Disraeli maintained that only the "sympathy of th Colonies with the mother country" had prevented th disintegration of the Empire. He asserted the need

[1] The idea that the primrose was his favourite flower seems incorrect.

"a great policy of imperial consolidation" involving an imperial tariff, a definition of the mutual responsibility of the Colonies and mother country for defence, and the establishment of a representative colonial council in London.

B. But he did little to put his theories into practice, except to confer the title of Empress of India on the Queen. He did nothing to promote colonial federation, and left to his successors a legacy of difficulties in Egypt, India, and South Africa.

C. But his theory of Imperialism received strong support at the end of the century, notably from Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Rosebery.

V. Foreign Policy.

A. His foreign policy was partly based upon his Imperialism: "Our duty is to maintain the Empire of England [which can] alone give it that ascendancy in the councils of Europe which will secure peace."

B. His foreign policy was, therefore, marked by hostility to Russia, which seemed dangerous to British interests in the East.

(1) He therefore supported Turkey, believing that the maintenance of the integrity of Turkey would check the power of Russia.

(2) He wished to settle the question of the North-West Frontier of India as a barrier to possible Russian aggression.

C. He advocated "the presence, not to say the ascendancy, of England in the councils of Europe," and took an active part in the Congress of Berlin.

D. His foreign policy was—

(1) Unsound.

a. Active intervention in European politics is contrary to British interests.

β. He devoted "exclusive attention to Britis interests," and sometimes failed to recogni the just claims of other countries.

γ. He did not see that Turkey could no longer b regarded as a "bulwark of civilisation again barbarism."

(2) Unsuccessful.

He alienated Russia, failed to maintain the integrit of Turkey and to settle the question of the relation Great Britain to Egypt. At Berlin he threw awa a great opportunity of strengthening the Britis Empire. His attempt to secure a "scientific frontier for India failed, and his policy with regard to Afghan istan was repudiated by later Liberal and Conserva tive ministries. In England jingoism, and n patriotism, was too often the result of his efforts.

V. **Domestic Policy.**

A. He possessed little constructive ability and n administrative capacity.

(1) His sympathy with the working classes led to no grea measure of social amelioration.

(2) His Reform Bill of **1867** was no less a theft of Whi clothes than Peel's Repeal of the Corn Laws.

(3) The credit of the domestic legislation of his secon ministry belongs to Mr. Cross rather than to Disrael

(4) He said that in Ireland it was "the duty of a minist to effect by his policy all those changes which revolution would do by force." But he did nothin to remedy Irish grievances.

B. Disraeli and Parliament.

(1) He was "a child of Parliament. It was Parliamen and the confidence of Parliament which gave him h predominance in the State" (Froude).

(2) He was a master of parliamentary tactics.

(3) He was not a great orator, but his clever speeches, marked with brilliant wit, biting sarcasm and striking epigram, always secured an attentive hearing.[1]

. Personal Characteristics.

A. His affectation.

His personal appearance was remarkable. In his early days he "affected affectation" in dress, manners, and speech; he wore rings outside his gloves, his clothes were gaudy in colour and fantastic in cut. He was theatrical and loved display, and this was shown by his sensational foreign policy. But he was picturesque and interesting, and succeeded by the power of his extraordinary personality in attracting attention.

B. He was considered by many to be insincere.

His early affectation and "theatricality" seemed inconsistent with sincerity. His action in carrying the Reform Bill in **1867**, after turning out the Liberals for proposing a similar measure in **1866**, seemed to Gladstone to be "diabolical cleverness." The secret treaties with Russia and Turkey in **1878**, and his "policy of surprises" (page 918) aroused grave distrust. To Cranborne[2] he seemed "a political adventurer" pursuing a "policy of legerdemain," and to Carlyle "a superlative Hebrew conjurer."

He was an adept in the art of flattery. His famous greeting, "How's the old complaint?" often disguised the fact that he had completely forgotten former acquaintances. He said that anyone flattering royalty must "lay it on with a trowel," and practised his precept by addressing the Queen as "We authors, Ma'am."[3]

His first speech was a failure, but as he sat down he said, "The time will e when you will hear me."

Marquis of Salisbury.

A reference to the Queen's *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the hlands*, which not even the most enthusiastic loyalist could honestly re- l as literature.

C. His nationality.

He never became a real Englishman, and remained heart a Jew, believing firmly in the superiority of t Jewish race. He was therefore able to regard the affa of Great Britain with a more impartial scrutiny, but mained a "mystery man" (Wilberforce) to many w failed to appreciate his point of view.

D. His success was due partly to—

(1) His keen observation.

α. He saw the probable effect of Peel's change policy on the Conservatives, and made go use of the opportunity.

β. He saw the need of reform **1867.**

γ. He saw that the Southern States of Ameri had undertaken an impossible task.

δ. He foresaw that Gladstone's Irish policy wou lead to Home Rule.

(2) His courage.

α. He never feared to attack his strongest op nents—O'Connell, Peel, Gladstone.

β. He bravely struggled against the strong prejud of those who objected to his personality or race, and against serious financial difficult which hampered him until his marriage, **1839**, with Mrs. Wyndham Lewis, the wid of his former colleague in the representat of Maidstone.

γ. He did not hesitate to adopt a policy which deemed to be wise, however great the diffic ties.

E. He was a distinguished man of letters.

Vivian Grey (**1826**) is largely autobiographical; *Coningsby* (**1844**) and *Sybil* (**1845**) he advocated monarc social democracy, and Anglicanism, and attacked

Whigs; in *Lothair* (1870), the first novel published by an ex-Prime Minister, he portrayed the aristocracy as dignified but purposeless. His novels are wonderfully clever. His characters, many representing contemporary politicians, are well drawn; but his books, though dealing with important social and political problems, had little practical effect, owing to the unreality of his "sham philosophy."

eferences:

A. *The Queen's Prime Ministers*, by Froude. (Sampson Low.)
B. *History of Our Own Times*, Vol. I, pp. 207–8; Vol. II p. 424.
C. *Coningsby*, *Sybil*, *Lothair*.

REAT BRITAIN AND EGYPT, 1875–99

European Interest in Egypt.

A. British ministers were unwilling to occupy Egypt because they did not wish to increase their territory in the Mediterranean, to rouse the jealousy of France, or to incur the heavy cost of occupation. Lord Beaconsfield strongly upheld the integrity of the Turkish Empire, which would have been impaired by the occupation of Egypt.

1883. Lord Granville promised that British troops should be withdrawn from Egypt as soon as possible.

1887. Lord Salisbury's offer to withdraw British troops within three years was rejected, owing to French opposition.

B. But Britain was greatly interested in Egypt because of its position on the route to India, because the greater part of the commerce of the Suez Canal is British, and because (November, **1875**) Lord Beaconsfield secured for the British Government the greatest interest in the Canal by buying for £4,000,000 the shares of the Khedive Ismail.

C. France since 1830 had been extending her power in th Mediterranean, and considered that the construction o the Suez Canal (opened 1869) by the French enginee De Lesseps gave her a special right to influence i Egypt, while the Great Powers of Europe claimed right to intervene in the affairs of the Turkish Empire of which Egypt formed a part.

II. **The Beginning of the British Domination in Egypt.**

A. The Khedive Ismail had borrowed largely from Europea financiers to meet the cost of his attempt to conquer th Soudan, and had reduced Egypt to bankruptcy.

B. **1879.** Re-establishment of the dual control over Egyptia finances (originally established 1876) by France an Great Britain, and deposition of Ismail in favour of h son Tewfik.

C. The rising of Arabi Bey.

(1) This rising was partly military, due to the failure the Khedives to pay their soldiers. It was also national movement, due to the objection of the Egyp tians to the use of national revenues to pay foreig bond-holders and to the employment of some twel hundred foreign officials under the dual control. Arab who demanded "Egypt for the Egyptians," secure the dismissal of the foreign officials, and (June, 188 seized Alexandria, where fifty Europeans were kille

(2) Armed intervention.

France and Italy refused to intervene, and Britai impatient of the "diplomatic futilities" of the powe and anxious for the safety of the Suez Canal, dete mined to restore order by force. Consequent resigna tion from the Cabinet of John Bright.

July 11, 1882. A British squadron, under Admir Sir Beauchamp Seymour, bombarded Alexandria. Th city burned by Arabi before evacuation.

September 13, 1882. Sir Garnet Wolseley route

Arabi and crushed the military insurrection at Tel-el-Kebir. Arabi exiled to Ceylon.

(3) The question of evacuation.

(*a*) Gladstone and some of the Liberals desired to evacuate Egypt and the Foreign Secretary, Lord Granville (Ia), promised to withdraw British troops when possible.

(*b*) But her intervention had made Great Britain responsible for the good government of Egypt and immediate evacuation was impossible, although the jealousy of France (especially of the Ferry ministry appointed February, 1883), made it impossible for Britain to secure permanent control. But—

α. The dual control was abolished (November, 1882);

β. Major Evelyn Baring was appointed Consul-General.

II. **The Soudan.**

A. **1877–9.** Charles George Gordon,[1] Governor-General of the Soudan. He put down the slave trade and kept order. After his recall the Soudan was badly governed by corrupt Egyptian officials.

B. The Mahdi.

(1) January, **1883.** Mahommed Ahmed, the "Mahdi,"[2] conquered Kordofan. Willing submission of the Soudanese, owing to Egyptian misgovernment.

(2) November 5th, **1883.** Annihilation of Hicks Pasha's Egyptian army in the Soudan.

α. The British Government weakly disclaimed responsibility for this expedition (which was actually dispatched by the Khedive), but ought to have prevented it.

β. This disaster caused great unrest in Egypt and made immediate evacuation impossible.

[1] Nicknamed "Chinese Gordon," from his success in crushing the Taiping Rebellion, 1864.

[2] i.e. the Messiah who was to appear before the last judgment.

C. Gordon and Khartoum.

(1) Owing to a financial crisis, due to heavy indemnity for riots at Alexandria and the cost of the Soudan campaign, Baring compelled the Khedive to agree to abandon the Soudan, after the Egyptian garrisons at Khartoum and elsewhere, now threatened by the victorious Mahdi, had been withdrawn.

(2) January, **1884.** Gordon sent by Lord Granville to withdraw the garrisons and ensure the abandonment of the Soudan. At Cairo he was appointed by the Khedive Governor-General of the Soudan, and on arriving at Khartoum (February 18) he resolved not to withdraw the garrisons, but to establish a settled government and to "smash the Mahdi." The British Government ought either—

α. To have recalled him for disobeying instructions, or

β. To have given him the assistance of Zebehr Pasha and Turkish troops, as he requested.

(3) The fall of Khartoum.

(*a*) Gordon was besieged in Khartoum by the Mahdi.

(*b*) May 26, **1884.** The Mahdi captured Berber thus making a relief expedition via Suakin impossible.

(*c*) The Government had promised to relieve Gordon but delayed action, ultimately sending an expedition under Lord Wolseley, in August, up the Nile, and not across the desert, as some advised.

(*d*) Sir Herbert Stewart, sent by Wolseley by a short cut across the desert, routed the Arabs at Abu Klea on January 17, **1885,** but was mortally wounded January 19. His successor, Sir Charles Wilson, arrived in sight of Khartoum on January 28, two days after Gordon had been slain, after holding out for 317 days.

The death of Gordon, whose bravery and saintly character had made him a popular hero, caused great indignation against the ministry. But Gordon had endangered his own life by persisting in remaining in Khartoum, in spite of his instructions ("I own to having been very insubordinate to Her Majesty's Government"—Gordon's Diary), and by refusing to escape from Khartoum by the southern route, which remained open for a long time. The ministry's chief mistakes were in the original selection as their agent of Gordon, whose impulsive character made him unwilling to obey orders, and in their failure to send speedy relief.

. The Conquest of the Soudan.

A. From **1885** to **1896** the British Government, which had withdrawn its troops from the Soudan, maintained a defensive attitude on the Egyptian frontier, its outposts being Suakin and Wady Halfa.

B. Many Englishmen considered that the withdrawal from the Soudan impaired the national honour; there was a desire that "Gordon should be avenged," and there was continual danger of attack from the Soudan on Egypt. By **1896** the prospect of conquering the Soudan had improved.

α. The Egyptian army, which had been made efficient largely by British non-commissioned officers, was strengthened by a considerable number of British troops.

β. The Soudan Military Railway, the deadliest weapon that Britain has used against Mahdism, was commenced. It started at Wady Halfa, and was extended to Abu Hamed in **1897**. ("The journey to Berber now took a day instead of weeks.")

γ. The British Government promised financial assistance.

C. The Conquest.

September, **1896**. Occupation of Dongola.

September, **1897**. Occupation of Berber.

April, **1898**. Defeat of the Dervishes at Atbara.

September 2, **1898**. The army of the Khalifa, th Mahdi's successor, which displayed the utmost bravery was utterly routed, with a loss of 11,000 killed, by Si Herbert Kitchener at Omdurman.

September 2, **1898**. Khartoum occupied.

November, **1899**. The Khalifa defeated and sla by Sir Reginald Wingate, who had succeeded Kitchene as Sirdar.

The campaign of **1898** was carried out with gre military skill and remarkable administrative ability. I successful issue restored British self-respect and gave Egypt the security necessary for internal development.

D. Fashoda.

(1) "The effective control of the Nile is essential to t existence of Egypt" (Cromer), and in **1895** S Edward Grey had stated in the House of Commo that "any attempt to encroach upon the Nile valle would be regarded as an unfriendly act."

(2) July, **1898**. The French flag hoisted at Fashoda the Nile, about 300 miles above Khartoum, by Maj Marchand, who had marched with a small force fro the Congo. His action threatened the "effective co trol of the Nile" by Great Britain.

(3) Kitchener, whose victory at Omdurman had save Marchand's force from destruction by the Dervishe occupied Fashoda, but carefully abstained from a attack on Marchand, whose position became untenabl

(4) November, **1898**. Owing to Lord Salisbury's firmne the French Government directed Marchand to wit draw from Fashoda, and thus the danger of war b tween France and Great Britain was averted.

E. The settlement of the Soudan, January, 1899.

(1) The joint sovereignty of Great Britain and Egypt proclaimed over the Soudan.

(2) Equal privileges of trade and commerce in the Soudan granted to all comers, irrespective of nationality.

(3) The foundation of the Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum by Kitchener (created Lord Kitchener of Khartoum) showed the determination of its conquerors to promote the best interests of the Soudan.

eferences :

A. *The Life of Lord Granville*, by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Vol. II, chaps. VII., IX., XI. (Longmans.)
Modern Egypt, by Lord Cromer, chap. LXII. (Macmillan.)

C. *With Kitchener to Khartoum*, by Steevens, especially chaps. II., III., VI., XXXII., XXXIII. (Blackwood.)
The Four Feathers, by A. E. W. Mason.

HOME RULE

The Beginning of the Home Rule Movement.

A. The overthrow of Fenianism, which had aimed at the complete separation of Ireland from Great Britain, was followed by the growth of the idea of Home Rule and the Home Government Association was founded in 1870. The new movement was a compromise between close union and complete separation. It aimed at the establishment of a separate Parliament for Ireland. It was strengthened by—

(1) The growing belief that Englishmen did not understand the real conditions of Ireland, and by the recognition of the fact that the conditions of party government in England made it impossible for the Parliament to follow out a consistent Irish policy.

(2) The continuance of agrarian discontent in Ireland and the failure of the Land Act of **1870** to prevent evictions and ensure amicable relations between landlord and tenant. This was the main cause of the foundation of the Land League, **1879.**

(3) The growth of national feeling in Ireland.

(4) The distrust of the British Parliament felt by many Irish Protestants owing to the disestablishment of the Irish Church and the Land Act.

(5) **1874.** The renewal of the Coercion Bills.

B. Charles Stewart Parnell and Parliamentary Obstruction.

(1) Parnell (**1846–91**), although a Protestant and a landlord, became the "uncrowned king" of Ireland and the leader of the Roman Catholic tenantry, with whose sufferings he strongly sympathised. He was a bitter foe of England which he regarded as the enemy of Ireland. He was a brilliant party organiser but had little constructive ability. Although his manners were cold and haughty, and he lacked moral sensibility, he succeeded in making Home Rule the most pressing political problem of his later years.

(2) Isaac Butt, M.P. for Limerick, was the original leader of the Irish Home Rulers, who numbered fifty-eight in the House of Commons in **1874.** He failed to convince Parliament of the need of serious treatment of the Home Rule Question, and in **1877** was succeeded in the leadership by Parnell, to whose policy of obstruction he was strongly opposed.

(3) Obstruction.

Parnell and his friends determined to "obstruct" other business until the Irish Question had received full attention. He gained his object at the expense of the dignity of the House of Commons.

α. July 2, 1877. O'Connor Power, supported by only eight members, compelled the House to divide seventeen times on the Army Reserve Force Bill.

β. February 2, 1881. After the "forty-one hours' debate" on Forster's Coercion Bill Speaker Brand checked obstruction and ended the debate by putting the question on his own authority.

γ. February 3, 1881. Thirty-six Irish members suspended for obstruction.

C. The foundation of the Land League, 1879.

(1) The failure of the Land Act of 1870 to prevent evictions, the failure of the potato crop, and the excessive rain in 1879 led Michael Davitt, assisted by Parnell, to found the Land League for the relief of the Irish tenants. Its ultimate object was to replace landlords by peasant proprietors and to restore "the land to the people of Ireland." It was hoped that the abolition of landlordism would be followed by the abolition of the legislative supremacy of the British Parliament.

(2) Parnell advised tenants to offer what they considered a fair rent and, if their offer was refused, to pay no rent at all. "Rent is an immoral tax upon the industry of a people" (Davitt).

(3) The Land League, in spite of the illegality of the methods it advocated, became supreme in Ireland and led to great disorder. "Crime dogs the steps of the Land League" (Gladstone). Parnell did not directly instigate these crimes, but they were partly due to his violent language and his failure to condemn them weakened his cause in England.

II. Gladstone's Second Ministry, 1880–1885.

Gladstone sympathised with Irish grievances but was resolved to maintain "the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament." His policy aimed at repressing disorder and removing agrarian discontent.

A. Disorder and outrage.

The Land League led to repeated outrages on landlords, land agents and tenants who resisted the League. The rejection by the Lords (August, **1880**) of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill aggravated the discontent. Parnell said that any tenant who took a farm from which his predecessor had been evicted ought to be treated "as if he were a leper of old." This led to general boycotting,[1] to the mutilation of the cattle of persons hostile to the League and to several murders, e.g. that of Lord Mountmorres, September 25, **1880**.

B. Forster's Coercion Bill.

(1) October, **1880**. The trial and acquittal of Land League officials[2] showed the difficulty of checking outrage, and Forster, realising that repression of disorder must precede remedial measures, brought in the

(2) Coercion Bills, **1881**.

These authorised the Lord Lieutenant to arrest and detain in prison without trial persons suspected of agrarian outrages. The Bills became law in March **1881**, in spite of the obstruction of the Home Rulers.

C. Gladstone's Land Bill, **1881**.

A "message of peace" intended to "gratify the land hunger" of the peasants.

(1) A Land Court to be established and to fix "fair rents" for fifteen years.

[1] The name comes from Captain Boycott, a land agent of Mayo, one of the first victims.

[2] The foreman of the jury stated "we are unanimous that we cannot agree."

Rents were reduced about 25 per cent. by the Land Court, which thus acknowledged the reality of some of the tenants' grievances.

(2) Land Commissioners to assist emigration and to advance three-quarters of the purchase money to tenants wishing to buy their holdings.

Parnell regarded the Bill as inadequate, while landlords looked on it as confiscation and an undue concession to Irish tenant custom.

August, 1881. The Bill passed by the Lords with reluctance.

D. Kilmainham.

(1) October, 1881. Imprisonment of Parnell and other leaders of the Land League in Kilmainham gaol. This action due to the continuance of disorder and to Gladstone's disappointment with Parnell's attitude towards the Land Bill.

(2) "No Rent Manifesto" issued by Parnell. No rent to be paid until he was released. Increase of "Moonlighting," i.e. midnight agrarian outrages.

(3) October, 1881. Forster proclaimed the Land League as "an illegal and criminal association."

Consequent formation of secret societies, especially the "Invincibles" whose object was "the removal of obnoxious political personages."

(4) "The Kilmainham Treaty" (April, 1882).

Captain O'Shea, M.P. for Clare, intimated to Gladstone that if the question of arrears of rent were settled Parnell would be able "to co-operate cordially with the Liberal party."

Release of Parnell and his friends and resignation of the Irish Secretaryship by Forster, who "did not think it right to buy obedience to the law by concessions to law-breakers."

Many asserted that a formal agreement had bee made by Gladstone with Parnell. "The Kilmainhar Treaty." But Gladstone always denied this.

E. Phœnix Park.

(1) May 6, 1882. Murder by "Invincibles" in Phœni Park of Lord Frederick Cavendish, Forster's successo and Burke, the Under-Secretary.

(2) The Prevention of Crimes Bill was therefore passe which authorised the establishment of a special tribun of three judges to try cases without juries, extend the summary jurisdiction of magistrates, and authoris the Lord Lieutenant to "proclaim" meetings wh necessary.

F. Earl Spencer, Lord Lieutenant (May, 1882–June, 1885).

(1) August 17, 1882. Murder of five people at Maa trasna for giving information to the authorities.

(2) October, 1882. The National League founded Parnell to replace the Land League. The main obj was to promote Home Rule, not, as Davitt want land nationalisation. Parnell now thought that an in pendent Irish Parliament would soon settle the la question.

(3) January, 1883. Arrest of the Phœnix Park murdere and conviction on the evidence of James Carey, w turned informer.

Under Lord Spencer and Mr. Tr velyan, the Secr tary, there was a marked improvement in the conditi of Ireland. The "Invincibles" were broken up, pea was restored, the number of agrarian outrages great diminished. But Parnell's influence grew mo powerful.

II. **Salisbury's First Ministry, 1885.**

August, **1885.** The Ashbourne Act.

Lord Ashbourne's Act extended the land purchase scheme of **1881.** The Commissioners were empowered to advance all the purchase money except one-fifth. The Act proved successful and enabled many tenants to purchase their holdings in all parts of Ireland.

V. **The First Home Rule Bill, 1886.**

A. Gladstone adopts Home Rule.

(1) After the General Election of December, **1885,** the Parnellites held the balance between Liberals and Conservatives. Their growing influence was shown by the fact that Ireland returned eighty-five Parnellites and no Liberals.

(2) Gladstone saw that his previous policy of combining coercion and conciliation had failed to solve the Irish Question, and, influenced by the result of the elections, resolved, contrary to his previous opinion, to give Ireland an independent Parliament.

B. April 8, **1886.** Gladstone introduced his Home Rule Bill, which provided—

(1) That an Irish Parliament consisting of an Upper and a Lower House should be established at Dublin with authority over the Irish executive and the control of most local taxation and (ultimately) of the police;

(2) That no Irish members or Irish representative peers should sit at Westminster;

(3) That the Imperial Parliament should deal with questions affecting the Crown, Army, Navy, Colonies, Foreign Policy, Customs, and Excise;

(4) That the Protestant religion should be safeguarded in Ireland;

(5) That Ireland should contribute one-fifteenth to imperial charges.

C. Land Bill.

Gladstone also brought in a Land Bill, by which the State was empowered to purchase land from the landlords and to resell it to tenants.

D. Opposition.

The Bills aroused great opposition. Gladstone had not properly prepared his party for the measure which Randolph Churchill declared to be the work of "an old man in a hurry." The Queen strongly objected to Home Rule, and Hartington, Goschen, Chamberlain and Bright refused to support the measure. The opposition was not, as Gladstone asserted, due solely to "the spirit and power of class," and derived great strength from the number of men of intellectual eminence who supported it—e.g. Huxley, Tyndall, Tennyson, Browning, Lecky, Froude and Herbert Spencer. The reasons for opposition were—

(1) The weakening of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. Bright, adopting Gladstone's words, said that he was "marching through rapine to the dismemberment of the United Kingdom";

(2) Doubt of the ability of the Irish, in view of recent disorder and outrages, to govern themselves;

(3) The belief that the Roman Catholics would become predominant—"Home Rule means Rome Rule";

(4) The fear that the Ulster loyalists would be unjustly treated;

(5) The heavy cost of the proposed land purchase scheme;

(6) The belief that the Act of Union must be religiously preserved;

(7) The idea that if Irishmen were unrepresented at Westminster, it was unjust to compel them to pay any taxes levied by the Imperial Parliament. "No taxation without representation."

E. Rejection of the Bill.

June 8, 1886. The Government defeated on the Second Reading by 343 votes (including 93 Liberals) to 313. The largest vote on record.

July 20, 1886. Resignation of Gladstone.

Salisbury's Second Ministry, August, 1886–August, 1892.

Hitherto the Irish policy of the Conservatives had been, in spite of the Ashbourne Act, 1885, mainly repressive. But now, while Balfour (Chief Secretary for Ireland, March, 1887–October, 1891) put down disorder with a firm hand, the Conservatives, influenced by their new allies, the Liberal Unionists, adopted a more conciliatory policy and favoured the establishment of small peasant proprietors.

A. The Plan of Campaign.

(1) The Plan of Campaign (instituted October 21, 1886) was due to the rejection of the Home Rule Bill and of Parnell's Tenant Relief Bill and to severe agricultural depression.

(2) By the Plan the tenants on each estate were instructed to offer their landlord what they considered to be a fair rent. If their offer was refused the rent was to be used to meet the expenses of the Land War.

(3) December 18, 1886. The Plan of Campaign declared illegal.

B. Balfour's repressive policy.

(1) The Criminal Law Amendment Act (July, 1887).

Passed owing to the attempt to enforce the Plan of Campaign. It gave the Lord Lieutenant power to declare leagues illegal and allowed the trials of persons accused of crime to be conducted in England if necessary.

Strong opposition. The Act carried by the use of "the guillotine."

(2) Mitchelstown.

September 9, **1887**. One person killed, tw mortally wounded in an affray with police a Mitchelstown. A verdict of wilful murder returne by the jury against an inspector and three constable The Government refused to prosecute.

(3) O'Brien's breeches.

October, **1887**. Imprisonment of O'Brien, who wa compelled to wear prison dress. Great excitemen about "O'Brien's breeches." The incident importan because it showed Balfour's determination to trea political offences as ordinary offences against the law.

(4) Gladstone, who now made Home Rule the great obje of his life and thereby weakened the effective pow of the Liberal Party, attacked "the pestilent declar tions of Mr. Balfour" with undue vehemence. H advice "Remember Mitchelstown" aggravated feeling.

(5) Partly owing to the enforcement of the Criminal La Amendment Act, partly to the efforts of the Pope an Roman Catholic priests to check disorder, and part to the hope of better treatment due to Balfour's lat conciliatory measures, there was a marked decrease crime, although outrages continued.

January, **1890**. The stringency of the Crimes A relaxed.

C. Parnellism and crime.

(1) April 18, **1887**. The *Times* published, in a series letters on Parnellism and Crime in which it tried show the responsibility of Irish members for La League outrages, a facsimile letter by Parnell, dat May 15, **1882**, in which he said that Burke (pa 944) "got no more than his deserts."

(2) August, 1888. Appointment by Parliament of the Parnell Commission (Justices Hannen, Day, and Smith) to investigate—

α. The accuracy of the facsimile letter;

β. The share of sixty-five Irish members in the work of the Land League.

(3) February 23, 1889. Confession of Richard Pigott, owing to Sir Charles Russell's cross-examination, that he had forged the letter. March 1. Suicide of Pigott in Madrid.

(4) February 13, 1890. The Commissioners reported—

α. That the facsimile letter was a forgery and that Parnell had not approved of murder;

β. That Irish members had entered into a conspiracy against the payment of agricultural rent, did incite to intimidation but not to crimes other than intimidation.

D. Disgrace and death of Parnell.

(1) November, 1890. Divorce of Mrs. O'Shea. Parnell the co-respondent.

(2) Decision of Gladstone, largely owing to strong pressure from Scottish Presbyterians and English Nonconformists, that he could no longer co-operate with Parnell.

(3) Break-up of the Nationalist Party, the majority accepting the leadership of Justin McCarthy; the Parnellite minority led by John Redmond.

(4) October 6, 1891. Death of Parnell.

E. Balfour's conciliatory measures.

Balfour's influence had been greatly strengthened by the failure of the Plan of Campaign (especially on Mr. Smith Barry's estate in Tipperary, 1891) and by the break-up of the Nationalist Party. The diminution in crime enabled him to adopt conciliatory measures.

(1) **1890.** He had relaxed the stringency of the Crimes Act.

(2) He had done much to relieve the exceptional distress of the winter of **1890–91.**

(3) Balfour's Land Purchase Bill, **1890.**

Its main object was to promote the extension of peasant proprietorship, and it provided :—

α. That a Central Department should be established to deal with all land questions, especially the price of land ;

β. That the Government should advance to purchasers of land the total price, which was to be repaid in forty-nine years ;

γ. That a Congested Districts Board should be established to deal with areas in which the population was too thick and the holdings too small to justify an attempt to make every tenant a peasant proprietor. This Board to promote industry, to assist emigration, and to combine small holdings into one large enough to make peasant proprietorship successful.

The Bill became law December, **1890**, and formed a fitting conclusion to Mr. Balfour's work which, in spite of the strong opposition aroused by his coercive policy had proved a distinct success.

VI. The Second Home Rule Bill, 1893.

A. The General Election of **1892** had resulted in the formation of Gladstone's fourth ministry. Owing to the support of eighty-one Nationalist members, the Liberals had a majority of forty over Conservatives and Liberal Unionists.

B. This Bill differed from that of **1886** in providing that eighty Irish members should sit in the Imperial Parliament with the right of voting on all questions except those concerning Great Britain alone. "The in-and-out clauses."

C. Gladstone, in deference to the wish of the majority, removed all restrictions on the voting power of the Irish members. The Bill aroused fierce opposition, which on July 27, **1893**, led to blows, and was carried by a majority of thirty-four, after repeated applications of the "guillotine" (September 1, **1893**).

D. The Lords threw out the Bill because of the small majority it had secured in the Commons, of their sympathy with Ulster and Irish landlords, of the use of the guillotine, and of their belief that it owed its success in the Commons not to the general support of the nation but to Gladstone's remarkable personal influence. Gladstone, denying the right of the Lords to force a dissolution (page 964), refused to dissolve at once, and passed several measures (e.g. the Parish Councils Bill) before resigning office, March 3, **1894**. Lord Rosebery, the new Prime Minister, though favourable to Home Rule, thought that before it was finally granted "England will have to be convinced of its justice," and it ceased to be, what Gladstone had made it, the leading question of British politics.

References:

A. *History of England*, by Bright. Period IV, pp. 555–64; Period V, pp. 3–32, 83–111, 122–35. (Longmans.)

Life of Lord Russell of Killowen, by O'Brien, "The Parnell Commission," chap. XII. (Nelson.)

GLADSTONE'S SECOND MINISTRY,
April, 1880, to June, 1885

Prime Minister, and Chancellor of the Exchequer to December, 1882, Gladstone; Foreign Secretary, Earl Granville; President of the Board of Trade, J. Chamberlain; Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Earl Spencer, 1882; Chief Secretary for Ireland, W. E Forster, to May, 1882, then Lord Frederick Cavendish, then Trevelyan; Secretary for India, Lord Hartington; Under Foreign Secretary, Sir Charles Dilke.

Gladstone originally intended to form a Whig ministry, but was compelled to give offices to Chamberlain and Dilke owing to the growing power of the Radicals. Chamberlain said he preached "the gospel of political humanity"; he supported trades unionism, direct taxation, and the cause of the labourer. On June 13, 1883, he publicly advocated Disestablishment, manhood suffrage, payment of members and free education, and on March 30, 1883, he made, in an attack on the House of Lords, his famous statement, "They toil not, neither do they spin." He was the champion of the New Radicalism (due partly to the extension of the franchise), and by establishing in many towns a Liberal caucus he had materially contributed to the recent victory. But he was not very acceptable to many of the Whigs, who objected to his democratic policy.

The Fourth Party,[1] led by Lord Randolph Churchill, included Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, Sir John Gorst, and often Mr. Arthur Balfour. Churchill was the apostle of Tory democracy, and had a real sympathy with popular government. He tried to win over the working men by a policy of social reform and the Parnellites by denouncing coercion. He followed Beaconsfield, but strongly opposed the "Old Gang," Northcote, Cross and Smith. The new "Fourth Party" stood in much the same relation to the Conservatives as the Radicals did to the Liberals.

[1] The other three parties were the Liberals, Conservatives, and Nationalists.

Afghanistan (page 922).

A. Maiwand. Roberts' march to Candahar. Evacuation of Candahar. Gladstone's "policy of scuttle" (Beaconsfield) was generally approved, and both parties recognised the independence of the Amir and the necessity of maintaining friendly relations with him.

The Transvaal (page 1006).

1881. Majuba. Independence of the Transvaal recognised.

The Irish Question (page 942).

Irish Land Act, **1881**; No Rent Manifesto, **1881**; murder of Burke and Cavendish, **1882**; Crimes Act, **1882**. Success of Lord Spencer's administration.

Egypt (page 934).

1882. Rising of Arabi; July, bombardment of Alexandria; September 13, Tel-el-Kebir.

1884. Gordon sent to Khartoum.

1885. January 26. Death of Gordon.

1885. March. The London Convention effected a satisfactory settlement of the Egyptian finances.

1884. The Third Reform Act (page 877).

Domestic History.

A. Bradlaugh.

(1) **1880.** Charles Bradlaugh, M.P. for Northampton, a professed atheist, claimed the right of affirming his allegiance instead of taking an oath which would have had no binding effect on his conscience.

(2) **1881.** The judges declared his claim illegal.

(3) **1882.** Re-election of Bradlaugh and his expulsion from Parliament.

(4) **1883.** The Affirmation Bill (legalising affirming) thrown out, largely owing to the opposition of Churchill and the Fourth Party, and in spite of a great speech from Gladstone (April 26), who protested against making any "distinctions between man and man on the ground of religious difference."

B. **1880.** The Burials Act

Removed a Nonconformist grievance by allowing burials in parish churchyards without any service or with any orderly form the mourners chose.

C. **1881.** Education made compulsory by Mr. Mundella's Bill.

D. **1880.** The Repeal of the Malt Tax, the Ground Game Act, **1880** (which allowed tenants to kill ground game) and the Agricultural Holdings Act, **1883** (which gave the tenant compensation for unexhausted improvements), pleased the farmers.

E. **1883.** Chamberlain's Bankruptcy Act appointed official receivers to control insolvent estates.

F. **1883.** The Corrupt Practices Act fixed a limit for election expenses in proportion to the number of voters, and did much to check bribery and corruption.

VII. **Foreign Policy.**

The ministry owed its majority partly to opposition to Beaconsfield's aggressive policy, but, except in Afghanistan, there was no important change of policy.

A. The assertion of the Treaty of Berlin (page 918).

The Sultan had not carried out those provisions of the Treaty of Berlin which provided for the extension of the frontiers of Montenegro and Greece, and for the introduction of reforms into Armenia. The ministry wished to revive the Concert of Europe and to compel the Turks to keep their promises. Mr. Goschen was sent as Envoy Extraordinary to Constantinople.

(1) Montenegro, 1881.

The powers demanded that Dulcigno, now occupied by Albanians, should be ceded to Montenegro. The Sultan refused, and therefore (September, 1881) a naval demonstration was made off the coast of Albania by Sir Beauchamp Seymour. The demonstration was ineffective, but the Sultan, fearing that the British would seize the Customs at Smyrna, yielded.

November, 1881. Dulcigno ceded to Montenegro.

(2) Greece.

Goschen and the other ambassadors compelled the Sultan to give Thessaly and part of Epirus to Greece, August, 1881.

But Turkey retained the strong fortress of Janina.

(3) Thus Goschen had maintained the Concert of the Powers, kept the peace of Europe, and enforced the Treaty of Berlin.

B. Russia and Afghanistan, 1885.

(1) British prestige had been impaired by the fall of Khartoum (January 26, 1885), and the Russians therefore continued their advance towards Afghanistan.

(2) March, 1885. The Russians defeated the Afghans at Penjdeh and seized the town, which they claimed as part of Asiatic Russia, although the British asserted that it belonged to Afghanistan.

(3) Both English parties accepted the principle of the independence of Afghanistan, and Gladstone, with the support of the Conservatives, prepared for war. But the dispute was referred to arbitration and settled without war.

C. New Guinea.

1883. Derby (Colonial Secretary) disallowed the seizure of part of New Guinea by Queensland.

1884. December. Germany obtained part of Northern New Guinea. The Government, wishing to secure

the support of Germany for their Egyptian policy, assented to this extension of German power, and also to the annexation by Germany of Samoa and Angra Pequena (in South-West Africa). The action of the Government was strongly resented in Australia.

D. The Berlin Conference (concluded February, **1885**)

(1) Provided for the free navigation of the Congo and Niger.

(2) Established the Congo Free State as the personal property of King Leopold, not as a Belgian colony.

VIII. **General.**

June 8, **1885.** Gladstone resigned owing to an adverse vote on the Budget. The Irish voted against the Government.

The beginning of the break-up of the Liberal party.

(1) Gladstone's personal influence tended to keep the party together. The Nonconformists now supported him, partly owing to his championship of the Eastern Christians. Household suffrage gained the support of many of the labourers. But divisions were gradually appearing.

(2) Owing to the extension of the franchise the extreme Radicals, led by Chamberlain, became more powerful and these were strongly opposed to the Whigs.

(3) Strong differences appeared as to Irish policy. Hartington objected to interference with the landlords. Forster wanted coercion, Chamberlain advocated local government.

(4) Gladstone, who believed that the Colonies should be left alone, had little sympathy with Imperialism (of which Rosebery was a strong supporter).

References:

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The Political History of England, 1837–1901, chaps. xv, xvi. (Longmans.)

C. *The Broken Road*, by A. E. W. Mason.

LORD SALISBURY'S FIRST MINISTRY, 1885–6

Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, Lord Salisbury; Lord ieutenant of Ireland, Lord Carnarvon; Secretary for India, andolph Churchill.

The work of the Foreign Office, which Salisbury directed most uccessfully, was so arduous that he was unable to give due atten- on to the control of his party. The Fourth Party now became owerful. Churchill became leader of the Commons, and Gorst nd Balfour obtained office.

The Government secured for a time the support of the Parnell- es owing partly to the influence of Carnarvon, who favoured separate Irish parliament. But the Irish support was unreliable, nd Chamberlain called the Government a "government of care- kers."

Ireland (page 945).

1885. Lord Ashbourne's Act.

. **Burma.**

November 28, **1885.** Capture of Mandalay, the capital of Upper Burma, because King Theebaw refused to accept a British resident and desired to enter into close relations with the French, whose growing power in Further India seemed to threaten British interests. The country was annexed in **1886**, but, owing to the opposition of the Dacoits, was not finally conquered until **1889**.

I. **Bradlaugh.**

January, **1886.** Speaker Brand refused to admit any valid objection to the taking of the oath of allegiance by any lawfully elected M.P. Bradlaugh took his seat in the Commons.

IV. **The Fall of the Government.**

A. December 17, **1885.** Publication, on the information of Herbert Gladstone, in the *Standard* and *Leeds Mercury*, of a scheme for Home Rule adopted by his father. The Parnellites therefore tended to support Gladstone.

B. January, **1886.** Resignation of the Government after Jesse Collings, supported by the Irish, had carried an amendment regretting the absence from the Queen's Speech of mention of measures for the relief of the agricultural labourers. The "three acres and a cow" amendment.

GLADSTONE'S THIRD MINISTRY, FEBRUARY TO AUGUST, 1886

A. The first Home Rule Parliament (page 945) was the most barren Parliament of the reign.

B. Gladstone's success at the elections was due to the support of the agricultural labourers, which outweighed the opposition of the towns.

C. The Whigs (Hartington, Goschen, Selborne, Derby, Northbrook and Forster) refused to take office, and combined to form the Liberal Unionist party, which was inaugurated at a meeting in Her Majesty's Theatre, at which Earl Cowper (formerly a Liberal Lord Lieutenant) took the chair and Salisbury and Hartington appeared on the same platform.

D. Ninety-three Liberals voted against the Bill, and the Liberal party was wrecked.

LORD SALISBURY'S SECOND MINISTRY, 1886–92

Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury; Chancellor of the Exchequer, ord Randolph Churchill, and, from January 4, 1887, Goschen; oreign Secretary, Lord Iddesleigh,[1] and from 1889 Salisbury; hief Secretary for Ireland, Sir M. Hicks-Beach, and, from March, 887, to October, 1891, A. J. Balfour.

The Settlement of Parties.

A. The Liberal Unionists.[2]

(1) The seventy-eight Liberal Unionist members held the balance of power, but, while at first refusing to take any office, supported Lord Salisbury, who had offered to serve under Hartington. But Salisbury recognised the need of making concessions to the Unionists in order to ensure the continuance of the Union, and this Parliament marked the end of the old ultra-Conservative party and the adoption of a more Liberal policy somewhat on the lines of the Tory Democracy advocated by Churchill.

(2) There seemed some chance of reconciliation between Liberals and Unionists.

(*a*) A "Round Table Conference" met at Sir William Harcourt's house but failed to ensure agreement, possibly owing partly to growing personal antipathy between Gladstone and Chamberlain.

(*b*) February, 1887. Chamberlain's letter to the *Baptist*, in which he stated that "British reforms are delayed by Irish obstruction," made the division permanent.

December, 1891. Hartington succeeded his father as Duke of Devonshire. Chamberlain leader of the Unionists in the Commons.

Sir Stafford Northcote.

The terms Separatists (which the Liberals repudiated) and Unionists ear to have been first used by Churchill.

(3) The first Unionist to take office in a Conservative Ministry was Mr. Goschen, who succeeded Lord Randolph Churchill as Chancellor of the Exchequer January, **1887**.

B. The "Fourth Party."

Lord Randolph Churchill had proved an excellent leader of the House of Commons and a successful platform speaker. As Chancellor of the Exchequer he favoured economy and, thinking himself indispensable to the ministry, resigned owing to the increase in the naval and military estimates. But he "forgot Goschen," who became Chancellor. Churchill's career was not practically ended.

II. **Ireland** (page 947).

1886. Plan of Campaign.

1887. Balfour Chief Secretary; Irish Land Act; "Parnellism and Crime"; Mitchelstown.

1890. Report of Commission on Parnellism and Crime; disgrace of Parnell; split in the Irish Party; Irish Land Purchase Bill.

III. **Egypt** (page 937).

1889. Grenfell defeated the Dervishes at Toski.

February 19, **1891.** Osman Digna routed at Toka; re-occupation of Tokar; beginning of advance towards the Soudan.

IV. **Domestic Policy.**

A. The Tithe Bill—

Transferred the actual payment of tithes from the tenant to the landlord (who had practically paid them before).

B. Bradlaugh.

1888. The Oaths Bill allowed members to make an affirmation of allegiance instead of taking an oath.

C. The $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cents.

March, 1888. Goschen created a new stock bearing interest for fifteen years at $2\frac{3}{4}$ and afterwards at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and by the reduction in interest (previously 3 per cent) saved the country £1,400,000 a year for fifteen years, and subsequently £2,800,000 a year.

D. The Local Government Act, 1888.

(1) Sixty County Councils to consist of councillors elected by household suffrage for three years and aldermen elected by the councillors.

α. The corporations of boroughs with more than 50,000 inhabitants to act as borough councils independent of their county.

β. London to be a separate county, but—

1. The City to retain its own rights and to be governed by the corporation;

2. The London police to remain subject to the Home Office.

(2) The County Councils to discharge the administrative duties previously undertaken by the magistrates, including the management of roads, bridges, drains, and general county business. But the control of the county police was vested in a joint committee of magistrates and councillors, and quarter sessions of magistrates retained their judicial powers.

(3) The Act thus substituted for administrative purposes County Councils elected by ratepayers for county magistrates nominated by Lords Lieutenant. It is an excellent example of the Liberal Conservatism due to the union of Liberal Unionists and Conservatives.

1889. The Act extended to Scotland.

E. Education.

(1) **1890.** The Local Taxation Act gave the proceeds[1] o a new tax on beer and spirits to County Councils fo technical education.

(2) **1891.** Free education in elementary schools (page 1047) Another example of Liberal Conservatism.

V. **Foreign Policy. The Partition of Africa.**

A. British companies had been formed recently to open u Africa.

(1) **1886.** The Royal Niger Company.

(2) September, **1888.** The East Africa Company secure rights over the country from Zanzibar to Victor Nyanza.

(3) October, **1889.** The British South Africa Company was formed to work concessions made to Rhodes b Lobengula, King of the Matabele.

B. Germany.

(1) Germany was anxious to extend her colonial empir had secured territory in East Africa, and claimed th Hinterland[3] of Zanzibar, in which the East Afri Company had secured important concessions.

(2) June, **1890.**

Salisbury and Caprivi,[4] the German Chancello agreed that Germany should abandon her claims Uganda and the Upper Nile, and should recognise th protectorate of Great Britain over Zanzibar, and th Great Britain should cede Heligoland to Germany.

a. Great Britain thus secured Nyassaland a Uganda.

[1] The "whisky money."
[2] The Chartered Company.
[3] i.e. the country lying behind an occupied coast-line.
[4] William II had "dropped the pilot," Bismarck, March 17, 1890.

β. There was some objection to the cession of Heligoland, but the island was of little value to Great Britain although valuable to Germany as it commanded the entrance to the Kiel Canal and could be used as a coaling station.

C. Portugal.

(1) The Portuguese, who claimed much of South Africa owing to the discoveries of fifteenth-century navigators, made an inroad on British settlements south of the Zambesi.

(2) **1890.** By a treaty with Portugal, Salisbury secured the recognition of British sovereignty up to the Zambesi and the free navigation of the Zambesi.

D. France.

1890. A treaty with France provided that Great Britain should recognise the French protectorate over Madagascar and the supremacy of France in the French Congo and the Sahara; that France should recognise the British protectorate over Zanzibar and the supremacy in the Haussa States which the extension of the Royal Niger Company had secured for Great Britain.

E. Some critics considered that British interests had been sacrificed, but the difficulties in Egypt made it necessary to maintain friendly relations with European States (especially France and Germany) which had the power to aggravate these difficulties; Salisbury's policy of "prudent bargain and constant concession" prevented European war on account of African territory.

eferences:

A. *History of England, 1880–1901*, by Bright, chap. IV. (Longmans.)

Life of Lord Randolph Churchill, by Winston Churchill.

GLADSTONE'S FOURTH MINISTRY, 1892–4

Prime Minister, Gladstone; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir William V. Harcourt; Secretary for War, Sir H. Campbell Bannerman; Secretary for Ireland, J. Morley.

September, **1891.** The Liberals had accepted the unwieldy "Newcastle Programme" (which included Welsh and Scottish Disestablishment, Local Veto, and the limitation of hours of labour), and thus alienated the Established Church, the liquor interest and many employers. Gladstone's interest was confined to Home Rule, and he was unfavourable to Welsh Disestablishment.

For the first time representatives of the Independent Labour Party (John Burns, Keir Hardie, and two others) were returned to Parliament.

I. 1893. **The Second Home Rule Bill was passed by the Commons and rejected by the Lords** (page 950).

But Gladstone, denying the right of the House of Lords to force a dissolution, refused to dissolve, as he felt bound to try to pass part of the "Newcastle Programme."

II. 1893. **The Matabele War.**

Defeat of Lobengula, who had attacked the Mashonas, a tribe friendly to Great Britain. Capture of Buluwayo. Matabeleland placed under the authority of the Chartered Company.

III. 1893. **The Employers' Liability Bill**

Increased the liability of employers for injuries to workmen. The Lords insisted on allowing workmen to "contract out" from the advantages of the Bill if they wished. Gladstone therefore withdrew the Bill.

V. **1894. The Parish Councils Act.**

(1) District Councils to be appointed to administer the poor law and act as the sanitary authority.

(2) Parish Councils to be elected in all villages with more than three hundred inhabitants and to act as "secular vestries" with the power of enforcing rights of way, of preventing enclosures, of managing parochial charities which were not ecclesiastical.

(3) The Councils, for which women were eligible, to be elected on a very wide suffrage.

The Bill passed the Commons, and the Liberal Unionist peers ensured its passage through the Lords in spite of the opposition of some Conservatives.

(4) The Parish Councils Act was a complement to the Local Government Act of 1888. These laws have "made England a self-governing country in all the lesser details of ordinary life," and have tended to promote union and sympathy between different classes, especially in the country districts.

. **Retirement of Gladstone.**

March 1, **1894.** Gladstone's last speech in the House of Commons consisted largely of a strong protest against the opposition of the Lords to the Parish Councils Bill. He resigned March 3, not entirely because of age, failure of hearing and eyesight and the impossibility of carrying his Irish policy, but largely owing to his objection to the increase in the Naval Estimates caused by the desire to keep pace with the growing navies of other powers. The Queen, who had little sympathy with Gladstone's policy, showed her feeling by neglecting to consult him as to the choice of his successor, and offered the premiership to Lord Rosebery, March 3, **1894.**

LORD ROSEBERY, PRIME MINISTER, MARCH, 1894, TO JUNE, 1895

The Liberal party, broken by the Home Rule controversy, was further weakened by the retirement of Gladstone, by the lack of union between the Imperialist Liberals who supported Rosebery and those who, like Harcourt, were more interested in social reform, by personal enmity between Rosebery and Harcourt (who was disappointed that he had not been made Prime Minister).

I. **Sir William Harcourt's Budget, April, 1894.**

A. The increased naval expenditure, due to the idea that Great Britain must maintain "a two-power standard," made increased taxation necessary.

B. Harcourt's Budget rearranged Succession Duties, which were to be paid on the whole of the estate (i.e. on real and personal property alike), according to a graduated scale, varying from 1 per cent. on property worth from £100-£500 to 8 per cent. on property worth £1,000,000.

C. This was a democratic Budget, popular with the middle and lower classes but strongly opposed by the wealthy and property owners, who were chiefly affected by the increase in taxation. This Budget carried further the work of equalising the taxes on real and personal property, initiated by Gladstone in 1853 (page 842), and accepted the principle of graduated taxation. It was carried owing to the skill and tact of Harcourt, and has proved a valuable means of increasing the revenue.

II. **"Ploughing the Sand."**

A. The Government, although feeling that the Conservative majority in the Lords would throw out Liberal measures, persisted in introducing Bills which they could not pass in the hope that the Lords by rejecting them would "fill up the cup"[1] and strengthen the demand for the abolition or alteration of their House. .

[1] The phrase is incomplete. Presumably the words "of guilt" must be added.

B. Therefore they introduced several measures, including Harcourt's Local Veto Bill and a Welsh Disestablishment Bill, none of which passed. The Government were simply "ploughing the sands" [Asquith], and their failure discredited them far more than the Lords.

II. **Resignation and Rout.**

June 21, **1895**. The Government was defeated on a snatch vote on the question of the supply of cordite for the Army, and Rosebery resigned on June 24. The General Election of **1895** completed the rout of the Liberal party, which had grown rapidly weaker since **1885**. The "Newcastle Programme" was an attempt to bind closer those who remained Liberals after the Home Rule split but it was too wide, and, in the absence of Gladstone's uniting force, proved a source of weakness rather than strength. The differences of politics and of personal feeling between Harcourt and Rosebery weakened the party further. The Liberals now "could do nothing for Ireland, and yet could do nothing without Ireland," and the nation, by returning a majority of 152 Unionists to the new Parliament (August 12, **1895**), showed that the cup of the Lords was not yet full.

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, 1809–98

Life.

1809. Born at Liverpool, son of John Gladstone,[1] a philanthropic merchant. Educated at Eton and Oxford, where he was President of the Union and in **1831** took a double first in classics and mathematics.

1832. Conservative M.P. for Newark.

1838. Published *The State in its Relation with the Church*.

[1] Created a baronet **1846**.

1841. Vice-President (**1843** President) of the Board of Trade in Peel's second ministry.

1845. Resigned owing to the Maynooth grant.

1847–65. "Peelite" M.P. for Oxford University.

1852–5. Chancellor of the Exchequer in Aberdeen's ministry.

1853. His first great Budget.

1859–66. Chancellor of the Exchequer in Palmerston and Russell's ministries.

1861. Repeal of the Paper Duties.

1866. Introduced the Reform Bill.

1865–8. M.P. for South Lancashire.

1868. Became leader of the Liberal party in succession to Russell.

1868–80. M.P. for Greenwich.

1868–74. Prime Minister for the first time.

1869. Irish Disestablishment.

1870. Irish Land Bill and Forster's Educatio Bill.

1871. Abolition of Purchase of Commission *Alabama* Commission, Ballot Bill.

1873. Unsuccessful Irish University Bill.

1875. Denounced the "Bulgarian Atrocities."

1879–80. Midlothian Campaign.

1880–5. Prime Minister for the second time.

1881. Irish Coercion Bill, Majuba, second Iris Land Bill.

1882. Arabi Pasha.

1884. Reform Bill. Gordon sent to Khartoum.

1886. Prime Minister for the third time.
Failure of the first Home Rule Bill.

1892–4. Prime Minister for the fourth time.

1893. The Lords rejected the second Home Rul Bill.

1895. Advocated intervention in Armenia.

1898. May 19. Died.

I. **His Religion.**

A. His religious evolution was from "a very narrow creed" to the "high Christian doctrine" of tolerance.

(1) **1833–8.** He opposed the abolition of religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge and the admission of Jews to Parliament. In his book on *The State in its Relation with the Church* he had asserted that it is the duty of the State to profess and maintain a religion, but he showed by voting for the Maynooth grant in **1845** that he had changed his original ideas.

(2) He disestablished the Irish Church, and accepted the principle of disestablishment for Scotland, although not for Wales.

(3) He supported measures for the relief of Nonconformists.

1871. He abolished religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge.

1880. He passed the Burials Act (page 1036).

1891. He supported a Bill to enable Roman Catholics to hold the offices of Lord Chancellor and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He probably had greater sympathy with Roman Catholics than with Protestant Nonconformists. "To the last he considered Laud a saint and a martyr. At the name of Cromwell he shuddered and passed by on the other side" (Fitzmaurice).

(4) **1851.** He voted against the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill.

(5) He supported Lord John Russell's motion to modify the parliamentary oath so as to enable Jews to sit in Parliament.

B. He was a devoted member of the Anglican Church.

(1) He was an enthusiastic supporter of the Oxford Movement and his strong adherence to the High Church party led to a rumour that he was a Roman Catholic. This rumour he formally denied.

(2) He maintained that the Church should manage its own affairs, and objected to the interference of the State in ecclesiastical questions. The more men trust "to moral force and the less to penal proceedings the better for the Church."

1850. He opposed the employment of the Privy Council as the ultimate Court of Appeal in ecclesiastical cases.

1857. He made seventy speeches against the Divorce Bill, maintaining that, as Christian marriage was not only a civil contract but "a mystery of God," it ought not to be dissolved by a civil court.

1874. He opposed the Public Worship Regulation Act on the ground that doubt was possible on many points of Anglican ritual, and that it was unwise to give to individual bishops facilities for procuring a binding legal decision in all cases of dispute.

(3) He warmly supported doctrinal instruction in schools and regarded unsectarian teaching as "glaringly partial."

C. He regarded politics as a part of Christian duty and held "that right and wrong depend upon the same set of maxims in public life and private."

1840. He said that in the Opium War "we are pursuing objects at variance with justice and religion." His acceptance of the principle of arbitration in the *Alabama* case was a recognition of the importance of right rather than might in the settlement of international disputes.

1877–9. His opposition to Turkey was largely due to his desire to protect Christians from persecution.

D. His religion deeply affected his whole life. "He was a great Christian statesman" (Salisbury), and the support of the Nonconformists, who warmly resented his attitude

towards denominational teaching, was largely due to the respect they felt for "a premier who believes in righteousness" (Spurgeon).

I. **His Political Evolution.**

A. "The rising hope of the stern unbending Tories," to 1841

(1) Macaulay's statement is largely true. His ecclesiastical views were Tory. He saw "a certain element of Antichrist in the Reform Bill." He was elected M.P. for Newark as a Protectionist.

(2) But he was a Canningite and soon adopted a Liberal attitude in commercial questions.

B. A Peelite, **1841–59**.

(1) He became a strong Free Trader and his Budgets were "Free Trade Budgets."

(2) In ecclesiastical questions he displayed growing sympathy with the voluntary principle.

(3) **1851**. His letters on the misgovernment[1] of Naples were an assertion of Liberal doctrines.

(4) **1855**. Chancellor of the Exchequer for three weeks in Palmerston's ministry. The first time he served under a Whig leader. But he was not yet definitely attached to either party, and in **1858** was invited to join Derby's Conservative ministry, to which he gave a general support.

C. A Liberal.

(1) **1859**. Although he had supported Derby on important questions he became Chancellor of the Exchequer under Palmerston. This apparent inconsistency exposed him to some adverse criticism.

(2) **1860**. The action of the Lords in rejecting the proposal to repeal the Paper Duties "had no inconsiderable share in propelling Mr. Gladstone along the paths of Liberalism" (Morley), and his support of the Reform Bill of **1866** made him for the first time a popular hero.

[1] Which he called "the negation of God erected into a system."

(3) **1865.** Defeated at Oxford and elected M.P. for South Lancashire. The Conservative traditions of Oxford no longer hampered him. He said he was "unmuzzled," and the Liberals regarded his change of constituencies as political emancipation. He now came into contact with democracy at close quarters and his first ministry (**1868–74**) represents the high water mark of Liberalism.

(4) After **1885** he lost touch with his party.

α. He never quite shook off his early Conservatism and was not in full sympathy with the new Radicalism of Chamberlain.

β. His devotion to Home Rule diverted his attention from important questions and consequently alienated many of his followers.

IV. His Importance.

A. He was one of the greatest of English financiers.

(1) His financial policy was based on Free Trade. "His charge was to make England wealthy and to diffuse that wealth, especially among the working classes." He used finance as a means of social amelioration and opened up new channels of taxation. He said that economy was "the great article in my political creed" and therefore opposed increases in military expenditure.

(2) His greatest financial achievements:—

α. **1853.** The Succession Duty, which applied the legacy duty to real property.

β. His progressive reduction of the Income Tax which fell to 2d. in **1874.**

γ. His remission of taxation on necessaries of life and on paper.

δ. The establishment of the Post Office Savings Bank (**1861**) and Post Office Annuities (**1864**

B. He was a great constructive statesman, and his remarkable administrative ability was largely employed in "working out the institutions of his country." "The spirit of improvement was incarnate in him," and he had the power of embodying great principles in legislative form.

C. His foreign policy was influenced by his strong sympathy with nationality, by his belief in the "principles of brotherhood among nations and of their sacred independence." But he "seldom carried into foreign affairs the seriousness and grasp of detail which he brought to bear upon domestic legislation and finance" (Low and Sandars), and it was asserted that owing to his desire to apply high principles to foreign politics he sometimes failed to secure for Great Britain the benefits to which she was entitled.

His Eloquence.

A. He was a great orator with "the gift and glory of words," the effect of which was increased by his melodious voice and impressive presence. He was equally successful in Parliament and on the platform. His speech on the Irish University Bill (1873) threw the House "into a mesmeric trance," and one of his most successful efforts was a speech to a crowd of from 20,000 to 30,000 people on Blackheath, October 28, 1871.

B. He was a brilliant debater.

C. Although his Budget speeches were "masterpieces of financial exposition,"

(1) He at times became obscure owing to redundancy. Disraeli once said that he "was inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity," and after he had spoken an hour on the Maynooth Grant "even friendly and sympathetic listeners were left wholly at a loss for a clue to the labyrinth."

(2) His other fault was "over-refining in words," du perhaps to a desire to present every possible aspect o the question at issue. This also led to obscurity, an the obscurity of some of his speeches was one of th reasons for the charge of casuistry which was some times brought against him.

VI. **Some Personal Characteristics.**

A. His earnestness.

(1) He was intensely in earnest and took a most seriou view of all questions. His earnestness supplied muc of the driving power that enabled him to carry h measures, but sometimes prevented him from maki due allowance for the limitations of smaller men.

(2) His eagerness to carry out his plans led him in a fe cases to adopt methods which some regarded as rath sharp practice, e.g.—

α. **1861.** The "tacking" of the Repeal of the Pap Duties to the Budget;

β. **1871.** The use of the Royal Prerogative to aboli the purchase of commissions in the Army.

γ. **1871.** The appointments of Sir Robert Colli and Rev. W. W. Harvey (page 900).

(3) His earnestness sometimes led to serious mistak through failure to appreciate the other side of t question at issue, e.g.—

α. His declaration in favour of the Confederates;

β. **1874.** His violent attack on the Pope in h pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees: "No one c become her[1] convert without renouncing h moral and mental freedom and placing h civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another

γ. His devotion to Home Rule to the exclusion other pressing questions greatly weakened h party.

[1] **The Roman Catholic Church.**

B. His courage.

Fear of strong opposition never hindered him from adopting the course which seemed to him to be right.

C. "He understood man but not men."

He had the power of influencing large masses, but was not always happy in dealing with individuals.

(1) He showed lack of tact in dealing with the rank and file of his party, did not possess the bonhomie of Palmerston and Disraeli, and lacked social popularity.

(2) He sometimes showed bad judgment in his choice of colleagues—e.g. the selection of Robert Lowe as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1868.

(3) The Queen's dislike of Gladstone was partly due to her belief that he failed to show her due consideration.

D. He was a great scholar, profoundly interested in classical literature (especially Homer) and in theology. He had a good knowledge of French, German and Italian, and Goethe and Dante were among his favourite authors. He published *Homer and the Homeric Age*, *Juventus Mundi* and an edition of Bishop Butler's works, and wrote many articles in the leading magazines.

eferences:

A. *Life of Gladstone*, by Morley, especially Book X, chap. x.
A History of Our Own Times, by McCarthy, chap. xxiv.
The Queen's Prime Ministers: Gladstone, by Russell. (Sampson Low.)
Life of Lord Cranbrook, passim.

B. *The Political History of England, 1837–1901*, p. 222. (Longmans.)

LORD SALISBURY'S THIRD MINISTRY, JUNE, 1895, TO JULY, 1902

Prime Minister, and until 1900 Foreign Secretary, the Marqui of Salisbury; First Lord of the Treasury, A. J. Balfour; Lor President of the Council, Duke of Devonshire;[1] Colonia Secretary, J. Chamberlain.

The Conservatives and Liberal Unionists were now united, an some of the most important offices were held by the latter. Unde this ministry there was a marked development of Imperialism largely owing to the influence of Chamberlain, and there wer some signs of a reactionary policy in domestic legislation (e.g. 189 the Voluntary Schools Act, and 1899 the Government of Londo Bill).

I. Domestic Policy.

A. Education (page 1048).

(1) The Education Bill, 1896.

(2) The Voluntary Schools Act, 1897—

Gave a grant of 5s. per child to voluntary school

(3) The Board of Education Act, 1901.

B. Agriculture. The Agricultural Rating Act, 1896—

Devoted about £1,000,000 to the relief of rates an lowered the assessment of land.

The relief afforded amounted to 1s. per acre, and, land alone was affected, the Act was regarded, wit some justice, as a piece of class legislation.

C. The Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897.

Extended compensation to workmen (excluding agr cultural labourers and domestic servants), but allowe workmen to contract out of its provisions.

D. The Government of London Act, 1899—

Created sixteen practically independent municipaliti in the area of the London County Council and co tinued the privileges of the City of London.

[1] Formerly Marquis of Hartington.

(1) A great measure of decentralisation.

(2) The support accorded to the Act by Conservatives was probably partly due to some jealousy of the great power of the London County Council and to disagreement with its "Progressive" policy.

I. **Foreign Policy.**

A. Armenia.

(1) The news of massacres of Armenian Christians (excused by the Sultan on the plea that the Armenians were anarchists and revolutionists) had led Lord Kimberley (Foreign Secretary in Lord Rosebery's ministry **1894-5**) to attempt to check them by reviving the Concert of Europe. When the opposition of Russia, due partly to fear of the establishment of an independent Christian state in Asia Minor, had prevented this, Lord Kimberley proposed that Great Britain should intervene single-handed.

(2) Lord Salisbury, who had little sympathy with the Armenians and objected to any measure which might lead to European complications, tried to restore the Concert of Europe, and proposed to establish a mixed commission of Europeans and Turks to supervise the disturbed area. The Sultan pretended to accept this arrangement but actually prevented it from being put into execution, maintaining that hard measures were necessary to crush revolution in Armenia, and knowing that Russia would not support any plan of armed interference. The massacres continued, and 100,000 Armenians were murdered in **1894**, **1895** and **1896**.

(3) August 25, **1896**. Some Armenians blew up part of Constantinople and seized the Ottoman Bank.

Their action proved the reality of some revolutionary plot and strengthened the Sultan's position.

(4) Consequent massacre of some 5000 Armenians in Constantinople.

Salisbury's policy proved a complete failure.

B. Crete.

(1) **1896.** Anarchy in Crete due to rising of Cretan Christians against Turkish misrule. The powers demanded that Christians should receive a share in the government and surrounded the island with their fleets.

(2) The Greeks, in answer to the appeal of the Cretans landed troops in Crete to secure the independence of the island.

(3) April, **1897.** Consequent outbreak of the Græco-Turkish War. Defeat of the Greeks, for whom Salisbury procured more favourable terms than the Turks had at first offered.

(4) The British bombarded Candia and threatened to intervene single-handed. The Turks therefore evacuated Crete, and on December 21st, **1898**, Prince George of Greece became Governor of Crete.

Thus Salisbury had succeeded in protecting the Greeks and Cretans from the Turks.

C. Venezuela.

(1) The Republic of Venezuela claimed all the land granted to Spain by Pope Alexander VI, **1493** (page 312) including part of British Guiana obtained by Great Britain from Holland, **1814.**

(2) President Cleveland, hoping to strengthen his chance of re-election, asserted the Monroe Doctrine (page 738) and strongly supported the claim of Venezuela, **1895.**

(3) October, **1899.** The English claims admitted by the arbitrators to whom the case had been referred.

A great triumph for Salisbury, who had directed the negotiations with much skill.

D. China.

(1) The growth of European influence in China.

The Japanese, who had abolished feudalism in **1869**

had adopted Western civilisation with such success that they defeated the Chinese in the war of **1894**. The nations of Europe endeavoured to strengthen their position in China, the weakness of which had been revealed by the war.

α. January, **1898**. Germany, desiring a port on the Pacific as a station for its rapidly growing navy, obtained a lease of Kiao Chow.

β. March, **1898**. Russia, wanting an ice-free port as the terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway, secured a lease of Port Arthur.

γ. France, mistress of Tonquin, wished to extend her influence in Southern China.

δ. Great Britain had secured 80 per cent of the foreign trade of China and desired to maintain her commercial advantage but not to obtain territory. But, as attempts to prevent other powers from obtaining territory had failed, Salisbury changed his policy and occupied Wei-hai-wei May, **1898**, and land on the mainland adjoining Hongkong. He succeeded in preventing the alienation of more territory by dividing China into "spheres of influence" of the various European powers, each of which was to enjoy a monopoly of commerce in its own sphere. Great Britain's sphere included the Yang-tze-kiang Valley. Some maintained that British interests had been sacrificed, but the difficulties arising from the presence of the French in the Nile Valley (page 938) seriously hampered Salisbury's action in China.

(2) The opposition of the Chinese to foreign influence.

National feeling in China was roused by the victory of Japan, by concessions to European powers, hatred

of the "foreign devils," and by the reforms introduced by the young Emperor, who was suspected of a desire to abolish ancestor worship.

1898. The Empress Dowager seized supreme authority. Her success strengthened the opposition to foreign influence and led to the rising of the "Sacred Harmony Fists" or "Boxers," who murdered foreigners and native Christians.

June 20, **1900.** The British Legation at Pekin in which many Europeans had taken refuge, besieged by the Boxers. The siege was raised in August, **1900** by troops of all nations, under Count von Waldersee, and the united action of the European powers secured the punishment of leading Boxers and the banishment of Prince Tuan, the head of the anti-foreign movement.

Great Britain had secured her commercial advantages. But as Russia and Germany had obtained a footing in China Salisbury's policy was not completely successful.

E. The North-West Frontier.

The policy of maintaining the independence of Afghanistan was accepted by both Conservatives and Liberals and the North-West Frontier had been roughly settled. But there was continual danger from some of the wild border tribes, to whom it was suspected that help was given by the Afghans.

(1) **1895.** Chitral.

Attack on a British outpost at Chitral, which was relieved (April 20) after a siege of forty-six days.

Lord Salisbury occupied Chitral and strengthened the British position by the construction of a military road and by establishing a strong outpost at Malakand.

(2) **1897.** The Tirah Campaign.

General rising of Mohmands, Afridis, and Orakzais owing to fear of the extension of British authority

and to a belief in the power of Islam, due partly to the defeat of the Greeks by the Turks.

Expedition of General Sir W. Lockhart to the Tirah valley with a force of 60,000 men. The Afridis compelled to surrender after a most difficult campaign, October, 1898.

F. The Boer War, **1899–1902** (page 1011).

G. Egypt, **1896–1899** (page 937).

III. **The Development of Imperialism.**

A. Beaconsfield had shown himself the "champion of the imperial idea and of the closer union of the Empire," and had advocated colonial self-government accompanied by an imperial tariff, the definition of the military responsibilities of the Colonies towards Great Britain, and the establishment of a colonial council in London.

B. Imperialism, though temporarily discredited by the defeat of Beaconfield's ministry in **1880**, and although not favoured by Gladstone, was strongly supported by Lord Rosebery.

C. Mr. Chamberlain strongly advocated a closer union between the Colonies and the Mother Country, and during his tenure of the Colonial Office (**1895–1902**) the cause of Imperialism was strengthened by—

(1) **1897.** The discussion of questions of imperial defence and of the condition of trade between Great Britain and her Colonies, which formed the main topics in the conferences of colonial delegates who attended the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria.

(2) January 1, **1901.** The Federation of the Australian Commonwealth (page 995).

(3) **1899–1902.** The Boer War, during which soldiers from Canada and Australia rendered valuable assistance to the British armies.

eference:

A. *History of England, 1880–1901*, by Bright, chap. VII. Longmans.)

CANADA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

I. **Canadian Difficulties, 1800–38.**

A. Racial difficulties.

(1) The Canada Act of **1791** (page 655) had aggravated the racial difference by dividing the colony into Upper (i.e. English) and Lower (i.e. French) Canada.

(2) The French of Lower Canada were Roman Catholics. They retained the French language and laws, held their land by an antiquated feudal tenure, were unenterprising, and had little desire for self-government.

(3) The British of New Brunswick[1] and Nova Scotia and of Upper Canada were energetic and anxious for self-government. Their numbers were considerably increased by the arrival of emigrants at the beginning of the nineteenth century; they spread westwards to the Red River, and did much to develop the resources of the country by the construction of the Rideau Canal.

(4) The French and British seemed unable to coalesce. "The two sets of colonists never met together except in the jury-box, and then only for the obstruction of justice."

B. Religious difficulties.

The Protestants were in a majority in Upper Canada, where one-seventh of the Crown lands had been set apart for the endowment of the Anglican Church. These "Church reserves" were strongly resented by the Roman Catholics.

[1] Colonised largely by "United Empire Loyalists," who left the United States at the end of the war, **1783**.

C. Political difficulties.

(1) The French of Lower Canada tended to use their majority in the elected Representative Assembly to oppress the British. The latter, who wanted self-government and objected to French law and land tenure, were more powerful in the Legislative Council nominated by the governors, who naturally favoured the British. Repeated quarrels between Assembly and Council culminated in the refusal of the former in **1832** to vote adequate supplies.

(2) In Upper Canada there was a strong desire for local self-government to develop the resources of the colony. This desire was strengthened by the growth of the Reform movement at home and by the republicanism of the United States.

(3) Much discontent was caused in Upper Canada by the successful attempt of a political clique, "The Family Compact," to secure the chief offices.

(4) Political discontent was aggravated by the action of the Whigs, who, in **1837**, while giving to the Quebec Assembly control over the Customs, refused to give them responsible government.

D. The danger from the United States.

(1) A number of Americans desired to conquer Canada. The war of **1812** was undertaken partly with this object, and some of the Northerners wished to counterbalance the advantage secured by the Southerners owing to the possible annexation of Texas[1] by conquering Canada.

(2) But the feeling in Canada was generally unfavourable to annexation by the United States.

a. The French Roman Catholics, though not well disposed towards Great Britain, were monarchists. They had viewed with disfavour the French

[1] Admitted to the Union 1845.

Revolution, and were strongly opposed to the puritanism of the New England States and to American republicanism.

β. The United Empire Loyalists objected to the idea of amalgamation with the States, and the British of Upper Canada successfully repulsed the invasion of Canada during the war of 1812.

E. Rebellion, 1837.

(1) Rising in Upper Canada under McKenzie. Failure of his attack on Toronto. The rising suppressed by the colonial loyalists.

(2) Rising in Lower Canada under Papineau, the Speaker of the House of Assembly. Major[1] Head, in spite of the danger from McKenzie, sent regular troops from Upper Canada, who easily defeated Papineau. Head's action, though successful, was rash.

These rebellions were largely due to the difficulties arising from conflicts between the popularly elected Assemblies and the nominated Councils.

II. **Lord Durham.**

A. 1838. Lord Durham sent out as High Commissioner to arrange a new constitution and to govern the country until the new constitution was established. His powers were to be exercised in accordance with the Acts of the Imperial Parliament, but he thought he had been sent out as a Dictator and

α. Deported some of the malcontents to Bermuda without trial;

β. Set aside the Council appointed to advise him.

These arbitrary acts were strongly resented in England and Canada and led to the recall of Durham, whom the *Times* called "The Lord High Seditioner." He "made a country but marred a career."

[1] Afterwards Sir Francis.

B. Lord Durham's Report.

One of the most important public papers in British history.

(1) Stated that the causes of discontent were racial antagonism between French and English, differences between Assemblies and Councils, the clergy reserves and the Family Compact.

(2) Stated that, while the questions of the form of the new constitution, foreign policy, external trade and the disposal of the western territories must be reserved for the Imperial Parliament, the "Crown must consent to carry the government on by means of those in whom the representative members have confidence," i.e. the ministers (though not the governor) were to be responsible to the Assemblies.

(3) Advocated a larger measure of self-government, especially in local affairs.

(4) Advocated the union of Upper and Lower Canada and suggested the federation of all the British colonies in North America.

C. 1840. The Union Act.

Lord Durham's suggestions were carried out in the Union Act, which united the two provinces, gave the Assemblies control over colonial finance, retained Imperial control over Church endowments and waste lands, made English the official language and paved the way for responsible government.

"It is possibly the most important service which Canada has rendered to the Empire, that from her constitutional struggles arose that form of complete self-government under which the unity of the Empire is reconciled with the practical independence of its daughter communities" (*Woodward*).

D. The working out of the constitution.

By **1854** [largely owing to Lord Elgin, Governor General of Canada (**1847-54**)] the Council had become elective, the Navigation Acts had been repealed, the clergy reserves had been handed over to local control for educational and social purposes, the Anglican Church had become a voluntary body, French had been recognised, as well as English, as an official language, and the capital of Canada had been fixed at Ottawa.

III. The Development of British North America.

A. The settlement of boundaries.

(1) Maine.

1842. A dispute with the United States as to the boundary of Maine was settled by the Ashburton Treaty, which was generally regarded as unduly favourable to the States.

(2) Oregon.

The increase in the population of Oregon necessitated the definition of the boundary on the western frontier. The question was difficult. A military party[1] in the States demanded that the boundary should be the parallel 54° 40′. But President Polk, hampered by war with Mexico, proved conciliatory, and the parallel 49° was accepted as the boundary from Lake Superior to the Pacific, Vancouver remaining British.

B. Manitoba and the Hudson Bay Company.

(1) The Hudson Bay Company, founded by Royal Charter **1670**, had long been supreme in the west. A rival company, the North-West Company, after a period of opposition, was amalgamated with the Hudson Bay Company in **1821**.

[1] Their cry was "54° 40′ or fight."

(2) **1811–12.** Selkirk Settlement was established on the Red River by the Earl of Selkirk. The settlement destroyed by the North-West Company.

(3) Formation of the Red River Settlement by Earl Selkirk. The new settlement bought by the Hudson Bay Company, and, although it secured some measure of self-government, included in Hudson Bay territory. Fort Garry[1] (built **1835**) became the chief station of the Company.

(4) **1869–70.** Louis Riel's rebellion.

1869. The Dominion bought the Red River Settlement, but the undue haste of the Canadian officials in taking possession and the neglect of the claims of the Indians led to a rising under Riel, a French Canadian, who proclaimed the independence of the north-west. Colonel Wolseley[2] was sent out to quell the rising, but the insurgents submitted without fighting, and Riel fled to the United States.

1870. The Red River Settlement became the province of Manitoba, which received responsible government under a Lieutenant-Governor.

C. **1858.** Foundation of the province of British Columbia, necessitated by the need of organised government to control the miners who had flocked into the country. Vancouver included in the new province, **1866.**

Canada thus secured access to the sea at the western end of her boundary line.

D. The Indians.

(1) **1871–7.** Formation of Indian "Reservations," one square mile of territory allotted for every five Indians.

(2) **1885.** Second rebellion of Riel, owing to the objection of the Indians to new land surveys and to his desire to secure for the north-west an independent constitution. The rebellion suppressed and Riel hanged.

[1] Now Winnipeg. [2] Now Viscount Wolseley.

IV. Federation.

A. Federation had been advocated by Lord Durham, and the movement to secure it was strengthened by the need of securing a uniform system of law and by the desire for closer union to strengthen resistance to possible attacks from the United States.

B. **1867.** The Dominion of Canada Act.

(1) New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Ontario, and Quebec joined the Federation.

(2) Each province kept its own local government, Parliament and ministry, and was governed by a Lieutenant-Governor nominated by the Governor-General.

(3) A Dominion Parliament, including a nominated Senate and a representative Assembly, met at Ottawa to decide questions affecting the Dominion.

C. Subsequent additions to the Federation—

1870. Manitoba.
1871. British Columbia.
1873. Prince Edward Island.

Thus all the provinces joined the Federation except Newfoundland.

The Dominion of Canada is practically independent and is united to Great Britain only through the Governor-General, who represents the Crown. But the union is strengthened by the strong loyalty of the Dominion to the Mother Country, which was shown by the help sent by Canada to Great Britain during the wars in Egypt (Canadian boatmen took part in the expedition to relieve Gordon) and in the Transvaal.

V. The Dominion of Canada and the United States.

The relations between the Dominion and the United States have been at times somewhat strained, and disputes have weakened any tendency to amalgamation

A. **1886.** The Americans, who had purchased Alaska from Russia and claimed authority over the adjoining waters, attacked the Canadian seal fisheries in the Behring Sea. After much controversy compensation was paid by the United States to Canadian fishermen.

B. The question as to the exact rights of the States to control the access to the rich goldfield at Klondyke (discovered **1896–7**) led to much difficulty and was not settled by **1900.**

References:

A. *History of Our Own Times*, chap. III.
The Growth of the Empire, by Jose, chap. III. D–F; chap. IX. A. (Murray.)

AUSTRALIA

I. Up to 1788.

A. Belief in the existence of a great southern continent, "Terra Australis," had led to various expeditions. **1606**: Torres, a Spaniard, got within the Great Barrier Reef. **1642**: Abel Tasman discovered Van Diemen's Land. But these early explorers did not understand that Australia was the continent they sought and they thought that it consisted of a number of islands.

B. **1768–71.** Voyage of Captain James Cook in the *Endeavour*.

α. He discovered that New Zealand was two islands and not a part of the supposed southern continent.

β. **1770.** He landed at Botany Bay,[1] named the country New South Wales,[2] and claimed it for Great Britain.

γ. He thus distinguished the mainland from New Zealand.

[1] So called from its luxuriant vegetation.
[2] Owing to its resemblance to the coast of South Wales.

C. Cook had shown the possibility of developing Australia. The Government determined to send thither the convicts whom, after the loss of the United States, they could no longer send to America, and the acceptance of convicts was made a condition of Government support for the new colony.

II. New South Wales.

New South Wales, the original colony, extended from Cape York to Tasmania.

A. Captain Arthur Phillip.

(1) **1788.** January 18. Phillip, the founder of the Australian nation, reached Botany Bay with the first consignment of 750 convicts.

(2) January 26. Phillip occupied Port Jackson, renamed Sydney[1] Cove, only six days before the French arrived.

B. Early difficulties.

(1) Owing to the French wars, **1793–1815**, the British Government neglected Australia.

(2) The Government was purely military. It was difficult to maintain discipline among the convicts, and the New South Wales Corps levied for this purpose proved insubordinate; its officers gained control of the liquor traffic, and made great profits by speculating in food; it was disbanded after kidnapping Governor Bligh (the "Bligh Mutiny," **1808**).

(3) The presence of the convicts deterred free colonists from going to Australia. The consequent lack of skilled craftsmen at first seriously hampered expansion which the early governors discouraged owing to the difficulty of controlling a large area.

[1] Called after Lord Sydney, Secretary of State.

(4) There was great scarcity of food at first and, up to 1807, the colony depended upon rice from China, but later the natural fertility of the soil ensured adequate supplies.

C. The development of the colony.

(1) There was no opposition from the degraded natives or from Europeans.

(2) Exploration.

1797–1799. Bass discovered Bass's Straits and surveyed the Moreton Bay district.

May, 1813. The Blue Mountains crossed; opening up (1815–27) of the Bathurst Plains, Liverpool Plains, and Darling Downs.

1828–31. Sturt explored the Murray, Darling, and Murrumbidgee. The new territory was occupied by "squatters," one of whom, Captain John Macarthur, a member of the New South Wales Corps, introduced Spanish merino sheep and planted the first vineyard, thus laying the foundations of the wine and wool trades.

(3) Discoveries.

New South Wales.

Coal was discovered at Newcastle early in the century.

Victoria.

1851. Discovery of gold at Bathurst and Ballarat. At the "Eureka Stockade" Ballarat miners unsuccessfully resisted the troops sent to keep order and to compel them to pay fees for licence to dig.

(4) Lachlan Macquarie, Governor 1809–21.

Unlike his predecessors, Macquarie

a. Favoured the expansion of the colony, and by constructing roads facilitated approach to newly discovered districts, especially to the Bathurst Plains.

β. The free population increased rapidly as the resources of the colony were developed, and serious difficulties arose owing to the opposition of free settlers to the convicts. Macquarie was a prominent "emancipist" and tried to secure full legal rights for time-expired convicts. He "turned a gaol into a colony."

(5) The end of transportation.

The degrading conditions under which the convicts lived led to gross immorality. The free settlers objected strongly to the convicts, and the discovery of gold made transportation no longer possible, as convicts would have increased the danger arising from the turbulence of the mining camps. The example of Cape Colony, which in **1849** refused to accept convicts, strengthened the "exclusivists" in Australia, who secured the exclusion of convicts from New South Wales in **1840**, Queensland in **1849**, and Tasmania in **1853**.

1853. Penal servitude was adopted instead of transportation. But Western Australia, which did not possess the natural advantages of the eastern colonies, owed its development largely to the convicts for whom it petitioned in **1846** and who were sent out until **1867**.

III. The Formation of Other Colonies.

A Division of New South Wales.

(1) Tasmania became a separate colony in **1812**.

It owed much to Governor Arthur (**1823–36**), who kept in order the convicts, more dangerous in Tasmania than elsewhere, and deported the aborigines.

(2) Queensland became a separate colony in **1859**.

The original settlement at Moreton Bay, **1826**, was for convicts, but the squatters of the Darling Downs became the leading element in Queensland.

(3) Victoria became a separate colony in **1851**.

Melbourne[1] founded **1837**. The need of effective local administration due to the discovery of gold was an important reason for separation.

B. South Australia.

(1) Founded as a separate colony, **1834**. Adelaide built, **1836**.

(2) Gibbon Wakefield's scheme, which aimed at establishing a wealthy landlord class, nearly ruined the colony by its failure, but Captain (afterwards Sir) George Grey restored financial prosperity.

(3) Copper was discovered at Kapunda, **1843**, and Burra Burra, **1845**.

C. Western Australia.

1827. Settlement of Perth on the Swan River.

V. **Government.**

A. Military rule.

At first, owing to the danger from the convicts, military rule was established and the Governors exercised absolute power.

B. Limitation of the Governor's power.

1823. Appointment of a Council of Crown nominees to advise the Governor.

C. Representative government.

(1) Different opinions were held in England as to the colonies.

α. Cobden and Bright regarded them as a burden which ought to be thrown off.

β. Lord John Russell refused to give up the colonies, but determined to give them constitutional freedom.

[1] Called after the Prime Minister.

(2) **1843.** The beginning of representative government was made by the appointment of a Legislative Council for New South Wales, two-thirds of the members being elected.

Representative government was made possible by the growth of the free population, facilitated in **1851** by the extension of the P. and O. service to Australia.

(3) **1850.** The Australian Colonies Act was brought in by Russell and provided—

α. That Legislative Councils should be established in Victoria, Tasmania, and South Australia ;

β. That a joint assembly of all the colonies should settle the questions of tariffs and appropriation of waste lands.

This clause, containing the germ of federation, was opposed by the Conservatives and dropped.

(4) Soon afterwards each colony received permission to select its own form of government, and by **1856** New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania[1] established two chambers, adopted a wide franchise and a form of cabinet government.

(5) Representative government in Australia has proved very democratic.

1872. Victoria adopts the payment (£300 per annum) of members.

1891. New South Wales passed an Eight Hours Bill for coal mines.

1894. South Australia granted Women's Suffrage.

D. Federation.

(1) **1850.** Lord John Russell's proposal for the appointment of a federal assembly for Australia was defeated.

[1] "Van Diemen's Land" had been closely associated with convicts, and the name was changed to Tasmania on the abolition of transportation.

(2) The growing importance of difficult questions as to the relation of Australia to foreign powers made closer union desirable, and a Conference at Sydney in **1883** declared for federation. These questions included—

α. The treatment of Asiatic immigrants, especially Kanaka labourers for Queensland cotton and sugar plantations, and Chinese.

β. The occupation by Germany of Northern New Guinea (**1884**).

γ. The escape of French convicts from New Caledonia to Australia.

(3) **1885**. The Australasian Federation Act was passed, but New South Wales, a Free Trade colony, refused to combine with her Protective neighbours, and the Federal Council which was established by Victoria, Queensland, West Australia, South Australia and Tasmania was a very loose bond of union.

(4) **1900**. The Australian Commonwealth Act passed by the British Parliament after all the colonies, except Western Australia, had by referendum declared their agreement. It came into force January 1, **1901**, and provided—

α. That legislative power should be vested in a Federal Parliament consisting of the Sovereign, a Senate, and a House of Representatives;

β. That a Governor-General should be appointed to represent the Sovereign.

γ. The people of each state to elect six senators to hold office for six years, but the Senate was not to introduce or amend money Bills.

δ. The House of Representatives to be elected by popular vote every three years, and to be twice as large as the Senate.

ε. All members of Parliament to be paid £40
a year.

ζ. Parliament to have power to deal with trade
finance, the postal service, and military and nava
defence.

References:

A. *The Growth of the Empire*, by Jose, chaps. VI. and IX. I
(Murray.)
European Colonies, by Payne, chap. XII. (Macmillan.)

C. *A First Fleet Family*, by Becke. (Unwin.)
The Inimitable Mrs. Massingham, by Compton. (Chatto
Robbery under Arms, by Boldrewood.

NEW ZEALAND

A. Early history.

(1) **1642.** Discovered by Tasman.

(2) **1769–70.** Circumnavigated by Captain Cook, who th
proved it was not part of "Terra Australis."

(3) In the beginning of the nineteenth century, in spite
the restraining influence of Dr. S. Marsden, "th
Apostle of New Zealand," conflicts arose between th
Maoris, a ferocious people very tenacious of the
rights, and a colony of British undesirables wh
settled on the Bay of Islands. But Parliamen
refused formally to annex the islands.

1839. The North Island secured by the Ne
Zealand Company (recently founded by Gibb
Wakefield) two days before the French arrived, an
the South Island by a British officer four days befo
a French fleet appeared.

B. The Treaty of Waitangi, **1840.**

(1) **1839.** New Zealand declared a part of New Sout
Wales. Much land obtained from the Maoris by th
New Zealand Company, who founded Wellington.

(2) **1840.** Governor Hobson made the Treaty of Waitangi which provided—

α. That the Maoris should acknowledge the authority of the Queen;

β. That land, which belonged to the tribe and not to individuals, should be sold only by consent of the tribe and only to the Governor representing the Queen.

C. Sir George Grey, Governor **1845–53** and **1861–7.**

(1) He maintained the Treaty of Waitangi and strongly resisted attempts of speculators, especially the New Zealand Company, to buy land from the Maoris, whom he recognised as British subjects.

(2) **1845–52.** South Island colonised. A Presbyterian colony established at Otago and an Episcopalian at Canterbury.

(3) **Federal Government, 1852.**

Grey had refused to adopt unsuitable regulations made by Parliament, which accepted his suggestions in **1852.** A Federal Constitution was established for New Zealand, which had been recognised as independent of New South Wales in **1841.** The government was vested in a Governor, an Upper House nominated by the Governor, an elected House of Representatives. Local government was left to elected Provincial Councils.

(4) His reappointment in **1861** was due to difficulties about native lands which led to the Maori Wars, **1860–70,** in which the British, though finally successful, suffered much loss in storming the Maori "pas" or forts.

D. Later history.

(1) **1876.** The Provincial Councils were abolished. The North and South Islands were made one colony and divided into counties for local government.

The Maoris sent four representatives to Parliament.

(2) New Zealand has proved very democratic.

Owing partly to the support of Sir George Grey (Prime Minister, **1877–9**), adult suffrage, triennial Parliaments, and the taxation of land values were adopted, and in **1893** the franchise was conferred upon women.

JAMAICA

I. **The Final Abolition of Slavery, 1838, and the Jamaica Bill 1839.**

A. The system of temporary apprenticeship till **1840** of slaves who had been set free by the Emancipation Act of **1833** (page 754) led to the overwork and severe punishment of apprentices by planters, who wished to take full advantage of the system while it lasted.

B. **1838.** Parliament sought to improve the condition of the apprentices by the "Act to Amend the Abolition of Slavery Act," and the Assembly of Jamaica decided, with great reluctance, to give the apprentices their full freedom from August **1, 1838.**

C. The planters endeavoured by means of low wages and the high rents they demanded for land occupied by the freed slaves to strengthen their position, and former slaves committed to prison were barbarously treated. The blacks were supported by the Governor, magistrates and missionaries.

D. The Jamaica Bill, 1839.

(1) Parliament therefore passed the Jamaica Prisons Bill, which transferred the management of the prisons from local authorities to the Governor.

(2) The planters, impoverished by the emancipation of their apprentices, objected to the Bill, which they regarded as an interference with the constitutional rights of the Assembly.

(3) The Assembly, representing the planters' interest, resolved for the present "to abstain from the exercise of any legislative functions."

(4) **1839.** Melbourne's ministry therefore introduced the Jamaica Bill to suspend the constitution for five years and to vest the government, with power of legislation, in the Governor and three Commissioners.

The Bill, opposed by Peel, was carried by only five votes in the Commons. Resignation of Melbourne, **May 7, 1839.**

E. The Settlement of Jamaica.

Many questions (e.g. the terms of occupancy of waste lands, the relations of master and servant), arising as the result of emancipation, needed prompt settlement. The Whig Government[1] introduced a Bill which authorised the Governor and his Council

α. To pass measures dealing with these questions;

β. To renew certain laws passed each year to facilitate the government if the Assembly refused to pass the necessary legislation.

The second clause was passed, but the first was thrown out, owing partly to Peel's opposition. The failure to pass the first clause was one of the chief reasons for the rising of **1865.**

[1] Which had returned to office owing to the Bedchamber Question, page 775.

II. The Jamaica Insurrection, 1865.

A. Causes.

(1) Grave discontent was caused by the low rate of wages, the unfair administration of the law in the interests of the planters, the demand for high rents for lands which had been occupied by the blacks in the expectation that no payment would be required except certain Government charges.

(2) Much indignation caused owing to the treatment of George Wm. Gordon, a native Baptist who had been suspended from the magistracy and prevented, although duly elected, from acting as churchwarden in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East. Gordon was the champion of the blacks, and at public meetings he had spoken strongly on their behalf, but had not advocated rebellion.

B. The insurrection.

(1) October, 1865. An attempt to arrest some rioters led to an attack on the Court House at Morant Bay and the murder of eighteen whites. The Riot Act read. The disturbance easily quelled by military force.

(2) Many outrages committed by the blacks in the county of Surrey.

C. The suppression of the insurrection.

(1) Governor Edward John Eyre proclaimed martial law in the county of Surrey (excluding the town of Kingston).

(2) The insurrection suppressed by skilful military manœuvres followed by cruel punishment—439 blacks executed, 600 (including some women) flogged, 1000 houses burned.

(3) Execution of Gordon.

Gordon surrendered to a warrant at Kingston (which was not under martial law). He was taken to

Morant Bay (which was under martial law), tried by court-martial of three young officers, and sentenced to death. The sentence confirmed by the officer commanding and by the Governor. Gordon executed October 23, 1865.

The execution of Gordon was absolutely illegal. The prisoner was brought by unlawful means before an illegal tribunal and tried upon testimony taken in ludicrous opposition to all the rules of evidence.

D. The Commission of Inquiry.

(1) Owing largely to the Jamaica Committee, of which J. S. Mill was the most prominent member, a Commission of Inquiry was sent to Jamaica. The Commission—

α. Praised Eyre for "the skill, promptitude, and vigour which he manifested during the early stage of the insurrection";

β. Stated that punishments had been too heavy, executions too frequent, and floggings cruel;

γ. Denied that there had been any general insurrection;

δ. Asserted that Gordon's guilt had not been established and that, in spite of his vehement language, he had not intended to support rebellion.

(2) There was a sharp difference of opinion as to Eyre. Some held that he "saved the white population and put down the insurrection." The Jamaica Committee prosecuted him for undue severity, but the bills of indictment were thrown out by the grand jury. In 1872 the expenses incurred for his defence were defrayed by a grant from the Liberal Government, which thus practically approved of his action.

ference:

A. *History of Our Own Times*, chap. XLIX.

BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA

I. Early History of Cape Colony.

A. **1650.** The Dutch East India Company occupied the Cape of Good Hope as a calling station for their Indian fleets.

B. **1687.** Huguenot refugees, expelled from France, came to the Cape and introduced the vine.

C. Owing to the oppression of Dutch officials in Capetown the other settlers, "the Boers," of the colony became united, and their hatred for Europe led to the beginning of "Afrikander sentiment," while the grave danger from the Kaffirs[1] was one of the causes of their deep animosity to the natives.

D. **1814.** The Prince of Orange sold to Great Britain his territory in South Africa, which the British had occupied since they captured Capetown, **1806.**

E. **1820.** British emigrants arrive in Cape Colony.

II. From British Occupation to the Recognition of the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

A. The extension of British territory.

(1) From **1811** to **1878** there was continual danger from the Kaffirs, and from **1812** to **1836** the colony was menaced by the Zulus, a powerful military tribe, skilfully led by Tchaka (who organised its army) and his murderer Dingaan. The Zulus had devastated much territory and had driven the Basutos to the Orange River, and the Matabele (an offshoot of the Zulus) to the Limpopo.

(2) **1835.** Governor Benjamin D'Urban defeated the Kaffirs, determined to establish buffer states and annexed Queen Adelaide Province, the land from the Great Fish River (the old boundary) to the Kei.

1836. The annexation repudiated and D'Urban recalled by the home Government.

[1] The southern tribes of the Bantu nation.

(3) **1843.** Natal (occupied by the Boers, **1838**) annexed.

(4) **1848.** Sir Harry Smith, adopting D'Urban's policy, annexed the Orange River sovereignty.

(5) **1853.** The home Government, ill acquainted with the condition of Cape Colony, was generally opposed to expansion, although

1820. It had established 5000 British settlers in Algoa Bay. This opposition led to the recall of D'Urban, **1836**, and to the very reluctant assent of Earl Grey (Secretary for War and the Colonies, **1846–52**) to Smith's policy.

B. The Great Trek.

(1) Growing discontent of the Boers.

(*a*) The great majority of the Boers spoke only Taal[1] and strongly resented the recognition of English as the only official language.

(*b*) The reduction of the value of the paper dollar from 4s. to 1s. 6d. deprived the Boers of sixty per cent of their cash.

(*c*) Slavery.

The Boers justified slavery by reference to the Old Testament. They treated their Hottentot slaves with cruelty, although the Black Circuit, a Commission appointed in **1812** largely owing to the protests of the London Missionary Society, showed that the charges of cruelty had been exaggerated.

1834. Abolition of slavery in Cape Colony.

α. The slaves were worth £3,000,000.

β. The Boers were promised less than half this amount, payable in London.

(*d*) **1836.** The abolition of Queen Adelaide Province and the recall of D'Urban made the Boers

[1] Cape Dutch.

fear that the British Government would not protect them against the Kaffirs. This was the final cause of the Great Trek.

(2) The Great Trek, **1836**.

(*a*) The Transvaal.

1837. Potgieter drove the Matabele out of the Transvaal and at Winburg drew up a constitution establishing the Dutch Calvinistic religion, denying civic rights but granting personal liberty to natives.

(*b*) December 16, **1838**. Defeat of Dingaan, the Zulu chief on "Dingaan's Day," and occupation of Natal.

(*c*) **1847.** The Natal Dutch, led by Pretorius, trekked to the Vaal, fearing that the British, who in **1843** had annexed Natal, would not keep the natives in check. Beginning of the Transvaal Republic.

(*d*) **1836.** Foundation of the Orange Free State.

C. The Orange Free State.

1848. Formation of a new British colony, the Orange River Sovereignty, between the Orange and the Vaal. The Boers, under Pretorius, resisted, but were defeated at Boomplatz, August 29, **1848**.

1854. Recognition of the independent Orange Free State. Due to—

α. The heavy cost of the Kaffir Wars;

β. The desire of the home Government to lessen the burden of empire.

The Boers themselves were most unwilling to receive independence, as they feared they could not resist the Basutos.

D. The independence of the Transvaal.

February 17, 1852. The Sand River Convention.

Formal recognition of the right of the Boers to manage their own affairs.

III. **From the Foundation of the Orange Free State, 1854, to the Convention of London, 1884.**

A. **1871.** Annexation of Griqualand West (owing to the discovery of diamonds, **1867**).

B. **1871.** Cape Colony received full constitutional government.

C. The Annexation of the Transvaal.

(1) The Transvaal Republic was bankrupt; it quarrelled with the Orange Free State and with Sekukuni, chief of the Swazis, and, as all the natives were of the Bantu stock, there seemed a danger of a united native rising against European rule, especially as Cetewayo, King of the Zulus, was also inclined to attack the Boers.

(2) April 12, **1877.** Sir Theophilus Shepstone proclaimed the annexation of the Transvaal, thus probably saving it from Zulu attack.

D. Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner of South Africa, **1877–80.**

(1) A strong supporter of the federation of South Africa, which Sir George Grey had unsuccessfully advocated in **1858** and which the annexation of the Transvaal made easier. Sent out by the Earl of Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary, mainly to promote federation.

(2) He saw that federation was impossible unless the natives were kept in check.

1877–8. Put down a revolt of the Kosas in the last Kaffir War.

1879. Declared war on Cetewayo, who refused to receive a British resident and to break up his military system. Perhaps Frere's real reason was the danger of a Zulu attack on the Transvaal and Natal.

The Zulu War.

α. January, 1879. Annihilation of a British force at Isandhlwana owing to the carelessness of Lord Chelmsford, who despised the enemy and neglected to laager his waggons and to throw out scouts.

β. January, 1879. Heroic defence of Rorke's Drift by Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead, who thus kept the Zulus out of Natal.

γ. July 4. Lord Chelmsford routed the Zulus at Ulundi.

(3) Recall of Frere.

Lord Carnarvon's successor, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, gave Frere little support and did not understand the condition of Cape Colony. The Government (Lord Beaconsfield's) resented Frere's action in precipitating the Zulu War, although he maintained, apparently justly, that prompt action was essential to save Natal and the Transvaal. The refusal of Frere's request for reinforcements, especially cavalry, partly accounts for the disaster at Isandhlwana. Gladstone's ministry at first wished to keep Frere at the Cape in the hope that he would be able to ensure federation and in deference to the strong wish of the Queen; but he was finally recalled, August 1, 1880, and the Cape Parliament, influenced by the Boers, declared against federation.

E. Majuba.

(1) Causes of the War.

(*a*) The Boers strongly resented the annexation of the Transvaal, but the protests of their representatives were ignored. Sir Garnet Wolseley told the Boers that the "Vaal would flow back through the Drakenberg" before the British would give up the Transvaal.

(*b*) It was hoped that the Transvaal, which depended upon British help against the Zulus, would form part of the Federation, and the Boers were definitely promised self-government. But—

α. The annihilation of the Zulu power made the Boers less dependent on British help.

β. The promise of self-government was broken.

γ. The British administrator, Sir Owen Lanyon, proved unable to conciliate the Boers or to appreciate their complaints.

δ. The Liberal Government displayed "loitering unwisdom" (Morley) in dealing with the situation.

(2) War.

1880. December 16. "Dingaan's Day" declaration of the independence of the Transvaal.

1881. January 28. Repulse of a British force at Laing's Nek commanding the approach to Natal which the Boers had occupied.

1881. February 27. Defeat and death of General Sir George Colley on Majuba Hill, which he had seized to command Laing's Nek.

Majuba, though only a skirmish, profoundly affected the history of South Africa.

α. Colley was negotiating with the Boers, but, failing within the forty-eight hours he specified to receive an answer to his communications of February 21 (which did not reach Krüger until February 28), he occupied Majuba. Krüger, ignorant of Colley's fate, sent a conciliatory answer.

β. Gladstone regarded Colley's action as an attack on the Boers, recognised Krüger's willingness to negotiate and feared lest a continuance of the war would lead to a Dutch rising in

Cape Colony. He resolved to stop military operations, although reinforcements had been sent under Sir Frederick Roberts and although Sir Evelyn Wood, now commanding the British troops, strongly urged that British military supremacy should be asserted before peace was made.

(3) The Convention of Pretoria, March 21, 1881.

The Boers to have the right of managing the internal affairs of the Transvaal, to acknowledge the "suzerainty" of Britain, which was to control all foreign relations.

α. There was no formal definition of what "suzerainty" implied.

β. The peace was approved by the Cape Assembly but was condemned by the Boers, who did not ratify it until October 25. A vote of censure on the Government was easily defeated, but a number of Liberals, including Lord Kimberley, disapproved of the terms of peace.

(4) The Convention of London, February, 1884.

Lord Derby (Lord Kimberley's successor at the Colonial Office) made a new agreement in which

α. The term "suzerainty" was dropped;

β. The independence of the "South African Republic" was recognised.

IV. **The Boer War.**

A. The Transvaal, 1884–99.

(1) 1886. Discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand, immigration of many British miners and foundation of Johannesburg.

α. The conservative Boers, fearing the consequences of the foreign immigration, opposed the development of the gold mines.

β. President Krüger encouraged it owing to the great profits that would result.

(2) The "Outlanders."

(*a*) The Outlanders increased in number and by **1892** numbered 77,000, mostly British. They were required to reside in the Republic for five years (after **1890** for fourteen years) before they could obtain full citizenship, were liable to go "on commando," were heavily taxed.

1892. Formation of the Transvaal National Union to improve the condition of the Outlanders.

(*b*) Krüger tried to secure alliances with Germany and Holland to counteract the growing British influence and imported large quantities of arms in packages labelled "machinery."

(3) Cecil Rhodes, Premier of Cape Colony.

(*a*) Rhodes' great aim was the federation of South Africa under British rule.

(*b*) He had founded the British South Africa Company (the "Chartered Company"), **1889**, and occupied Rhodesia after the Company's troops had routed the Matabele in **1893**.

(*c*) The South African Republic was his great obstacle, and there seemed a danger of a Boer Federation of South Africa for which the "Afrikander" party under Jan Hofmeyer in Cape Colony were working, and of a Boer alliance with Germany. Rhodes therefore encouraged the disaffected Outlanders to establish British supremacy in the Transvaal and supported their plans for an armed rising.

(4) The Jameson Raid, December 31, **1895**, to January 2, **1896**.

Dr. Jameson[1] with six hundred troopers of the Chartered Company made for Johannesburg to pro-

[1] The administrator of Mashonaland.

tect "the women and children." He was compelle to surrender to the Boers at Krugersdorp January 2 partly owing to the failure of the Johannesbur Outlanders to co-operate with him. A Commission o Inquiry censured Rhodes for his share in the Rai (he resigned the Premiership of Cape Colony January **1896**), but acquitted the Colonial Office of connivanc

January 3, **1896**. A telegram of congratulation fro the Emperor of Germany to Krüger raised a storm indignation in England. The Raid

α. Ruined for a time the scheme of federation;

β. Embittered feeling between Great Britain an Germany;

γ. Was an important cause of the war.

(5) Negotiations with Krüger.

(*a*) The failure of the Raid led to more stringe restrictions on the Outlanders, who, Sir Alfred Milne declared, were "reduced to the position of helots."

(*b*) In response to strong pressure Krüger offered accept seven, and ultimately five, years' residence the qualification for the franchise if Britain wou renounce all claim to "suzerainty." Chamberlain, t Colonial Secretary, absolutely refused to do this a war began October 11, **1899**, when the Boers invad Natal.

Public opinion in England generally favoured w owing to the restrictions on the Outlanders; but the was some strong opposition, due to the belief that t Conventions of the Sand River and Pretoria pr cluded us from interfering in the internal governme of the Transvaal and that undue influence w exercised over the Colonial Office by South Afric financiers. On the Continent and in America the was much sympathy for the Boers, but the Briti navy rendered active intervention impossibl

The British Colonies generally supported Great Britain, although the Afrikanders of Cape Colony sympathised with the Boers, and valuable help was sent by Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

B. War.

(1) Both sides underestimated their opponents. The Boers, knowing that there were few British troops in South Africa and attaching undue importance to their victory at Majuba, expected to hold out successfully. The British Government, ignorant of the extensive military preparations of the Boers and of their exceptional ability in irregular warfare, expected a speedy victory. In consequence the ministry failed to make adequate preparations, and in the beginning of the war the British were hampered by the lack of sufficient troops, ammunition and maps, the artillery was inadequate in quality and no proper steps were taken to ensure the mobility of the forces. Largely owing to these reasons the war "cost Great Britain two and a half years of hard fighting and a hundred and fifty millions of money before a population numbering not much more than 50,000 adult males was finally reduced to subjection."

(2) Operations at first centred round four places.

(*a*) General Sir George White garrisoned Ladysmith to prevent the Boers from invading Natal. Ladysmith was exposed to attack from the Orange Free State and from the Transvaal, but it was thought essential to hold it lest the capture by the Boers of British territory should discourage loyalists and encourage the Zulus to rise. November, **1899**, the Boers besieged Ladysmith, which General Sir Redvers Buller tried to relieve.

(*b*) The Boers had crossed the Orange River and occupied territory near Stormberg, in the north of

Cape Colony. General Gatacre attempted to chec their advance.

(*c*) The Boers besieged Kimberley (in Griqualan West, to the west of the Orange Free State) an Mafeking (in Bechuanaland, to the west of th Transvaal).

(*d*) The "Black Week," December 10–15, 1899.

December 10. Gatacre defeated at Stormberg.

December 10–11. Methuen, attempting to reliev Kimberley, was routed at Magersfontein, where th Highland Brigade suffered severely.

December 15. Buller, attempting to cross th Tugela to relieve Ladysmith, defeated at Colens Consequent appointment of Lord Roberts as Co mander-in-Chief, with Lord Kitchener as Chief of h Staff. The British army raised to 250,000 (th largest on record for active service), by large r inforcements of regulars, imperial yeomanry an colonial troops.

(*e*) January 23, 1900. Buller, who had cross the Tugela, defeated at Spion Kop and compelled recross.

(3) The second phase of the war. Lord Roberts captur the Boer capitals and annexed the Transvaal an Orange Free State.

(*a*) February 15, 1900. General French, a brillia cavalry leader, raised the siege of Kimberley.

(*b*) February 27, 1900. General Cronje and 40 men capitulated to Lord Roberts at Paardeberg on th Modder River.

(*c*) February 27, 1900. Buller again crossed th Tugela, defeated the Boers at Pieter's Hill, and r lieved Ladysmith.

(*d*) March 13, 1900. Lord Roberts entered Bloe fontein. May 28. Annexation of the Orange Fr State, henceforth called the "Orange River Colony."

(*e*) May 18, **1900**. Relief of Mafeking, gallantly defended by Colonel Baden-Powell for 218 days.

(*f*) June 5, **1900**. Owing to these successes Roberts was able to occupy Pretoria.

(*g*) June 11, **1900**. The Transvaal army, under Louis Botha, defeated at Diamond Hill near Pretoria.

September 1. Annexation of the Transvaal.

(4) The last phase of the War.

After the departure of Lord Roberts the Boers, led with great skill and daring by De Wet, carried on for about two years a guerilla warfare. Lord Kitchener checked these operations by erecting block-houses and barbed wire entanglements and ended the war.

May 31, **1902**. Peace made at Vereeniging. Final annexation of the two Boer Republics.

eferences :

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Life of Gladstone, by Morley, Book VIII, chap. III.
History of Modern England, by Paul. Vol. IV, chap. III. (Macmillan.)

C. *The Great Boer War*, by Conan Doyle.
From Capetown to Ladysmith, by G. W. Steevens.

BRITISH TRADE, 1800–1900

General.

During this century trade benefited by the improvement of means of communication (page 1038), by the application to industry of science (page 1024), by the Repeal of the Corn Law (page 799), by the development of engineering.

II. Some Special Industries.

A. Textile.

(1) The improvement of machinery.

In spite of the mechanical inventions of the eighteenth century (page 629) hand looms were still largely used, especially for finer work. But manual work was largely superseded owing to the use of steam looms.

(*a*) **1820** (about). The introduction into England of the Jacquard loom, which made it possible to use the power loom for complex patterns and revolutionised weaving.

(*b*) **1826.** The application of the Differential Motion to the spinning machine and the invention, about **1830**, of Roberts' Self-acting Mule which revolutionised spinning.

(*c*) **1851.** The introduction into England of Heilmann's Combing Machine which facilitated the spinning of fine cotton.

(2) The introduction of new fabrics.

(*a*) **1815.** Beginning of the shoddy trade—the recovery of wool from rags.

(*b*) **1822.** The spinning of jute introduced at Dundee.

(3) The nineteenth century was marked by a great expansion in the cotton trade of Lancashire, facilitated by the humid atmosphere of the county, and the woollen trade of the West Riding partly owing to the opening up of the local coalfield. But the English silk and linen trades have fallen back. (The Irish linen trade has greatly increased.)

B. Iron and steel.

(1) General.

During the nineteenth century the iron trade grew rapidly owing to the increased demand for iron (and

later, of steel) for railways, machinery, ships, and building; to the development of the coalfields to which the iron trade was transferred; to the great reduction in carriage[1] which followed the construction of railways.

(2) The blast furnace.

1828. The production of wrought iron cheapened by the introduction of the hot blast, which reduced the amount of coal necessary for melting the ore.

1845–8. Waste furnace gas utilised for heating the blast.

1855. (Sir) Henry Bessemer found that by blowing cold air into molten cast iron the manufacture of hard steel was facilitated.

1861–7. Siemens manufactured more ductile steel by the more economical use of the furnace gases.

1874–9. By the Gilchrist process lower-grade ores were used for steel-making, and the phosphorus used was recovered in marketable condition.

C. Agriculture.

(1) Bad times, **1818–36.**

(*a*) Up to **1815** English farmers had made large profits owing to

α. The high price of corn, due to the Napoleonic Wars and the Corn Laws;

β. The efforts of certain enlightened landlords, especially Coke of Holkham[2] (**1752–1842**), who strengthened light soil with marl, introduced oilcake, improved pasture by careful seeding and weeding, and encouraged his tenants by giving them leases instead of yearly tenancies.

γ. The Poor Law administration made labour cheap, and their large profits enabled farmers to pay the heavy rates the system involved.

[1] In the seventeenth century it cost £1 to carry a ton of goods on horseback twenty miles.

[2] Afterwards Earl of Leicester.

(*b*) The rapid fall of the price of corn after **1815** ruined many farmers, impoverished landlords by the fall in rents, and checked the employment of the better methods introduced by Coke.

(2) Prosperity, **1850–65**.

(*a*) The new Poor Law, **1834** (page 755), relieved agriculture by diminishing rates.

(*b*) The development of science.

α. Railways made carriage cheaper.

β. The use of deep drainage made clay soils workable, and steam was used as a motive-power for farming implements.

γ. The growth of agricultural chemistry resulted, about **1835**, in the discovery of the value of nitrate of soda and superphosphates as artificial manures.

δ. The foundation of agricultural colleges and societies.

1838. The Royal Agricultural Society.

1843. The Agricultural Station at Rothamsted by John Lawes.

1845. The Agricultural College at Cirencester.

(*c*) The rise in prices (following a fall immediately after the Repeal of the Corn Laws) due to the discovery of gold in California and Australia, and to the Crimean and American Civil wars.

(3) The decline of agriculture, **1875–1900**.

(*a*) In spite of the further application of science to agriculture, greatly increased facilities for the study of the subject, and a considerable improvement in dairy-farming, English farmers failed to withstand foreign competition. The extension of the American railways, which opened up the corn lands of the West, the organisation of dairy-farming in Denmark, and the use of cold storage which led to the import of vast

quantities of dead meat from Australia, were the chief causes.

(*b*) Owing to this decline—

α. The wheat acreage declined fifty per cent between 1860 and 1890;

β. There has been a great fall of rents and profits.

(4) Attempts to revive agriculture.

Regret that so much of our food supply is obtained from abroad, and the recognition that agriculture is the "nursery of the bone and sinew of the country,"[1] have led to attempts to revive agriculture.

(*a*) Demand for the increase of small holdings.

α. 1882. Earl Cairns' Settled Land Act facilitated the creation of small holdings by giving life tenants the power to sell or lease land.

β. 1885. "Three acres and a cow" a prominent party cry. It was thought that peasant farmers would work more efficiently for their own direct advantage than for an employer, and that the cost of farming would be diminished by the saving of much supervision.

The chances of the success of this scheme have been increased by the attempts of county councils to supply instruction in agriculture, and by the improvement in general education. Its ultimate success will depend partly upon the power of the peasant proprietors to take full advantage of modern improvements.

(*b*) Co-operation.

Many advocate co-operation between neighbouring farmers, which would enable them to use more costly machinery, to reduce the cost of carriage, and to get better terms for their goods.

[1] It is stated that no pure-bred London family lasts more than three generations.

(*c*) The State ownership of land.

(*d*) Protection.

The name derived from the Society for the Protection of Agriculture formed in opposition to the Anti-Corn Law League.

1881. Formation of Fair Trade League to oppose Free Trade when disadvantageous to England.

1886. The Commons, without a division, negatived a motion for the revival of Protection.

May, 1903. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, anxious to strengthen the union between the Colonies and Mother Country, advocated a duty on corn, without which "it will be impossible to secure preferential treatment from the Colonies."

Mr. Chamberlain's support has made Protection, or Tariff Reform, one of the leading questions of practical politics.

III. The State and Commerce.

A. Laissez faire.

(1) Laissez faire, the theory of freedom of contract and liberty of individual action, gained acceptance in England at the end of the eighteenth century, owing to the prosperity resulting from the Industrial Revolution, to Adam Smith's gospel of industrial freedom, and to the doctrine of Liberty preached by the Revolutionists in France.

(2) The "Manchester school," the followers of Cobden and Bright, accepted the theory, and the adoption of Free Trade was its greatest success.

(3) John Stuart Mill in his *Liberty* (**1859**) asserted that "the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self protection."

B. State interference.

(1) Laissez faire led to unlimited competition, and inflicted great hardships upon those who were unable to secure fair contracts, especially on women and children. It was called "the devil take the hindmost doctrine," and has been repeatedly infringed by State interference with commerce in the interests of the weak. The resulting enactments have been termed by their opponents "grandmotherly legislation."

(2) The Factory Acts.

These were due originally to the intolerable hardships of the pauper children, from five to eight years old, apprenticed by workhouse authorities to manufacturers, who were enabled to use child instead of adult labour because the new machinery had simplified the work. These young children were sent in batches of from two to three hundred, often in canal boats, to the factories of Lancashire and the West Riding. Their "labour was limited only by exhaustion," their food was unwholesome and insufficient, and the conditions of their life rendered decency and morality impossible. These Acts the best examples of State interference in the nineteenth century.

1802. Sir Robert Peel's[1] Health and Morals Act.

α. Apprentices not to work *more than twelve hours a day.*

β. Apprentices to do no night work, and to receive instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

1833. A Factory Act due to Lord Ashley (Shaftesbury).

α. Nine fixed as the minimum age of employment.

β. "Children" under thirteen to work not more than eight hours a day, and to spend two hours a day in school. The germ of the "half-time" system.

[1] Father of the famous minister.

γ. "Young persons" under eighteen and women not to work more than sixty-nine hours a week.

δ. Provision made for Government inspection of factories.

1895. The Factory and Workshops Bill improved the sanitary condition and safety of factories and workshops, abolished overtime for young persons and provided for fixed holidays.

(3) **1892.** The Eight Hours Bill.

Attempts to limit working hours to eight a day deprecated by Lord Salisbury as premature. The attempt to secure this limitation in the case of miners failed owing to the opposition by the Durham miners, and the Eight Hours Bill (which is now law) was withdrawn in **1894**.

(4) Further examples of State interference with trade.

(*a*) Mining.

1842. Prohibition of the employment of women and children underground.

1862. Every mine to have two shafts to facilitate escape in time of danger.

(*b*) Shipping.

1876. The Merchant Shipping Act fixed load-lines, or "Plimsoll marks,"[1] thus preventing overloading.

(*c*) Employers' liability.

1888. The Employers' Liability Act made employers liable for compensation to workmen injured while at work.

IV. The Working Classes in the Nineteenth Century.

A. Trade Unions.

(1) The beginning of Trade Unionism.

(*a*) The Industrial Revolution had led to the final break-up of mediæval labour organisations, and as the

[1] So called after Samuel Plimsoll, **1824–98**, M.P. for Derby, "The Sailors' Friend."

Combination Act of 1800 forbade the formation of associations to secure higher wages or shorter hours of work the workmen were quite disorganised and at the mercy of their employers.

(*b*) The partial repeal of the Combination Act in 1826 made Trade Unions possible, but the influence of Chartism, aiming at political rather than economic reform, hindered the growth of the movement.

(*c*) 1850. Foundation of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and, shortly, of other unions, especially in the north of England. Trade Unions are combinations of workmen formed to secure better conditions than the members could obtain if they acted individually. They aimed at the establishment of a minimum rate of wages, the suppression of piecework, the limitation of hours of labour. In the last resort they enforced the demands by strikes, e.g. the Amalgamated Engineers' Strike, 1852. But the development of Trade Unions was hindered—

α. By legal difficulties.

1. Trade Unions being "in restraint of trade" were really illegal.

2. Being illegal they could not protect their funds from embezzlement by fraudulent officials.

3. Picketing, even when peaceful, was a crime.

β. By the indignation roused by the violence of some smaller unions, especially the Saw Grinders' Union at Sheffield, which was proved in 1867 to have coerced non-union men by rattening (i.e. abstracting or breaking tools), maiming, and even murder.

(2) Removal of legal disabilities.

1871. Mr. Bruce's[1] Trades Union Act recognised the legality of Trade Unions and made their officials liable to legal penalties for the misuse of union funds.

1875. Mr. Cross' Employers' and Workmen's Act made a breach of contract by a workman a ground for civil and no longer for criminal action; allowed "peaceful" picketing; declared that no action of two or more persons was a crime unless it was a crime if committed by an individual.

(3) The New Trade Unionism, **1889–1900.**

(*a*) The older unions tended to become benefit societies rather than aggressive organisations; they consisted mainly of artisans and levied a charge of one shilling a week and thus excluded unskilled labourers, who could not afford to pay so much.

[**1872.** The successful foundation by Joseph Arch of the Agricultural Labourers' Union, although not strictly a Trade Union, gave an example to other labourers.]

1889. The Dockers' Strike, organised by John Burns and others, secured for London dockers sixpence instead of fivepence an hour and a minimum payment of two shillings, and led to the foundation of the Dockers' Union—a union of labourers, not artisans, with a levy of twopence per week. Unionism thus became more democratic.

(*b*) The New Trade Unionism tended towards State Socialism.

1890. The Trade Union Conference laid stress upon the extension of municipal functions as a means of improving social conditions. Municipalities have not only supplied baths, free libraries, and recreation grounds out of the rates, but have undertaken to supply gas, water, electric light, means of locomotion

[1] Lord Aberdare.

and workmen's dwellings. They have often accepted the idea of Trade Unionism by undertaking to pay not less than the current union rate of wages to those whom they employ.

B. Co-operation.

Co-operation is an attempt to "get rid of the antagonism of capital and labour by rendering the working man himself a capitalist." It owed much to Robert Owen (1771–1858) and practically started in 1844 with the establishment in Rochdale of the Pioneer Society founded by twenty-eight men contributing £1 apiece, buying their own supplies, and dividing profits according to the amount of their purchases. The system spread, but while co-operation as applied to the distribution of goods has proved successful it has generally failed when applied to production.

C. Growth of political power.

(1) The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884 extended the franchise and tended to make the working man the ultimate factor in politics.

(2) In 1874 the first working men, both coalminers, were returned to Parliament: Alexander Macdonald as M.P. for Stafford and Thomas Burt as M.P. for Morpeth.

(3) The Labour Party, now an important element in Parliament, owed its separate existence partly to the discontent of Trade Unionists with Mr. Gladstone's insistence on his Home Rule policy and to their inability to unite with the Conservatives. The Independent Labour Party held its first annual conference (J. Keir Hardie, M.P., President) at Bradford, 1893.

(4) The development of local government has given to working men a considerable share in the direction of local affairs.

D. The condition of the working classes was greatly improved in the nineteenth century by the spread of education, the development of sanitation, the regulation of hours and conditions of labour, and by the action of municipalities in erecting workmen's dwellings and supplying gas, water, and means of locomotion. But at the end of the century 30·7 per cent of the population of London were living in poverty,[1] and most of the attempts to solve the problem of unemployment had failed.

Reference :

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SCIENCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The development of science was one of the great features of the nineteenth century, which was marked by a vast extension of knowledge, by the recognition of great principles, by the application of science to industry, by some conflict between the ideas of theology and of the new science (especially geology), by great changes in the conditions of life which were rendered easier by new inventions. The nineteenth century was called the "Wonderful Century," owing to the growth of science.

I. Chemistry.

A. Chemistry was profoundly affected by John Dalton's discovery of the law of chemical combinations and by his assertion of the atomic theory, **1805.**

B. Sir Humphry Davy (**1778-1829**) used in **1807** the galvanic battery in chemical experiments, and discovered the elements potassium and sodium by electrolysis, and by his analysis of oxymuriatic acid discovered chlorine and showed that oxygen was not a necessary constituent of all acids.

[1] i.e. failed to obtain the bare necessaries for the maintenance of physical efficiency.

C. Michael Faraday, **1791–1867.**

Davy's assistant. He succeeded in liquefying chlorine, and in **1825**, by discovering benzol, laid the foundation of organic chemistry.

D. Chemistry gained much by use of the spectrum analysis—Sir H. Roscoe's *Spectrum Analysis*, **1867–85.**

E. Some applications of chemistry to industry.

α. **1815.** Davy's safety lamp diminished the danger of mining.

β. The discovery of benzol has been followed by the rise of the coal-tar and aniline dye industries, due largely to the researches of Prof. W. H. Perkin, senr.

γ. The development of metallurgy depended upon the growth of chemistry.

1856. Bessemer steel made by passing a cold blast through liquid iron. A cheap method of making hard steel.

1876. Siemens steel, a ductile steel, used largely for shipbuilding.

δ. **1830–50.** Development of agricultural chemistry, and use of nitrate of soda and superphosphates as artificial manures.

ε. Electrolysis led to the art of electro-plating.

. Physics.

A. Light.

(1) James Young (**1811–83**) enunciated the undulatory theory of light as opposed to the theory that light was due to concussion.

(2) James Clerk Maxwell (**1831–79**), by means of the spectrum analysis, proved (**1860**) that the primary colours were red, green, and blue.

B. Heat.

(1) The dynamical or mechanical theory of heat, i.e. that heat is a mode of motion, propounded by Count Rumford, **1802.**

(2) **1843.** J. P. Joule's theory of the existence of a mechanical equivalent of heat became the basis of the idea of the conservation of energy.

(3) John Tyndall published in **1863** *Heat a mode of Motion.*

C. Electricity and magnetism.

(1) Michael Faraday. His great work was the development of electro-magnetism.

1831. Discovered induced currents—the fundamental principle of the dynamo.

1831–4. Stated the laws of electrolysis, by which the strength of currents may be measured.

(2) J. Clerk Maxwell

Built up the mathematical theory of electricity and magnetism, and asserted that electricity and light are different aspects of vibrating ether.

(3) Lord Kelvin

Enormously helped the development of physics by the electrical instruments he invented, beginning with the mirror galvanometer in **1858.** It was his siphon recorder which made it possible in **1865** to receive messages sent from America by the Atlantic cable.

D. The practical application of physical discoveries.

The effects of these discoveries were far-reaching. They affected the development of the steam-engine, led to electric lighting and traction, to the telegraph and telephone (page 1042).

II. **Geology.**

A. **1800–25.** General acceptance of the catastrophic theory of geology, i.e. that the present condition of the earth is the result of great upheavals or convulsions which have changed the face of nature.

B. **1830.** Publication of Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology*. In this book, which marks the beginning of modern geology, Lyell denied the catastrophic theory, and asserted that glaciers, rivers, and other continuous forces still at work, had caused present conditions. This theory aroused the opposition of some theologians, because it was inconsistent with the scriptural story of the creation.

C. The researches of Adam Sedgwick into the geology of North Wales (**1831–4**) and into the Devonian rocks were most important, while Hugh Miller's *Old Red Sandstone*, published **1841**, did much to popularise geology.

D. Great development of geology since **1850**, including the growth of palæontology (the study of the structure of fossils), of mineralogy, of petrology.

V. **Biology.**

November 24, **1859**. Publication of Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species by Natural Selection and the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Existence.*

A. This theory of evolution, involving the transmutation of species and the survival of the fittest and its adaptation to its environment, denied the "special creation" of particular species, and was therefore strongly resisted by theologians, especially by Bishop Wilberforce, who fared badly in a contest with Prof. Huxley, its strong supporter.

B. Evolution had been suggested in *Principles of Geology*, **1830**, and Robert Chambers' *Vestiges of Creation*, **1844**, and Herbert Spencer had accepted biological evolution in

his *Pschyology*, **1855**. But the *Origin of Species* first brought the theory prominently forward. It proved most suggestive, and has been generally confirmed by subsequent scientific discoveries. The recognition that evolution cannot dispense with the need of a First Cause has tended to lessen the opposition of theologians.

V. **Medicine.**

A. Vaccination.

(1) **1798.** Dr. Edward Jenner (**1749–1823**) announced his discovery of vaccination as a preventive against smallpox.

(2) **1853.** Vaccination made compulsory in England, but there has been considerable opposition, and an Anti-Vaccination Society was formed in London in **1870**, and "conscientious objectors" received legal exemption in **1898.**

(3) But the number of deaths from smallpox (which in London in **1723** caused one out of every fourteen deaths) has greatly diminished since **1798**, and this diminution is generally ascribed by doctors to vaccination.

B. The nervous system.

1811. Sir Charles Bell, in his *Anatomy of the Brain*, distinguished between motor and sensory nerves, and his discovery had a great influence on medical practice.

C. Surgery.

November 10, **1847.** Chloroform used in Edinburgh by Dr. (afterwards Sir) James Y. Simpson. The use of anæsthetics together with the wider knowledge of anatomy and physiology led to a great development of surgery, the danger of which was diminished by the use of antiseptics by Sir Joseph (afterwards Lord) Lister, **1870.**

D. The practice of medicine has been greatly affected by—

α. The introduction of the stethoscope (about 1821) and of the clinical thermometer (about 1844) and the use of percussion, which have greatly facilitated diagnosis.

β. The more accurate and extended knowledge of drugs, due largely to the development of chemistry.

γ. The development of bacteriology.

January 21, 1870. Professor John Tyndall expounded the "germ theory" in his lecture to the Royal Institution on "Dust and Disease."

SOME RELIGIOUS QUESTIONS

I. The Oxford Movement.

A. Causes.

(1) The policy of the Reformed Parliament.

The Bishops had opposed reform and strongly resented the claim of the Reformed Parliament, which included Scotch Presbyterians and Irish Roman Catholics, to control the Anglican Church.

1833. Parliament abolished ten Irish bishoprics.

1833. Parliament gave to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council appellate jurisdiction in ecclesiastical cases.

1836. Parliament rearranged several English dioceses and readjusted ecclesiastical endowments.

1836. The nomination by Lord Melbourne of Dr. Hampden (suspected of heretical opinions in regard to the authority of the Anglican Church as the final interpreter of Holy Scripture) as Professor of Divinity at Oxford raised great opposition, and was regarded as

a proof that the liberal secularism of the Whigs endangered the Anglican Church.

(2) Owing largely to Scott's novels there was a growing interest in mediæval history. This led to an attempt to reconcile the doctrines and ceremonies of the Anglican Church with those of the Middle Ages, and thus strengthened the idea of the continuity of that Church from apostolic times.

(3) It was feared that the growth of Latitudinarianism and Rationalism, due largely to German theological investigations, within the Anglican Church had impaired its doctrines, which seemed further endangered by the development of science, especially geology (page 1027).

(4) Although many Evangelical laymen (e.g. Wilberforce) had done noble work, there were too many "Greek play bishops" and clergy, remarkable more for learning than earnestness, and nicknamed the "High and Dry school."

B. The objects of the Oxford Movement.

(1) Although originally it aimed at averting "the danger of the people becoming Romanist from ignorance of Church principles," it tended to become an "attempt to approximate the English Church to the perfect catholicity of Rome" (Dean Church).

α. Newman found in Roman Catholicism the foundation of ecclesiastical authority, which he refused to derive from Parliament, and tried to reconcile Anglican doctrines with those of Rome.

β. The Tractarians denied that the Reformation was a break of ecclesiastical continuity and maintained that Anglican clergymen were in the Apostolic Succession.

γ. Some, while remaining within the Anglican Church, doubted the validity of Anglican Orders.

(2) To check Latitudinarianism, to restore discipline, and to use a more ornate ritual.

C. The course of the movement.

The Oxford Movement was not a lay but a clerical movement, although it gained the sympathy of some prominent laymen, especially Gladstone. It was concerned with questions of the authority and historical continuity of the Church, rather than with fundamental problems of religion.

(1) The first phase.

It was due to a band of Oxford men (especially three fellows of Oriel: John Keble, **1792–1866**; John Henry Newman, **1801–90**; Edward Bouverie Pusey, **1800–82**).

(*a*) July 14, **1833.** Keble's University sermon on "National Apostasy" initiated the movement, although his *Christian Year*, published in **1827**, had prepared the way.

(*b*) **1841.** Tract Ninety.

The promoters of the movement were called Tractarians, from the *Tracts for the Times*, in which they stated their views. In Tract Ninety Newman tried "to bring out the old Catholic truth" contained in the Thirty-nine Articles which, he maintained, had been misrepresented and misunderstood by Protestant theologians. By this publication "Newman placed himself outside the Church of England in point of spirit and sympathy" (Gladstone).

(*c*) **1845.** Newman, partly owing to the repudiation of Tract Ninety by the bishops and by the University of Oxford, partly because he had become convinced that the Church of Rome "is the Catholic Church and ours is not a branch of the Catholic Church because not in communion with Rome," was received into the Church of Rome, the infallibility of which he accepted.

(*d*) Some early effects of the movement.

The teaching of the Tractarians and the conversion of Newman to Roman Catholicism roused fierce opposition from the Evangelical party, the Latitudinarians, and the "High and Dry" schools. Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, denounced the Tractarians as "idolaters." The movement—

α. Led to the development of the Latitudinarian or Broad Church party, who aimed at comprehension rather than cohesion, tended towards Rationalism and [notably Thomas Hughes,[1] Frederick Denison Maurice (1805–72), and Charles Kingsley] did much philanthropic work on unsectarian lines.

1860. The publication of *Essays and Reviews*, to which Jowett, Temple,[2] and Mark Pattison contributed, andwhich was an attempt to reconcile Christian doctrines with the teaching of science, was the most famous publication of this party.

β. Tended to embitter politics, especially in the cases of the Maynooth Grant, **1845** (page 795), and the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, **1851** (page 838).

(2) The second phase. The growth of the High Church party.

(*a*) The High Church party remained members of the Anglican Church, accepted the idea of the continuity of the Church from apostolic times and of the apostolic succession of its bishops. It relied "on an appeal to reality, experience, and history as to the characteristics of the traditional and actually existing English Church" (Dean Church). The *Guardian*, founded

[1] Author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*.
[2] Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

1846, strongly maintained the High Church cause, which was weakened by the fact that Palmerston, who cared nothing for religion, left the administration of ecclesiastical patronage to Lord Shaftesbury, who nominated Evangelical clergymen to vacancies in the Church.

(*b*) The High Church party favoured ornate ritual and resented the control of Parliament over the Church. Much excitement caused by the progress of "Ritualism."

1850. The Gorham Case. The Privy Council asserted that the Rev. G. C. Gorham's Calvinistic opinions as to baptismal regeneration were no bar to his institution to a living in the diocese of Exeter.

Owing to the resentment at this exercise of lay authority over the Church, Archdeacon Manning[1] joined the Roman Catholic Church.

1866. Lord Derby's Commission deprecated any change from the custom of three hundred years in ritual and ornament.

1868. The Privy Council, in the case of the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie, of St. Alban's, Holborn, declared the illegality of incense, the mixed cup at Holy Communion, kneeling before the elements, and the use of altar lights.

1874. The Public Worship Regulation Act authorised the prosecution of clergymen for ritualistic practices before a lay judge.

This Act has not been rigidly enforced, and the Privy Council's decision of **1868** has not prevented the use of incense, etc., by many Anglican clergymen.

(*c*) One of the most important results of the Oxford Movement was the increase in the professional zeal of the clergy. High Church clergymen differ from the pioneers of the movement—who took little part in philanthropic and social work—in their efforts to im-

[1] Afterwards Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, and Cardinal.

prove the condition of the poorest classes in our gre cities.

(*d*) At the same time the movement has been a versely criticised. "Whatever may be the good tha it brought with it, by its reactionary character, by th offence which it gave to minds of Protestant tendencie and by the separation which it evidently implie between the secular and religious life of the nation, raised a fresh difficulty in the way of re-establishi a really national Church" (F. Bright).

II. The Disruption of the Church of Scotland.

A. The right of lay patrons to present ministers.

(1) The right of congregations to object to the presentati to livings of ministers by patrons and of presbyterie to disallow the presentation had fallen into disuse, a congregations were compelled to accept the patro nominee.

(2) The "Nonintrusionists" objected to the "intrusio of ministers contrary to the wishes of the congre tions, and, on the motion of Dr. Chalmers (1834 the Veto Act was passed by the General Assembl This compelled presbyteries to reject nominees lay patrons on the objection of members of the co gregation even though no ground of objection w stated.

α. This applied to nominees of lay patrons only, n to ministers nominated by presbyteries, whom the right of presentation sometim lapsed.

β. It limited the authority of the Presbytery.

γ. The rejection of ministers without stateme of reasons seemed unjust.

[1] Associations of ministers and ruling elders, equal in power, office, a order.

B. The jurisdiction of law courts in ecclesiastical cases.

(1) The Nonintrusionists, like the Tractarians, objected to the reference of ecclesiastical cases to law courts.

(2) **1838.** The Auchterarder case.

The House of Lords, on appeal, confirmed the decision of the Court of Session which had ordered the presbytery of Auchterarder to accept as minister Mr. Young, presented by Lord Kinnoul, in spite of a protest from the congregation. The House of Lords declared the Veto Act illegal.

(3) The Strathbogie case.

(*a*) Mr. Edwards, presentee to the parish of Marnoch, obtained a decision from the Court of Session requiring the presbytery of Strathbogie to accept him in spite of objections of the congregation.

(*b*) The General Assembly prohibited the presbytery from obeying the order of the Court of Session, and, on their complying with the order, superseded them from their clerical duties. Thus the question of the right of presentation had become a question of the authority of the civil government over the Church.

C. The disruption.

1842. The General Assembly sent two addresses to the Crown, one protesting against "the encroachments of the Court of Session," the other demanding the abolition of lay patronage. Unfavourable answer sent by the Crown.

May 18, **1843.** Secession of 395 ministers who formed the Free Church of Scotland.

II. **Nonconformists.**

A. Removal of legal disabilities.

(1) **1828.** Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts (page 741).

(2) Church rates.

1853. Decision, in the case of the vestry at Brain tree, Essex, that the approval of a majority of th parishioners, whatever their religious views, wa necessary for the legal levy of a Church rate.

1868. Abolition by Gladstone of compulsor Church rates.

(3) The Universities.

1871. Abolition of theological tests at Oxford an Cambridge.

α. Theological tests abolished for professors, tutor fellows and scholars.

β. The theological faculty was confined to membe of the Anglican Church, which remained th official religion of the University and th Colleges.

(4) Burials Act.

1880. Burials to take place in parish churchyard either without any religious service or with a form service of which the mourners approved.

(5) Marriages.

1836. Marriages in Nonconformist chapels we legalised.

B. Some developments in the nineteenth century.

(1) Both the Congregational and Baptist bodies have reco nised the need of the closer union of their ow churches, each of which is nominally independent.

1832. Formation of the Congregational Union England and Wales.

(2) The Wesleyans have given greater power to the lai in the management of their Church affairs.

1797. Dissentient Methodists founded the Meth dist New Connection on the refusal of the Wesleya Conference to allow laymen to attend the Conferenc

1807. Formation of the Primitive Methodists by Hugh Bourne and William Clowes, owing to the prohibition by the Wesleyan Conference of their open-air meetings.

1877. The recognition of the right of laymen to be represented in the Conference, which was attended by 240 ministers and 240 laymen.

(3) **1820–30.** The growth of the Plymouth Brethren, who opposed all ecclesiastical systems, and believed that the second coming of Christ was at hand.

C. Nonconformists and politics.

Nonconformists have generally been Liberals (although the Wesleyans have included more Conservatives than other denominations), and strongly supported Gladstone, although some of the more influential opposed Home Rule. They have taken a particularly strong line on two questions—

(1) The Disestablishment of the Established Church.

1885. Gladstone lost some support from the Nonconformists owing to his declaration that the Disestablishment of the Established Church in England was outside the sphere of practical politics. The principle of Disestablishment for Wales was generally accepted by Liberals. But Welsh Disestablishment lost ground owing to the split in the Liberal party, and the inclusion of Home Rule and many other questions in the overweighted Newcastle programme, **1893.**

(2) Opposition to the payment of public money to voluntary schools on the ground that they are not subject to full popular control.

1870. Many Nonconformists objected to Forster's attempt "to complete the voluntary system and to fill up gaps," and regarded it "as erecting new difficulties in the way of religious equality" (Dale).

1897. Nonconformists unsuccessfully opposed the Voluntary Schools Act giving additional grants to voluntary schools, but secured a similar measure of relief for necessitous Board Schools.

References:

A. *An Introduction to the History of the Church of England*, by H. O. Wakeman, chap. xx. (Rivingtons.)
The Oxford Movement (1833–45), by Dean Church. (Macmillan.)
Apologia pro Vita Sua, by Cardinal Newman.
Life of R. W. Dale, by Principal Dale.
History of England, by Bright, Vol. IV, p. 106. (Longmans.)

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION, 1800–1900

I. At the End of the Eighteenth Century.

A. Roads.

Turnpike roads, the only means of communication, were first made in **1663**, but remained "execrably bad" until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Ruts were sometimes four feet deep; and in **1760** the journey from Edinburgh to London took sixteen days. Highwaymen added to the danger of travelling, especially on the Great North and Bath roads (notably on Hounslow Heath).

B. Canals.

The construction of canals by Brindley and others had greatly facilitated the Industrial Revolution.

C. Postage.

The delivery of letters was uncertain, costly, and slow, although the institution of mail coaches (the first ran between London and Bath, **1784**) improved the service greatly.

. **The Improvement of Roads.**

A. The development of engineering led to a great improvement in road-mending and making.

c. **1819.** Invention of macadamising by John Macadam.

c. **1840.** Wood and asphalt paving were introduced.

1868. First use of steam-rollers in London.

B. The gradual removal of tolls made travelling cheaper.

1843. Destruction of toll bars by Rebecca's daughters[1] in South Wales. Private toll bars lasted longer than public. Five toll bars still (**1910**) obstruct the approach to Middlesbrough.

C. The control of main roads is now vested in County Councils (established **1888**), that of other roads in Rural District Councils (established **1894**).

I. **Steam.**

A. Railways.

(1) Construction.

(*a*) George Stephenson (**1781–1848**), the son of a Northumberland collier, constructed the Stockton and Darlington Railway, **1825**, the Manchester and Liverpool Railway, **1830** (on which his engine the Rocket, equipped with tubular boilers and running thirty miles an hour, was used). Stephenson adopted the 4 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inch gauge of the Newcastle coal tram roads for his railways.

(*b*) Isambard Brunel commenced the Great Western Railway, **1833**, using a broad gauge of 7 feet;

(*c*) The Midland Railway Bill, **1863**. Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire (now Great Central) Railway Bill, **1893**.

[1] So called from Genesis xxiv. 60—Rebecca's seed shall "possess the es of those which hate them."

(2) State regulation.

Parliament has steadily maintained its right to control railways and denied that railway companies have any vested rights.

(*a*) **1840.** Owing to the railway panic of **1836** the general regulation of railways was vested in the Board of Trade.

(*b*) **1844.** The "Cheap Trains" Act compelled railways to carry third-class passengers in covered carriages for a penny a mile and gave the Government the option of purchasing railways in twenty-one years.

α. The third-class traffic proved most lucrative.

1875. Abolition of second-class carriages by the Midland Railway, since generally followed by other companies.

β. In spite of the monopolies enjoyed by railways the option of purchase has not been exercised by Parliament, possibly because its controlling power is acknowledged.

(*c*) **1873.** Appointment of a Railway Commission to interpret Acts of Parliament.

(3) **1845–6.** The Railway Mania, with which George Hudson the "Railway King" was connected, led to wild speculation and great losses.

(4) Improvements in working.

(*a*) **1853.** The block system introduced.

(*b*) **1875.** Adoption on the Midland Railway of the Westinghouse air-pressure brake.

(*c*) **1881.** Double-expansion engines adopted for London and North Western Railway locomotives.

(*d*) **1890.** Opening of the City and South London Electric Railway.

(*e*) **1892.** The Great Western Railway broad gauge replaced by the narrow gauge.

α. The end of the "Battle of the Gauges."

β. The interchange of traffic between all companies was thus made possible.

(5) The development of electricity has led to the great extension of electric trams, which have proved serious competitors with railways for suburban traffic. The adoption by railway companies of electric autocars for short distances and the institution of services of motor buses to connect outlying districts with the railways have not made up for the loss of revenue due to the competition of electric cars.

B. Steamboats.

(1) The beginning of Atlantic and other liners.

[**1812.** The *Comet*, a steamboat built by Henry Bell, plied for hire on the Clyde.]

1819. The *Savannah*, depending partly on steam, sailed from New York to Liverpool in twenty-six days.

1838. The *Great Western*, depending wholly on steam, sailed from Bristol to New York in fifteen days.

1840. Foundation of the Peninsular and Oriental and Cunard lines.

(2) Increase in speed due to—

(*a*) The adoption of screw propellers (patented by Smith and Ericson, **1836**).

(*b*) **1856.** The adoption of compound (and later triple expansion) engines made longer voyages possible.

(*c*) Improvement in the boilers.

(*d*) The use of iron and, later, steel for the hulls of ships.

(*e*) The use of turbines.

By **1885** the voyage from Liverpool to New York was reduced to seven days.

The construction of the Suez Canal, opened **1869**, and the use of steam shortened the voyage from England to India from three months to about three weeks.

IV. Canals, Bridges.

A. Canals.

Thomas Telford constructed the Ellesmere (1793–1805) and Caledonian canals.

B. Bridges.

1818–25. Telford's Menai Bridge—the first suspension bridge in England.

1846–50. The Britannia Tubular Bridge built by Robert Stephenson over the Menai Straits.

1864. The Clifton Suspension Bridge, designed by Isambard Brunel **1831**, opened.

1883–9. The Forth Bridge built on the cantilever principle.

1886–94. The Tower Bridge, built with a draw-bridge or bascule.

V. The Telegraph and Telephone.

A. The telegraph.

The telegraph was rendered possible owing to the development of the dynamo, which facilitated the generation of electricity in large quantities.

1837. Wheatstone and Cooke's magnetic needle telegraph.

1865. Completion of the Atlantic cable.

The siphon recorder of Thomson (Lord Kelvin) made it possible to receive the messages which were too feeble to be recorded by earlier instruments.

1869. The telegraph became a Government monopoly and was put under the control of the Post Office.

1885. Introduction of sixpenny telegrams.

B. The telephone.

1877. Professor Graham Bell's articulating telephone produced in the United States.

1879. A telephone exchange (Edison's system) erected in Lombard Street.

1880. Union of Bell and Edison's companies as the United Telephone Company.

1890–2. The telephone in general use.

VI. **The Post Office.**

A. The reform of the Postal Service, 1839.

(1) The old system was costly and inconvenient.

α. Postage was payable on delivery and the cost was heavy, the postage of a letter from London to Brighton being eightpence.

β. The revenue suffered.

1. Payment of postage was frequently evaded.

2. Many letters were "franked" by members of Parliament who, by writing their names on the covers of their own and their friends' letters, ensured free delivery.

(2) In spite of opposition a Bill, based on the suggestions made by Rowland Hill (1837) in his pamphlet on Post Office Reform, was carried. This provided—

That there should be a uniform rate of postage of fourpence per half-ounce, reduced to one penny on January 10, 1840.

Adhesive postage stamps came into use and the right of franking was abolished.

(3) The reduction in the cost of postage led to an enormous increase in the number of communications and consequently in the revenue. The deliveries of letters and papers rose from 124,000 in 1839 to over 5,000,000,000 (including parcels) for the year ending March 31, 1909.

(4) Trade benefited greatly, and cheap postage was one of the chief reasons for the development in international communications which marked the nineteenth century.

B. Subsequent extension of the work of the Post Office.

1861. The establishment of Post Office Savings Banks, which later undertook insurance and annuities.

1870. Postcards were introduced.

1881. Postal orders were first issued.

1883. The parcel post was established.

VII. **Some Results of Improved Means of Communication.**

A. A closer connection than was possible in the eighteenth century between Great Britain and the colonies. "An Imperial Parliament sitting at Westminster" is no longer a physical impossibility, and our sense of duty to dependent peoples has been strengthened by the more accurate knowledge of their conditions due to greater facilities of communication.

B. A rise in the standard of living owing to the cheap carriage of foreign goods.

C. The decline of agriculture owing to the competition of foreign corn, meat, and dairy produce.

D. The further migration from the country to the towns.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

I. **The Beginning of Government Control.**

A. In the first half of the century the idea of education as a national duty did not exist. The Conservatives held that the Church of England alone should control education, many Liberals thought that it should be left to private enterprise, and there was a strong feeling against elementary education, which it was thought would make the poor discontented with their lot. The efforts of Lords John Russell and Brougham led to a change of policy.

B. **1833.** £20,000 granted to the Anglican National Society and to the unsectarian British and Foreign Bible Society to meet part of the cost of existing schools. The beginning of annual grants.

The Church of England obtained the larger share of the grant, which did nothing to help poor districts in which no school existed.

C. **1839.** Appointment of the Committee of Privy Council on Education, increase in the grant and establishment of official inspection.

The Committee was the basis of the modern system of elementary education.

D. **1847.** Lord John Russell "diminished the empire of ignorance" by the establishment of the pupil-teacher system.

II. The Revised Code, 1862.

A. **1861.** Newcastle's Committee reported most unfavourably on the state of elementary education. Only about one-tenth of children of school age became proficient in reading, writing and arithmetic. Inspectors had to be approved by archbishops. Clever pupils received undue attention.

B. **1862.** Lowe's Revised Code provided that henceforth grants should be capitation grants: one-third for attendance, two-thirds for proficiency in reading, writing, and arithmetic, which were to be tested by the examination of individual scholars.

α. Lowe's object was to ensure adequate treatment for all scholars.

β. Although religious instruction was made compulsory in Church of England schools, the clergy objected to the Code on the ground that it attached too much importance to secular subjects.

γ. The new system of "payment by results" tended to make teaching mechanical.

III. Forster's Education Act, 1870.

A. Although the voluntary subscriptions of about 200,000 people (supplemented by Government grants) had led to the extension of voluntary schools, the supply of elementary education was quite inadequate and only about half the children of school age were receiving instruction. Forster wished to "complete the voluntary system and to fill up the gaps" and "to cover the country with good schools."

B. The Bill (as amended in Committee).

(1) School boards, elected in municipal boroughs and country parishes by the cumulative vote of ratepayers voting by ballot,[1] to erect "board schools" to meet any deficiencies not met by voluntary effort.

(2) School boards to levy local rates to meet part of the cost of board but not voluntary schools. The latter to receive double the Government grant formerly paid to them.

(3) Denominational teaching to be continued in voluntary schools, but the rights of objecting parents to be safeguarded by a "conscience clause." In board schools the Bible to be taught, but no catechism or formulary of any religious denomination. "The Cowper-Temple Clause."

(4) Fees to be paid by parents, but school boards were empowered to remit fees and to establish free schools in poor districts.

(5) The age of attendance raised to thirteen.

(6) London to have one School Board.[2]

C. Criticism.

(1) The Bill aggravated religious strife.

Although Forster wished to maintain voluntary schools, the clergy opposed his Bill on the ground

[1] The first application of the ballot to public elections.
[2] Lord Lawrence the first chairman.

that rate aid would give the undenominational Board schools an unfair advantage over voluntary schools.

The Nonconformists strongly objected to the increased grant to voluntary schools, which Gladstone strongly supported. The National Education League, founded in Birmingham, **1869**, and including Joseph Chamberlain, John Morley, Harcourt, and Rev. R. W. Dale, strongly advocated a national system of "free, compulsory and secular" education.

But the struggle was really ecclesiastical rather than religious, and social rather than educational.

(2) The new system proved very costly, and Forster's prophecy that rates would never exceed threepence in the pound proved ludicrously incorrect.

D. The Bill did not establish a national system or settle the religious difficulty, and the Government, while giving to local authorities the right of compelling attendance, shrank from universal compulsion. But Forster rendered a great service to the nation by giving to every child the chance of securing efficient elementary education.

IV. **Compulsory Education, 1880.**

1880. Mundella's Bill made elementary education compulsory.

V. **Free Education, 1891.**

April 23, **1891.** A grant of 10s. per head (on the basis of a fee payment of threepence per week) made for every scholar between the ages of five and fifteen, to replace fees paid by parents.

α. Fees were still allowed in schools where the weekly payments were more than threepence.

β. Thus by **1891** two of the objects of the Birmingham League had been secured, and free education was largely due to the influence of

Chamberlain and the Liberal Unionists, to whom the Conservative Government was under a heavy obligation.

γ. The Bill passed without difficulty, although some maintained that free education was a socialistic measure and tended to weaken parental responsibility.

VI. **The Voluntary Schools Bill, 1897.**

A. Abolition of the limit of Government grant to 17s. 6d. and payment of 5s. per head to voluntary schools.

B. Strong opposition of Liberals, especially Nonconformists, to the grant of public money to institutions not under public control. Their efforts secured a similar grant to necessitous board schools.

VII. **The Board of Education, 1901.**

Establishment of the Board of Education to take over the work of the Education Department and the Department of Science and Art. The Board of Education has done something—

α. To establish a uniform system of elementary education;

β. To co-ordinate primary and secondary education.

PUBLIC HEALTH, 1800–1900

A. Sanitation.

(1) "There was no sanitary measure upon the statute books at the time of the Queen's accession" (*Social England*), and the utter ignorance of sanitation was the main cause of the high death-rate, especially in the towns which had grown greatly owing to the Industrial Revolution.

(2) Legislation.

1846. Act for Removal of Nuisances.

1846–7. Baths and Washhouses Act.

1848. Public Health Act and appointment of a General Board of Health to carry it out.

1872. This duty devolved upon the Local Government Board.

1851–3. Common Lodging Houses Act.

These Acts have been amended and extended by subsequent legislation.

(3) The disposal of sewage.

1847–65. A new system of drainage for London, constructed by the Metropolitan Board of Works.

B. Water.

The provision of pure water was gradually secured, e.g. for Manchester from Thirlmere and Liverpool from Lake Vyrnwy.

1902. The London Water Board superseded the companies which supplied London with water.

C. The development of medicine (page 1028) promoted public health.

D. Owing to the above causes the average duration of life was lengthened. It was estimated that improved sanitation saved 500,000 lives in fifty years, and the death-rate fell rapidly. Typhus disappeared, smallpox decreased and the danger from typhoid and diphtheria has been diminished, but cancer and consumption still claim many victims.

ERRATA. PARTS I, II, III

Page 20, C . . for "925" read "825."

,, 23, A . . ,, "853" ,, "851" (Dr. Hodgkin).

,, 26, II, B . . ,, "885" ,, "886."

,, 173, II, A, 1, read: "Some landlords had commuted for money payments (i.e. for rent) the services their tenants formerly rendered. The labourers, owing to the diminution in their numbers caused by the Black Death, demanded higher wages. The landlords now tried to exact the old services from their tenants instead of rent, and to limit the wages paid to labourers."

,, 190, III, F . for "Dukes of Derby, etc." read "Dukes of Hereford, etc."

,, 221, A, 1 . ,, "Lancastrians" read "Yorkists."

,, 282, II . . ,, "burning" ,, "execution."

,, 282, IV . . ,, "1537" ,, "1536."

,, 287, I, F . . ,, "1534" ,, "1536."

,, 294, A, 2 . ,, "Thomas Seymour, etc." read "Lord Seymour of Sudeley."

,, 312, B, 2 . ,, "1593" read "1493."

,, 322, II, A . ,, "1453" ,, "1543."

,, 357, 5 . . ,, "The" ,, "He."

,, 475, D . . ,, "Ettrick" read "Escrick."

,, 548, B, 3 . ,, "Secretary for War" read "Secretary at War."

,, 567, C, 1 . ,, "Dutch East India Company" read "Ostend East India Company."

,, 576, E, 3 . ,, "King of Silesia" read "ruler of Silesia."

,, 590, II, C . ,, "1756" read "1757."

,, 605, A . . ,, "Peace of Versailles" read "Peace of Paris."

,, 608, J, 3 . ,, "John Quincy Adams" read "John Adams, father of John Quincy Adams.

,, 613, II, A, 3 . ,, "Dutch East Indies" read "West Indies."

,, ,, ,, . ,, "Holland declared war" read "Great Britain declared war."

,, 616, B, 2 . ,, "General Eliot" read "General Eliott."

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